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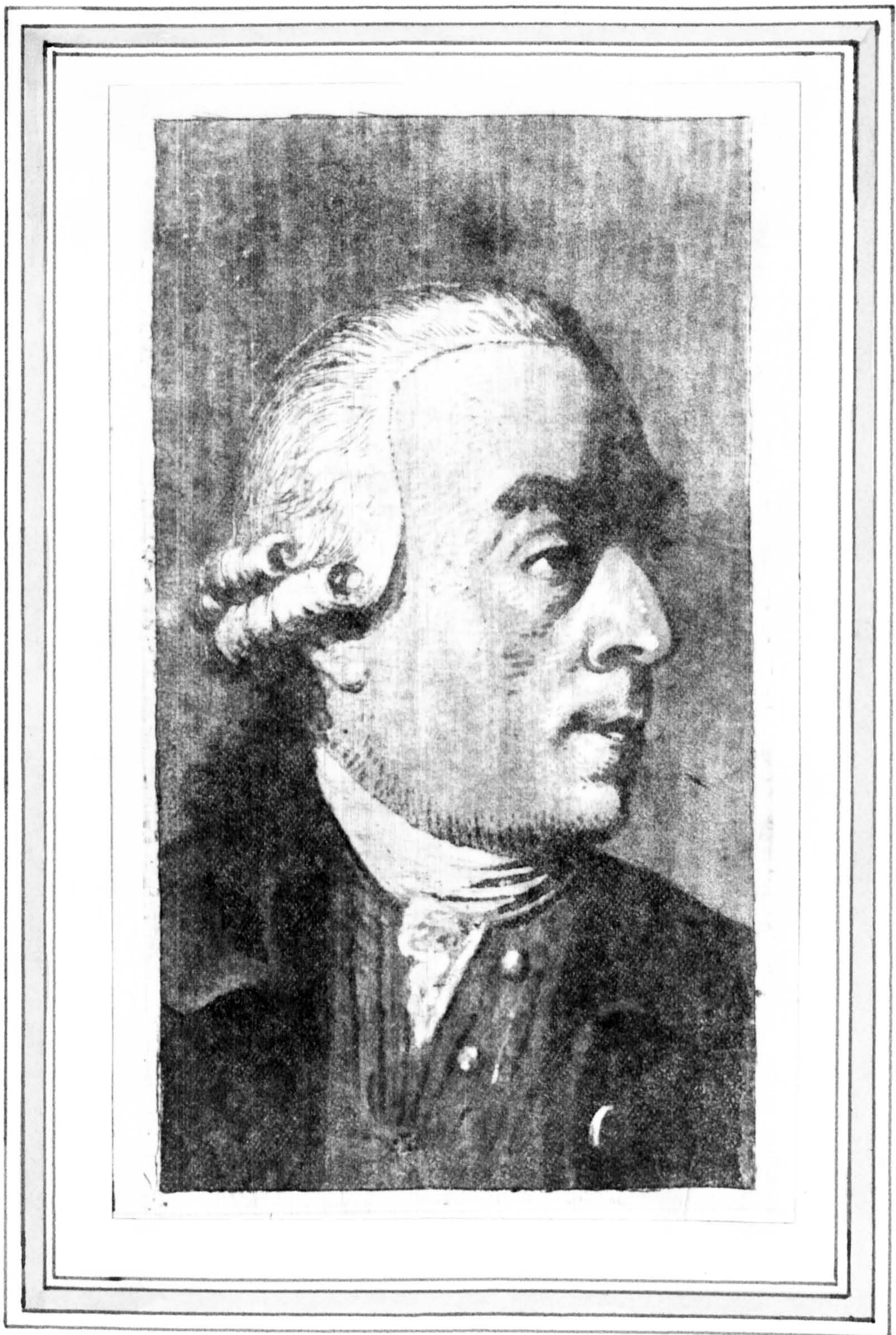
Scottish Scenes

and

Scottish Story



*frontispiece*



DAVID ALLAN (1744-1796): [self-portrait], c. 1785,  
Etching and aquatint 5½ x 3, British Museum Print Room



Scottish Scenes

and

Scottish Story

THE LATER CAREER OF DAVID ALLAN,

HISTORICAL PAINTER.

GRIER ROBERTSON GORDON

Doctoral Thesis

Department of History of Art

University of Glasgow.

April, 1990.

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## Preface and acknowledgments.

David Allan's career falls naturally, and conveniently, into two major periods. He spent about a decade in Italy and rather longer, from his return in 1779 until his death in 1796, in his native Scotland. The pictures — paintings, prints and drawings — which he executed during the second period provide the foundation of this thesis. One chapter, that dealing with a set of illustrations for the pastoral drama *The Gentle Shepherd*, has been developed from a dissertation submitted in 1984 for the degree of Master of Arts in the University of Glasgow. The present study, like the original dissertation, has been prepared under the supervision of Professor Tait of the Department of History of Art, who suggested the subject of the earlier work and urged the completion of the later. In addition, he has contributed advice both on the general form taken by the thesis, and on some aspects which might usefully be emphasised. University fees were paid and additional financial support was provided by the Scottish Education Department, and a grant from the Whistler fund of the



University of Glasgow contributed significantly towards the expense of obtaining photographs of Allan's pictures.

While most of Allan's works still known are in public galleries, an appreciable number — more than one hundred, about half of these being portraits — remain in private collections. Thanks are therefore due to all those who have, with great courtesy and hospitality, allowed access to their collections for the purposes of seeing, measuring and making photographs of pictures. Particular acknowledgment must be made of Mr. David Black's assistance, both in this way and in his having transported a number of drawings that they might be the more easily recorded.

Among the public galleries, the principal collections of Allan's works are to be found in Edinburgh, where the National Gallery of Scotland houses just under half of those known. Allan's portraits, not surprisingly, are well represented in the Scottish National Portrait Gallery, which also has an invaluable photographic record of works in private collections. Some of the portraits hung in this gallery are on loan from the Royal Scottish Academy, which contains the largest single group of Allan's illustrations to Scottish songs. Ten more drawings of this kind belong to the National Library of Scotland, which also holds — as does Edinburgh Central Library nearby — a set of etched proofs made by Allan after his own designs. A few more works are distributed among other public collections in Edinburgh, including the University, the West Register Office and Huntly House Museum.

Only slightly smaller than the group of song illustrations in the Royal Scottish Academy is that in the Rare Books and Manuscripts Department of the Mitchell Library, Glasgow, where Allan's first

series of Ossianic pictures is also to be found, while an important set of preparatory studies for later literary illustrations is held in the Special Collections department of Glasgow University Library. Some fine watercolours by Allan, both early and late, are in Glasgow Art Gallery and Museum, which also houses one of his most ambitious Historical paintings. Examples of Allan's prints are to be found in all these collections, in the Hunterian Gallery of the University of Glasgow, and in the Print Room of the British Museum. The British Museum, in addition to one of Allan's most impressive portraits, also has a few of his drawings and watercolours, and a complete set of Paul Sandby's prints of his "Roman Carnival" series, the original drawings for which are in the Royal Library at Windsor.

More than twenty of Allan's letters are recorded, of which ten have already been published with varying degrees of accuracy, chiefly in the late Reverend Thomas Crouther Gordon's biography, *David Allan of Alloa*. Not all of those still extant are available for inspection. Eleven of the most characteristic and relevant are here included in full, five in the text itself and the remainder in appendices, transcribed from the originals where possible and presented without emendation of spelling or punctuation. Where a few characters are missing because a letter has been torn, square brackets either indicate this loss or contain a likely restoration. The names of recipients and the dates of dispatch are added in square brackets or indicated in footnotes, except, of course, where the original direction has survived. Allan's abbreviations and repetitions have been retained, words which he underlined are emphasised by the same means rather than by their being italicised, his deletions are cancelled with a single line and his few interlineations or additions are given in smaller characters, raised above the main text and supplied with



carets in square brackets, except where such a mark or its equivalent is in the original. His use of long "s" has, however, been silently changed to the modern usage, both in quoting from letters and in following holograph titles and inscriptions on pictures.†

As in the case of his drawings and paintings, the principal public collections of manuscripts either written by Allan or related to his work are in Edinburgh, in the National Library of Scotland, the National Museum of Antiquities, the Royal Scottish Academy, the Scottish National Portrait Gallery, the Laing manuscripts (in Edinburgh University Library), and both the East Register Office and the West, where items from the Hopetoun archive may also be consulted. A letter from Allan to Lord Hopetoun's lawyer is in the Mitchell Library in Glasgow, part of the Cowie Collection which includes two more of Allan's letters as well as the illustrations of Scottish songs and Ossianic episodes mentioned above.

To members of staff in all these places, thanks are extended for their assistance and unfailing courtesy. Without such co-operation, and without the provision of facilities — both in the Mitchell Library and in the Special Collections department of Glasgow University Library — for prolonged study of historical materials,

† In the List of Illustrations as in their descriptive labels, titles of pictures are given in one of three ways. First, the title inscribed on a work or that printed in a contemporary catalogue has been given in inverted commas and in the original spelling, e.g., "Napolitan Dance", "Low down in the Broom" and "Lace Woman Edr 1784".

Secondly, when a picture is untitled but the subject is obvious, an identification has been supplied in square brackets, e.g., [The Foulis Academy], [Lapith and Centaur] and [John Knox before the Privy Council, 1563]; if a version of an untitled picture is listed in a contemporary source then it is that title which has been supplied, thus: ["Beale reading to Queen Mary the Warrant for her Execution"].

Thirdly, in a few cases where a picture, either left untitled or differently described by Allan himself, has long been known by a particular title, this title is given in italics, e.g., *The Highland Dance*, *The Connoisseurs* and *The Origin of Painting*, with Allan's own title, where appropriate, being separately noted. In the text, however, all picture-titles are given in the same way, thus: "The Highland Dance", "Gilderoy" and "Presbyterian Penance".

the interest of research and discovery would have been attended by much practical difficulty and inconvenience. Without the granting of permission to make photographs in the Royal Scottish Academy, in the Scottish National Portrait Gallery, in Edinburgh Central Library and in the National Gallery of Scotland, the selection of illustrations would have entailed much greater expense.

While this thesis was in preparation, several of Allan's works have passed from one collection to another, generally, but not exclusively, from private hands to public galleries. For advising of future sales, for providing photographs, and for allowing works to be studied thoroughly, sometimes (in the case of albums) at considerable length, thanks must be offered to Christie's, Sotheby's, Phillips and Daniel Shackleton, Edinburgh.

Because of the nature of their interests and research, the scholarship and friendly advice of two *amateurs* of Allan's work has been uncommonly helpful and falls to be particularly mentioned. In addition to the general usefulness of his published works, Basil Skinner's personal assistance in the matter of visiting collections containing pictures by Allan, and his sharing his knowledge of the artist and his times, has been of particular benefit, and is gratefully acknowledged. So too is the equally generous help of James Brown, whose interest in Allan's work is but one aspect of his enthusiasm for Scottish painting, poetry, music and song. During the preparation of his own dissertation, *The Scottish Song Illustrations of David Allan*, submitted in 1984 for the degree of Master of Arts (with Honours) in the University of Edinburgh, Jim carried out much necessary work in the School of Scottish Studies, and made an interesting and valuable



discovery among the holdings of Edinburgh Central Library; in addition to his passing on this information with alacrity, he also made his own typescript of his dissertation readily available.

Because of their frequent assistance and continued interest, several more people must be specially distinguished among those included in the subjoined general list: Helen Smailes and Helen Watson of the Scottish National Portrait Gallery, Edinburgh; Margaret Robertson of the National Gallery of Scotland, Edinburgh; Meta Viles, Librarian of the Royal Scottish Academy, Edinburgh; Elizabeth Watson and David Weston of the Special Collections Department, Glasgow University Library; Marion Lawson, Librarian of the Department of History of Art, University of Glasgow; and Hamish Whyte, the Mitchell Library, Glasgow.

The help and advice, and the encouragement, of many others is also gratefully remembered:

The Earl and Countess of Annandale and Hartfell; Joseph Beagley; David Black; Dr. Iain Gordon Brown and Alaister Cherry, National Library of Scotland; Jim Brown; Norman Bruce; Dr. Patsy Campbell and Annette Hope, Department of History of Art, University of Edinburgh; Dr. Tristram Clarke, Assistant Registrar, National Register of Archives (Scotland); Nadia and Brian Cohen; Jacqueline Irene Darby; Joseph Fisher, Glasgow Room, The Mitchell Library; Trevor Graham, Photographic Unit, University of Glasgow; Marion Lawson and Professor Alan A. Tait, Department of History of Art, University of Glasgow; Sheila Lithgow and Joe Rock, Photographic Department, University of Edinburgh; Anne McPherson, Hazel Wright and Hamish Whyte, Rare Books and Manuscripts, The Mitchell Library; Dorothy Marsh and Robin Hill, City of Edinburgh District Council; Rosalind Marshall, Helen Smailes, Helen Watson and Dr. Duncan Thomson, Scottish National Portrait Gallery; Hazel Miller and John Eaglesham, Language and Literature Department, The Mitchell Library; Rhona J. Mitchell; Brian Nodes, Blair Castle; Charles Nugent, Christie's (London); Margaret Robertson, Duncan Bull and Hugh MacAndrew, National Gallery of Scotland; Daniel Shackleton; Basil C. Skinner, Extramural Department, University of Edinburgh; Sheenah Smith and Hugh Stevenson, Glasgow Art Gallery and Museum; Margaret Stewart; Alexander J. Stoddart; Meta Viles; Elizabeth Watson, David Weston and Nigel Thorp, Special Collections, Glasgow University Library.

In one of his last letters, Robert Burns — who numbered Allan among his "best friends on earth" — wrote to James Johnson about his own

part in that great collection of Scottish song, *The Scots Musical Museum*:

"Many a merry meeting this Publication has given us . . . now that it is near finished, I see if we were to begin again, two or three things that might be mended", †

In acknowledging the help given by others throughout the preparation of this thesis, enjoyable meetings and conversations are likewise, and inevitably, recalled. It is a pleasant duty to acknowledge contributions, both generally and, in several footnotes, specifically. For the form in which this work has finally been presented, of course, one person alone is wholly responsible.

Glasgow,  
March 3<sup>rd</sup> 1990,

G. R. Gordon,

† *The Letters of Robert Burns*, ed. J. De Lancey Ferguson, 2 vols., Clarendon Press, 1931, Vol. II, p. 322, no. 696; second edn., ed. G. Ross Roy, 1985, Vol. II, pp. 381-82 (June, 1796), Cf. also a letter of November 19<sup>th</sup>, 1794, to George Thomson: *Letters*, Vol. II, p. 278 (second edn., p. 330), no. 647.

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Etching and Aquatint 5½ x 3. British Museum, Print Room.

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53. J. COLLYER after Francis Wheatley: "The Volunteers of the City and County of Dublin as they met on College Green... 1779", 1784. Engraving 19 $\frac{1}{4}$  x 26 $\frac{1}{2}$ . [page 62.]
54. JOHN TRUMBULL: "The Death of General Warren at the Battle of Bunker's Hill. 1775", 1786. Oil on canvas 24 x 36. [page 62.]
55. JOHN SINGLETON COPLEY: *The Defeat of the floating batteries off Gibraltar, September 1782*, 1783-91. Oil on canvas 52 x 74 (the Guildhall painting 214 x 297). [page 64.]
56. J. PARKER after Henry Fuseli: [Puck, from *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, Act II, sc. i]. For the Boydell Gallery. [page 65.]
57. HENRY FUSELI [Falstaff and Doll, from *King Henry IV*, Part ii, Act II, sc. iv]. Inscribed "Roma 71". Pen and wash 10 $\frac{1}{4}$  x 8 $\frac{1}{4}$ . Zurich, Kunsthau, 1940/51. [page 65.]
58. W. SKELTON after James Northcote: "Burying the Royal Children" (*Richard III*). For the Boydell Gallery. [page 65.]



59. F. LEGAT after James Barry: "Lear, with Cordelia dead; Edgar, Albany and Kent, Regan, Goneril, and Edmund, dead". For the Boydell Gallery. [between pages 65-66.]
60. W. SHARPE after Benjamin West: "Lear, Kent, Fool, Edgar, disguised as a Madman, and Gloster, with a Torch". For the Boydell Gallery. [between pages 65-66.]
61. A. SMITH after William Hamilton: [Miranda and Ferdinand, from *The Tempest*], For the Boydell Gallery. [page 66.]
62. J. NEAGLE after Francis Wheatley [The shipwreck of Emilia from *The Comedy of Errors*] For the Boydell Gallery. [page 66.]
63. JAMES GILLRAY: "Shakespeare Sacrificed;— or— The Offering to Avarice" 1789. Etching and aquatint 20 $\frac{1}{4}$  x 15 $\frac{1}{4}$ . [page 67.]
64. I. TAYLOR after Henry Howard: [Timon quits Athens; *Timon of Athens*, Act IV, sc. i]. For the Boydell Gallery. [page 67.]
65. JAMES BARRY "Orpheus Instructing a Savage People in Theology & the Arts of Social Life" 1792. Etching and engraving 16 $\frac{1}{4}$  x 19 $\frac{1}{4}$ , after his own painting in the Great Room of the Society of Arts, London. [page 68.]
66. JOSEPH HIGHMORE "Pamela shows Mr. Williams her hiding place for letters", c. 1745. Oil on canvas 23 $\frac{1}{4}$  x 29 $\frac{1}{4}$ . Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge. [page 76.]
67. "The Vestals attending the Sacred Fire", signed and dated "Da. Allan pinxt. 1772.", Oil on canvas 58 $\frac{1}{4}$  x 68 $\frac{1}{4}$ . Exhibited Royal Academy 1779. Glasgow Art Gallery and Museum. [page 100.]
68. HENRY FUSELI: *The Artist in Despair over the Magnitude of Antique Fragments*, c. 1780. Red chalk and sepia wash 18 $\frac{1}{4}$  x 6 $\frac{1}{4}$ . Zurich Kunsthaus, 1938/668. [page 102.]
69. JOHANN ZOFFANY: [Group portrait of John, Third Duke of Atholl and his family on the banks of the Tay at Dunkeld] 1765-67, exh. Society of Artists 1769 (the landscape by Charles Stewart). Oil on canvas 36 x 63. Private collection, Duke of Atholl, Blair Castle. [page 112.]
70. [The Atholl Family Group] 1780. Oil on canvas 36 x 40. Private collection, Duke of Atholl, Blair Castle. [page 113.]
71. [The Watson Family Group], 1782. Inscribed "D. Allan pxt. 1782. Chas. Watson 1763" on verso of lining. Oil on canvas 40 $\frac{1}{4}$  x 51. Dundee City Art Gallery [page 116.]
72. [Diploma of membership for The Honourable Company of Golfers of Edinburgh], c. 1785. (The vignette c. 2 x 3). [page 116.]
73. ALEXANDER NASMYTH: [Portrait of Dugald Stewart and his family], c. 1790. Private collection. [page 117.]
74. ALEXANDER NASMYTH: [3rd. Earl of Rosebery and his family at Dalmeny House], c. 1790. Private collection. [page 117.]
75. [Breaking the ore at the Earl of Hopetoun's lead mines, Leadhills], c. 1785. Pen & wash 6 $\frac{1}{4}$  x 9 $\frac{1}{4}$ ; private collection. [page 118.]
76. [Breaking ore at Leadhills], c. 1785. Oil on canvas 15 x 22 (part of a set of four). Private collection (JHB). [page 118.]
77. [Celebration held by the Earl of Hopetoun's colliers], c. 1780/85. Pen and wash 11 x 14 $\frac{1}{4}$ . Hopetoun House. [page 119.]
78. [Portrait of David Allan, father of the artist], c. 1760/65. Pen and ink 8 x 6. National Galleries of Scotland, Department of Prints and Drawings. [page 119.]
79. JOHN THOMAS SETON: [William Fullarton of Carstairs and Captain Lewis], 1773. Oil on canvas 29 $\frac{1}{4}$  x 24 $\frac{1}{4}$ . National Galleries of Scotland. [page 120.]
80. [Portrait of Sir James Grant of Grant with his wife], 1780. Oil on canvas 42 x 52, private collection. [between pages 121-122.]
81. [Portrait of Sir William Hamilton with his first wife], dated 1770. Oil on copper 18 x 24. Private collection. [between pp. 121-122.]
82. [Portrait of Sir James Grant; variation on Fig. 80], c. 1785. Oil on canvas 41 $\frac{1}{2}$  x 50, private collection. [between pages 121-122.]
83. [Portrait of Sir James Grant of Grant], c. 1780. Oil on canvas 30 $\frac{1}{2}$  x 25. Private collection (S). [page 122.]
84. ALLAN RAMSAY: [Portrait of David Hume], 1766. Oil on canvas 30 x 25. National Galleries of Scotland. [page 122.]
85. ALLAN RAMSAY: [Portrait of Jean-Jacques Rousseau], 1766. Oil on canvas 29 $\frac{1}{4}$  x 24 $\frac{1}{4}$ . National Galleries of Scotland. [page 122.]
86. [Portrait of Sir William Hamilton], signed and dated 1775. Oil on canvas 89 x 71. The British Museum. [page 123.]
87. ANNE FORBES: [Portrait of David Allan], 1781. Oil on canvas 15 x 12 (formerly in an oval frame). Scottish National Portrait Gallery. [page 123.]
88. [Portrait of James Tassie], c. 1780/81. Oil on canvas 30 x 25. Scottish National Portrait Gallery. [between pages 123-124.]
89. JAMES TASSIE: [Portrait of David Allan], inscribed signature and date, 1781. Paste Medallion 4 x 3 (approx). Scottish National Portrait Gallery. [between pp. 123-124.]
90. "Prize of the Silver Golf, at Edr." 1787. Pen and watercolours over pencil 8 $\frac{1}{4}$  x 6 $\frac{1}{4}$ . National Galleries of Scotland, Department of Prints and Drawings, D 387. [page 124.]
91. [A Ghillie], 1780. Pencil on prepared paper 9 $\frac{1}{4}$  x 6 $\frac{1}{4}$ , the figure 7 $\frac{1}{4}$  high. National Galleries of Scotland, Department of Prints and Drawings, D 4613. [page 125.]
92. [Sketch of a Highland marriage custom], c. 1780. Pen and ink over pencil 4 x 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ . The Mitchell Library, Glasgow, Cowie Collection SR 241, 308864, f. 14 recto. [page 126.]



93. *The Highland Dance*, signed and dated 1783. Etching and aquatint 13 x 20. [page 127.]
  94. [A Highland Dance], c. 1780/90. Pen and watercolours 11½ x 18½. [page 127.]
  95. ANON (?PARKER) after David Allan: [Highland Dancing scene]. Engraving 2 x 3¼, for Joseph Ritson. Published in *Scotish Song* (1794), Volume II. [page 127.]
  96. SIR HENRY RAEBURN: [Portrait of Niel Gow], c. 1790. Oil on canvas 48 x 39. Scottish National Portrait Gallery. [page 127.]
  97. [A Highland Wedding], signed & dated 1793. Pen and watercolours 13½ x 18. Dundee City Art Gallery. [page 128.]
  98. "Highland Family", c. 1780/90. Pen & watercolours over pencil 16½ x 22 (approx.; badly torn). Dunimarle album (f. 52), on loan to the National Galleries of Scotland (Prints & Drawings). [page 137.]
  99. RICHARD COOPER: [Title-page vignette for *The Gentle Shepherd*], 1729 (Sixth edition 1734). Engraving 2¼ x 2¼. [page 150.]
  100. SIR JAMES THORNHILL: [Allegorical representation of Apollo as patron of the Arts and Sciences], c. 1690/1720. Pencil, pen and sepia wash, 5" diameter. With Christie's, London, July, 1988. [page 150.]
  101. PAUL SANDBY: [The Draw well at Broughton], signed and dated 1751. Pen and watercolours 6½ x 9. British Museum, Print Room. [between pages 150-151.]
  102. PAUL SANDBY: [Illustration to *The Gentle Shepherd*], signed and dated 1758. Etching 10¼ x 7¼. [between pages 150-151.]
  103. PAUL SANDBY: [Illustration to *The Gentle Shepherd*], 1758. Etching 10½ x 7¼; part of a set of five. [between pages 150-151.]
  104. ANON.: [Illustration to *The Gentle Shepherd*], 1758. Engraving 5½ x 3¼. The second in a set of five. [page 151.]
  105. TERRY: [Frontispiece to *The Gentle Shepherd*], 1779, for Morison of Perth, reprinted 1780. Engraving 3¼ x 2½. [page 151.]
  106. ANON.: [Illustration to *The Gentle Shepherd*], 1780, for Morison of Perth, reprinted 1781. Engraving 2½ x 1¼. [page 152.]
  107. JOHN BEUGO: [Illustration to *The Gentle Shepherd*], 1788, for Morison of Perth. Engraving, 2½ diameter. [page 152.]
  108. [Illustration to *The Gentle Shepherd*], c. 1787. Watercolour over etched outline, 9¼ x 7¼. National Galleries of Scotland, Prints and Drawings, D 2306. [page 155.]
  109. JAMES STEVENSON: "Monk's Burn and Glaid's House from the South-East" c. 1808. Watercolour 13 x 19. Private coll. [page 160.]
  110. ROBERT SCOTT after Alexander Carse: "The Harbour Craig near the Craigy Bield from the East", c. 1808. Engraving 4½ x 6¼. For Robert Brown's edition of *The Gentle Shepherd*, Edinburgh, 1808. [page 160.]
  111. [Illustration to *The Gentle Shepherd*], 1788, reworked (anonymously) 1796. Etching and aquatint, with subsequent engraving, 9¼ x 7¼ (platenark 10¼ x 7¼). [page 161.]
  112. [A craigy bield near Newhall House, Carllops], 1984. (photograph from the Harlaw Muir, facing north-eastwards). [page 166.]
  113. [Sketch of an ingleneuk and some houses], c. 1786. Pencil on paper 10¼ x 7¼ (approx; verso of Fig. 135). Glasgow University Library, Special Collections. [page 167.]
  114. (After ALLAN RAMSAY): [Portrait of Allan Ramsay senior], signed and dated 1788. Frontispiece to Allan's edition of *The Gentle Shepherd*, Foulis Press, Glasgow, 1788. Etching and aquatint 9¼ x 7 (platenark 10¼ x 8). [page 168.]
- (Figures 115-126 are between pp. 168-169).
115. "Gentle Shepherd Act I Scene I". Plate 1 signed and dated 1788. Etching and aquatint 8½ x 7 (platenark 10½ x 8).
  116. "Gentle Shepherd Act I Scene II". Plate 2 signed and dated 1788. Etching and aquatint 8¼ x 6¼ (platenark 10½ x 8).
  117. "Gentle Shepherd Act II Scene I". Plate 3 signed and dated 1788. Etching and aquatint 9 x 7 (platenark 10¼ x 8).
  118. "Gentle Shepherd Act II Scene III". Pl. 4 signed and dated 1788. Etching and aquatint 8¼ x 7 (platenark 10¼ x 8).
  119. "Gentle Shepherd Act II Scene IV". Plate 5 signed and dated 1788. Etching and aquatint 8¼ x 6¼ (platenark 10¼ 7¼).
  120. "Gentle Shepherd Act III Scene I". Plate 6 signed and dated 1788. Etching and aquatint 9¼ x 7¼ (platenark 10½ x 8).
  121. "Gentle Shepherd Act 3 Scene 3". Plate 7 signed and dated 1788. Etching and aquatint 9 x 7¼ (platenark 10½ x 8).
  122. "Gentle Shepherd Act 4 Scene 1". Plate 8 signed and dated 1788. Etching and aquatint 9¼ x 7 (platenark 10¼ x 7¼).
  123. "Gentle Shepherd Act IV Scene II". Plate 9 signed and dated 1788. Etching and aquatint 9¼ x 7¼ (platenark 10½ x 8).
  124. "Gentle Shepherd Act V Scene I". Plate 10 signed and dated 1788. Etching and aquatint 9¼ x 7¼ (platenark 10½ 7¼).
  125. "Gentle Shepherd Act V Scene II". Plate 11 signed and dated 1788. Etching and aquatint 9¼ x 7¼ (platenark 10¼ 7¼).
  126. "Gentle Shepherd Act V Scene III". Plate 12 signed and dated 1788. Etching and aquatint 9 x 7¼ (platenark 10¼ 7¼).
  127. [Sir William, Symon and Bauldy]. Pencil on paper 10½ x 8. Study for Plate 10 (Fig. 124). Glasgow University Library, Special Collections, Wylie Collection. [page 171.]



128. [Glaud and Symon], c. 1786/88 Watercolours over pencil on paper  $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$ . Yale Center for British Art, New Haven. [page 173.]
129. ANON: "Auld Roudes! Filthy fallow I shall auld ye"/ "and what wad Roger say, if he coud speak", c. 1800. Engravings  $4\frac{1}{4} \times 2\frac{1}{2}$  and  $2\frac{1}{4} \times 2$ . Edition of *The Gentle Shepherd* published by James Steell, Glasgow, its frontispiece and title-page derived from Allan's edition, Plates VIII and VII (Figures 122 and 121). [page 173.]
130. [Patie], Pencil on paper  $10\frac{1}{4} \times 7\frac{1}{4}$ . Study for Plate 6 (Fig. 120). Glasgow University Library, Special Collections, Wylie Collection, 1138-1921 Bh. 14-x.13. [page 176.]
131. [Peggy and Jenny]. Pencil on paper  $10\frac{1}{4} \times 8\frac{1}{4}$ . Study for Plate 11 (Figure 125). Glasgow University Library, Special Collections, Wylie Collection. [page 177.]
132. [Peggy, Patie, Sir William and Symon]. Pencil on paper  $10 \times 8$  (approx; verso of Fig. 140). Study for Plate 12 (Fig. 126). Glasgow University Library, Special Collections, Wylie Collection. [page 178.]
133. [Glaud and two other characters]. Pencil on paper  $10\frac{1}{4} \times 8\frac{1}{4}$  (approx; verso of Figure 131). Study for Plate 12 (Figure 126). Glasgow University Library, Special Collections, Wylie Collection. [page 178.]
134. [Glaud and Symon]. Pencil on paper  $11\frac{1}{2} \times 8$ . Study for Plate 3 (Figure 117). Glasgow University Library, Special Collections, Wylie Collection. [page 179.]
135. [Symon]. Pencil on prepared paper  $10\frac{1}{4} \times 7\frac{1}{2}$ . Study for Plate 3 (Figure 117). Glasgow University Library, Special Collections, Wylie Collection. [page 179.]
136. ROBERT SCOTT after "J. B." (?John Burnet): [Glaud and Symon], c. 1804. Engraving  $3\frac{1}{4} \times 2\frac{1}{2}$ , with a decorative frame and two lines of verse. In editions of *The Gentle Shepherd* published by Oliver and Boyd of Edinburgh. [page 180.]
137. ANON: [Patie & Roger, and Patie & Peggy] c. 1810. Engravings  $3\frac{1}{4} \times 2\frac{1}{4}$  and  $2\frac{1}{4} \times 2\frac{1}{4}$ . Edition of *The Gentle Shepherd* published by Oliver and Boyd of Edinburgh, its title-page vignette derived from Ritson's *Scottish Song*, London 1794. [page 180.]
138. ROBERT SCOTT after David Allan: "Auld Roudes: filthy fallow I shall auld ye", [Mause, Madge and Bauldy], c. 1804. Engraving  $3\frac{1}{4} \times 2\frac{1}{2}$ , with a decorative frame and a line of verse. In editions of *The Gentle Shepherd* published by Oliver and Boyd of Edinburgh. [page 180.]
139. [Roger and Jenny]. Pencil on paper  $10\frac{1}{2} \times 8\frac{1}{4}$ . Study for Plate 7 (Figure 121). Glasgow University Library, Special Collections. [between pages 180-81.]
140. [Roger]. Pencil on paper  $10 \times 8$ . Study for Plate 7 (Figure 121). Glasgow University Library, Special Collections, Wylie Collection. [between pages 180-81.]
141. [Patie and Roger, and a drapery study]. Pencil on prepared paper  $7\frac{1}{4} \times 10\frac{1}{4}$ . Study for Plate 1 (Fig. 115) National Galleries of Scotland Department of Prints and Drawings (D.4614). [between pages 180-81.]
142. [Patie]. Pencil on paper  $13\frac{1}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$ . Study for Plate 1 (Figure 115). Glasgow University Library, Special Collections, Wylie Collection. [page 181.]
143. [Patie]. Pencil on paper  $9\frac{1}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{4}$ . Study for Plate 1 (Figure 115). Glasgow University Library Special Collections, Wylie Collection. [page 181.]
144. [Patie and Peggy]. Pencil on paper  $10\frac{1}{4} \times 7\frac{1}{2}$ . Study for Plates 5 and 9 (Figures 119 and 123). Glasgow University Library, Special Collections. [between pages 182-83.]
145. [Patie and Peggy]. Pencil on paper  $10\frac{1}{4} \times 7\frac{1}{4}$ . Study for Plates 5 and 9 (Figures 119 and 123). Glasgow University Library Special Collections. [between pages 182-83.]
146. [Patie and Peggy]. Pencil on paper  $10\frac{1}{4} \times 7\frac{1}{2}$ . Study for Plates 5 and 9 (Figures 119 and 123). Glasgow University Library Special Collections. [page 183.]
147. ANON (?Parker) after David Allan; 1790s, the original drawing c. 1788. Engraving  $2\frac{1}{4} \times 2\frac{1}{4}$ , vignette in Ritson's *Scottish Song*, London, 1794. [page 184.]
148. [Patie and Peggy]. Pencil and red chalk on paper  $10\frac{1}{4} \times 8\frac{1}{2}$ . Study for Plate 9 (Fig. 123). Glasgow University Library, Special Collections, Wylie Collection. [page 185.]
149. "The Silken Snooded Lassie", c. 1790/96. Pen and wash  $5\frac{1}{4} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$  (oval). National Galleries of Scotland Department of Prints and Drawings (D.4493). [page 186.]
150. "The childe of Elle", c. 1790/96. Pen and wash over pencil  $3\frac{1}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{4}$  (oval). Royal Scottish Academy. [page 186.]
151. ANON ?after Nikias; [Perseus liberating Andromeda]. Museo Nazionale, Naples; wall-painting from Pompeii. [page 187.]
152. JEAN-BAPTISTE GREUZE: "L'Accordée du Village". Oil on canvas  $35\frac{1}{2} \times 46\frac{1}{2}$ . Musée du Louvre, Paris. [page 191.]
153. SIR ROBERT STRANGE after Isaac Oliver: "Mary, Queen of Scots." Circular Engraving published in Tobias Smollett's *History of England*, 1757. [page 199.]
154. HOUBRAKEN after Isaac Oliver and Bernard Picart: "Mary, Queen of Scots". Engraving, with decorative frame and vignette, the whole  $8 \times 5$ . Published in Thomas Birch's *The Heads of Illustrious Persons*, (1738; two vols. in one, 1743). [page 199.]



155. JOHN OPIE: "The assassination of David Riccio", *exh.* Royal Academy, 1787, British Institution, 1817. Oil on canvas 94½ x 113½ (cut down from 107 x 144). Guildhall Art Gallery, City of London. [page 200.]
156. ANTONIO ZECCHIN after J. F. Rigaud: "Marie Reine D'Ecosse dans son Oratoire", c. 1793. Original picture *exh.* Royal Academy, 1792. Stipple engraving 7½ x 9½ [page 200.]
157. GAVIN HAMILTON: "Mary Queen of Scots resigning her crown", 1765-73, *exh.* Royal Academy, 1776. Oil on canvas 69 x 63½ (cut down on both sides). Hunterian Art Gallery, University of Glasgow. [page 201.]
158. ALEXANDER RUNCIMAN: ["Mary Queen of Scots signing the papers in Loch Leven Castle by which she resigned the crown"], 1782. Sketch for the painting *exh.* Royal Academy, 1782. Pen & wash 7½ x 9½. National Galleries of Scotland, Department of Prints and Drawings, D 316 (inscribed "Rinv."). [page 202.]
159. ALEXANDER RUNCIMAN: "death of Oscar", 1772. Pen and wash over pencil 13½ x 19½. National Galleries of Scotland, Department of Prints and Drawings, D 316 (inscribed "Runciman inv;" and "4 feet high 5 feet wide", the dimensions of the painting at Penicuik House). [page 202.]
160. "L<sup>d</sup> Darnley." c. 1789. Pen over pencil on paper 9½ x 5½, the figure 6 high. Scottish National Portrait Gallery, PG 2461, SPD 621 (inscribed with details of features, costume, and location in Holyrood house). [page 205.]
161. "Q. Mary at Alloa", c. 1789. Pen over pencil on paper 9½ x 5½, the pencil frame 4 x 3 *approx.* Scottish National Portrait Gallery PG 2461, SPD 623 (inscribed with details of costume & location). [page 206.]
162. R. SHEPPARD after Isaac Oliver: "Mary Queen of Scots". Engraving from a miniature in the Mead collection. [page 206.]
163. ANON.: *The Morton portrait of Mary, Queen of Scots*. Oil on canvas 46 x 29. Glasgow Art Gallery and Museum. [page 206.]
164. "Q. Mary Arrives at Leith & Conducted to Holyrood house", c. 1789/90. Pen and wash over pencil 7½ x 10½. National Galleries of Scotland, Department of Prints and Drawings (D4597). [page 207.]
165. "Queen Mary Forces the Castle of Inverness to Surrender", c. 1789/90. Pen and wash over pencil 5½ x 9½. National Galleries of Scotland, Department of Prints and Drawings (D4593). [page 209.]
166. [John Knox before the Privy Council, 1563] c. 1789/90. Pen & wash over pencil 6½ x 8½ (trimmed; cancelled with red chalk). National Galleries of Scotland, Department of Prints and Drawings (D4612) [page 211.]
167. "John Knox, called before the Privy council and acquitted, but advises the Queen to Purge her hart frae Papistrie", c. 1789/90. Pen & wash over pencil 8½ x 15½ (sheet 10½ x 15½, inscribed with a reference to "Knoxes History of Reformation" and a numbered key). Duninvarle Album, f. 25, on loan to the National Gallery of Scotland, Prints and Drawings. [page 212.]
168. JOHN SINGLETON COPLEY: "Charles I demanding in the House of Commons the five impeached members", 1782-95, *exh.* Spring Gardens, 1795, British Institution, 1807. Oil on canvas 92 x 123. Public Library, Boston, Massachusetts. [page 213.]
169. "Rizzio Forced from Q. Marys presence by L<sup>d</sup> Ruthven and Barbarously Murdred", c. 1789/90. Pen and wash over pencil 7½ x 9. National Galleries of Scotland Department of Prints & Drawings (D4591). [page 214.]
170. "Death of David Rizzio" / "The Assassination of David Rizzio", c. 1790. Oil on canvas (?48 x 60); ?*exh.* Society of Artists 1791. With Robinson and Fisher 1925; photograph Witt Archive. [page 215.]
171. "Queen Mary Surrenders at Pinkie & carried to Edinbr.", c. 1789/90. Pen and wash over pencil 5½ x 8. National Galleries of Scotland, Department of Prints and Drawings (D4592). [page 216.]
172. "Queen Mary's Resignation of the Crown", signed and dated on *verso*, 1791. Oil on wood 18 x 24; ?*exh.* Society of Artists 1791. Sold in Edinburgh, 1797. Private Collection (WS). [page 218.]
173. "Lord Ruthven and Lindsay force Q. Mary to resign the Government", 1789. Pen and wash over pencil 6½ x 8. National Galleries of Scotland, Department of Prints and Drawings (D4596). [page 219.]
174. "Q Marys Escape from Lochleven Castle", 1789. Pen and wash 7½ x 11½. National Galleries of Scotland, Department of Prints and Drawings (D4594). [page 221.]
175. ["Beale reading to Queen Mary the Warrant for her Execution"], c. 1789/90. Pen and wash over pencil 5½ x 8½. National Galleries of Scotland, Department of Prints and Drawings (D4598). [page 223.]
176. T. RANSON after Thomas Stothard, from a drawing by David Allan; "Ettrick Banks", 1823, the original drawing c. 1794 (Figs. 206 and 224). Engraving 3½ x 5½, published in Thomson's *Select Collection*, 8vo. edn., Vol. VI (1825). [page 239.]
177. ANON. (?Parker) after David Allan; [shepherd], 1794, the original drawing c. 1788 (Fig. 181). Engraving 2½ x 3½. [Title-page vignette for Ritson's *Scottish Song*, London (1794). [page 239.]



178. "Tail piece IV" and "Head piece V "; [ A Highland Dance I and "Killikranksy 1689", c.1788. Pen and wash over pencil 4½ x 9, 6 x 9 (approx), the lower drawing inscribed with a reference to Granger's *Biographical History*. The Mitchell Library, Glasgow: Cowie Collection SR 241 308864 ( "Baby Allan her Book Dalmeny June 29 1801" ), f. 9 verso. [page 240.]
179. [ Scene from *Trathal* ], c.1780. Pen and wash over pencil 5½ x 7 (image; the paper 5½ x 7½). The Mitchell Library, Glasgow: Cowie Collection SR 243 308888, *A Collection of Ancient Poems, Translated from the Gaelic*, - "of Ullin, Ossian, Orran &c By John Smith, Minister at Kilbrandon, Argyle-shire, 1780" ("No 7"). [between pp. 243-44.]
180. "The Bush aboon Traquair" & "Sae merry as we have been", c.1794. Pen and wash, each oval 5 x 6½, the additional figure - pen outline - 4 long (approx). Inscribed with lines of verse and two page references to Ritson's *Scottish Song*, 1794. The Mitchell Library, Glasgow: Cowie Collection, SR 241 308864 ("Baby Allan her Book Dalmeny June 29 1801"), f. 1 verso. [between pp. 243-44.]
181. "No. I", "headpiece · II", "No. III" and a sketch of a cottage; [shepherd playing a stock and horn], [shepherd and milkmaid] and "Gaberlunzieman", c. 1788. Pen and wash over pencil 4 x 4, 4 x 4 and 5 x 6½, the cottage 2½ long (approx.). The Mitchell Library, Glasgow: Cowie Collection SR 241 308864 ("Baby Allan her Book Dalmeny June 29 1801"), f. 17 recto. [p. 244.]
182. "Battle of Preston-pans 1745", and "Johnny Coup", c. 1790/96. Pen and watercolours over pencil 5 x 6½ (each oval). The Mitchell Library, Glasgow: Cowie Collection SR 241 308864 ( "Baby Allan her Book Dalmeny June 29 1801" ), f. 21, recto. [between pages 245-46.]
183. "Air Cillicrankie" [Illustration to the song "Tranent Muir", by Adam Skirven] c. 1795/96. Etching 3¼ x 5 (oval; platemark 4¼ x 6¼). Inscribed with four lines of verse and "D. Allan del: et fecit". Published in Alexander Campbell's *An Introduction to the History of Poetry in Scotland*, Edinburgh, 1798 (facing page 188, Class Third, Sang Seventh). [between pages 245-46.]
184. "Air Johnny Cope *Fy to the Hills in the Morning*", c.1795/96. Etching 3¼ x 5 (oval; trimmed). Inscribed with four lines of verse. Proof, never published; Edinburgh Central Library, Scottish Room, RBR X PR 8510, a grangerised copy of Campbell's *An Introduction to the History of Poetry in Scotland*, 1798. [between pp. 245-46.]
185. "Hardy-knute", "King of Norse falls" and "Battle of Otterburn", c.1788. The first two pen & wash 4 x 6, 4 x 5 respectively, the last pen & wash over pencil 4 x 3½. Inscribed verses and two page references to Herd's *Ancient and Modern Scottish Songs, Heroic Ballads &c*, (1776) printed by John Wotherspoon. The Mitchell Library, Glasgow: Cowie Collection SR 241 308864 ("Baby Allan her Book Dalmeny June 29 1801"), f. 18 recto. [between pp. 247-48.]
186. "Hardyknute", c.1788. Three pictures from Lady Wardlaw's ballad; top, pen and wash over pencil 3 x 4½; centre, pen and wash over pencil 4 x 2½; bottom, pen and wash 3 x 2. Inscribed with many lines of verse, one page reference to Herd's *Ancient and Modern Scottish Songs, Heroic Ballads &c* and "Alexander King of Scots" Hawquin king of Norway- 1263". The Mitchell Library, Glasgow: Cowie Collection SR 241 308864 ("Baby Allan her Book Dalmeny June 29 1801"), f. 8 verso. [between pp. 247-48.]
187. "Lord Thomas & fair Annet", "Cruel Knight", "Gill Morice" and "Patie", c. 1788: pen and wash over pencil 3 x 3½ and 2 x 1½; pen and wash 3 x 4; pen and wash over pencil 4 x 4½; pen and wash over pencil 4½ x 4. Inscribed verses & three page references to Herd's *Ancient and Modern Scottish Songs, Heroic Ballads &c*, (1776) printed by John Wotherspoon; some writing in red crayon. The Mitchell Library, Glasgow: Cowie Collection SR 241 308864 ( "Baby Allan her Book Dalmeny June 29 1801" ) f. 8, recto. [page 248.]
188. "The Bush aboon Traquire", c.1795/96 (the original sketch c.1794, Fig 180). Pen outline over pencil 6 x 3½, the sheet 4½ x 7½ Royal Scottish Academy. [page 249.]
189. J.M. DELATTRE after Angelica Kauffmann: "Moulines", 1782 [Illustration to Sterne's *A Sentimental Journey*]. Stipple engraving 14¼ x 11¼. [between pages 249-50.]
190. GRIGNION after Wheatley: "Love in a Village", 1791. Engraving 6½ x 4½, decorative frame. [between pages 249-50.]
191. ANON: "Robin Hood and Little John", 1791 Engraving 2½ x 4. Published by C. Sheppard, London, 1791. The Bodleian Library, Oxford, Douce FF 71. [between pages 249-50.]
192. ANON: "Robin Hood and the Tanner", 1791. Engraving 2½ x 4. Published by C. Sheppard, London, 1791. The Bodleian Library, Oxford, Douce FF 71. [between pages 249-50.]
193. D.B. PYET after Walter Weir: "The Bonny Lass of Branksome" 1790. Engraving 5 x 3, decorative frame (2½ diameter). Published by Morison of Perth, 1790. [page 250.]



194. Title-page, with anonymous *vignette*, of *The Scots Musical Museum*, Volume I, Edinburgh, 1787. 12<sup>mo</sup> in half-sheets, engraved throughout (*preface* - "To the True Lovers of Caledonian Music and Song" - by James Johnson, dated May 22, 1787). [page 250.]
195. ANON: [Portrait of a Scottish Clergyman or Divine], c. 1800. Engraving 2 x 2, reproduced in a number of chapbooks published in Glasgow. [between pages 250-51.]
196. ANON after Rubens: "Daniel cast into the den of lions", c. 1800. Woodcut 1½ x 2, often reproduced in cheap, illustrated Bibles and tracts. [between pages 250-51.]
197. ANON: [Portrait of Henry II of England], early nineteenth century. Engraving 1½ x 1½. [between pages 250-51.]
198. ANON: "Moll of the Wood". Broadside ballad "slip", 12¼ x 3¼ (approx; trimmed). Late eighteenth century. [page 251.]
199. J. M. WRIGHT after J. Rogers: "Highland Mary", c. 1835. Steel engraving 5¼ x 4¼, seemingly influenced by Allan's work (cf. Figures 206 & 230). From *The Complete Works of Robert Burns*, 2 vols., ed. Allan Cunningham, Edinburgh [n.d.]. [page 251.]
200. Title-page, with anonymous *vignette*, of *Ancient and Modern Scottish Songs, Heroic Ballads, etc.*, collected by David Herd and published in Edinburgh, 1776. [page 251.]
201. W. H. BUNBURY: "Auld Robin Gray", 1783. Stipple engraving 4½ x 5½ (oval), inscribed "W. H. Bunbury Esq<sup>r</sup> Delint<sup>r</sup>". Publ. Dickinson, London. [between pp. 251-52.]
202. W H BUNBURY "Lady Ann Bothwell's Lament" 1784. Stipple engraving 4½ x 5½ (oval), inscribed "W. H. Bunbury Esq<sup>r</sup> Delint<sup>r</sup>". Publ. Dickinson, London. [between pp. 251-52.]
203. "Lady Anne Bothwell's lament", c. 1790/96. Pen & wash over pencil 3¼ x 5½ (oval). Royal Scottish Academy. [between pp. 251-52.]
204. JOHN BEUGO after Walter Weir: "Lochaber no more" (Ramsay), 1790. Engraving 4¼ x 2¼, decorative frame (2¼ diameter). Published by Morison of Perth. [page 252.]
205. "Air Andro and his Cutty Gun", c. 1795/96. Etching 3¼ x 5 (oval; trimmed). Inscribed with four lines of verse. Proof, never published. Edinburgh Central Library, Scottish Room RBR X PR 8510, a grangerised copy of Campbell's *An Introduction to the History of Poetry in Scotland*, Edinburgh, 1798, facing page 40. [page 252.]
206. "The last time I came oer the Muir" (Ramsay), and "Etrick banks", c. 1794/96. Pen & wash over pencil 5 x 6½ (each oval). Inscribed with verses and a page reference to Ritson's *Scottish Song* (1794). Mitchell Library, Glasgow; Cowie Collection SR 241 308864 ("Baby Allan her Book Dalmeny June 29 1801"), f. 24 *recto*. [between pp. 252-53.]
207. ["Hooly and Fairly"/"The Drucken Wife o' Gallowa"], c. 1795/96. Etching 3½ x 5 (oval). Inscribed: four lines of verse, "Designed & Etch'd by D. Allan", and "Published as the Act directs by G. Thomson Edinburgh 1822". Publ. in Thomson's *Select Collection*, Vol. IV, 1822-3. [between pp. 252-53.]
208. [The Gaberlunzie man], c. 1788. Black and white chalk on prepared paper 11 x 16½. British Museum, Print Room 1972 u521 ?Sold in Edinburgh 1797. [between pp. 252-53.]
209. "The Gaberlunzie man", c. 1795/96. Etching 3¼ x 5 (oval; trimmed). Proof, never published. Edinburgh Central Library, Scottish Room RBR X PR 8510, a grangerised copy of Campbell's *An Introduction to the History of Poetry in Scotland*, Edinburgh, 1798, facing page 1. [page 253.]
210. "The Gaberlunzie man", c. 1790/96. Water-colours 8½ x 10 (oval; framed). Royal Scottish Academy. [page 253.]
211. "Sir Patrick Spence", c. 1794/96 (later version of Figure 215). Pen and wash over pencil 3¼ x 5½ (oval). Royal Scottish Academy. [page 254.]
212. "Air Sheriff - Muir" c. 1795/96. Etching 3¼ x 4- (oval; platemark 4¼ x 6¼). Inscribed with "D. Allan del<sup>t</sup> et fecit" and three lines of verse. Published in Campbell's *An Introduction to the History of Poetry in Scotland*, 1798. [page 254.]
213. Title-page of *The Scots Musical Museum*, Vol. I, published by James Johnson, Edinburgh [n.d.], c. 1803-1810. [page 257.]
214. Words and music of "The Humil Beggar", from *The Scots Musical Museum*, Volume V, pp. 435-36, No. 423. [page 260.]
215. "Sir Patrick Spence" & Johnie Armstrang", c. 1794/96. Pen & wash 5 x 6½ (each oval). Inscribed with verses and a reference to Ritson's *Scottish Song*. The Mitchell Library, Glasgow; Cowie Collection SR 241 No. 308864 ("Baby Allan her Book Dalmeny June 29 1801"), f. 20 *recto*. [page 262.]
216. "Killiacranky 1689" and "Sherrif Muir", c. 1790/96. Pen & wash 5 x 6½ (each oval). Inscribed with a quotation from Granger's *Biographical History* and (foot of page, pencil) three lines of verse. The Mitchell Library, Glasgow; Cowie Collection SR 241 No. 308864 ("Baby Allan her Book Dalmeny June 29 1801"), f. 5 *v*. [between pp. 263-64.]
217. ANON, (?Parker) after David Allan: [The death of Viscount Dundee at the battle of Killiacrankie, 1689], 1794. Engraving 1½ x 3¼. Published in Ritson's *Scottish Song*, Vol. II, p. 1. [between pp. 263-64.]
218. "Cope went along to Haddington" ["Johnnie Cope"], c. 1790/96. Pen & wash over pencil 3¼ x 5½ (oval; later version of Fig. 182). Royal Scottish Academy. [page 264.]



219. "K. Robert the Bruce", c. 1795/96, the original drawing (RSA) probably late 1793 or early 1794, Etching  $3\frac{1}{4} \times 4\frac{1}{2}$  (platemark  $4\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{4}$ ). Inscribed with "D. Allan del: et fecit" and two lines of verse (Burns, altered at Thomson's suggestion). Published in Campbell's *An Introduction to the History of Poetry in Scotland*, Edinburgh, 1798, between pp. 220-21. [page 264.]
220. JOHN HAMILTON: "A knight or man at arms", 1785, Etching  $8\frac{1}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{4}$  (platemark  $9 \times 5\frac{1}{4}$ ); from Captain Francis Grose, *A Treatise on Ancient Armour and Weapons, Illustrated by Plates taken from the Original Armour*, London, 1786, Plate XXXVI. [page 265.]
221. GEORGE JAMESONE: "Robertvs Brvsivs Anno 1306", c. 1633, signed. Oil on canvas  $27\frac{1}{4} \times 23\frac{1}{2}$ . Unlocated; at Newbattle Abbey College from c. 1720. [page 265.]
222. "Childe Morrice", c. 1790/96 (later version of Fig. 187). Pen and wash over pencil  $3\frac{1}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{4}$ . Royal Scottish Academy. [page 268.]
223. "Gilderoy", c. 1790/96. Pen and wash over pencil  $3\frac{1}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{4}$ . Royal Scottish Academy. [page 269.]
224. "Ettrick Banks", c. 1794/96 (later version of "Etrick banks", Figure 206). Pen and wash over pencil  $3\frac{1}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{4}$ , with border  $4\frac{1}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{4}$ . Royal Scottish Academy. [page 269.]
225. "King James & Johnie Armstrong", c. 1794/96. (later version of "Johnie Armstrong", Figure 215). Pen and wash over pencil  $3\frac{1}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{4}$ . Royal Scottish Academy. [page 270.]
226. "Bessy Bell & Mary Gray", c. 1790/96. Pen and wash over pencil  $3\frac{1}{4} \times 4\frac{1}{2}$ . Royal Scottish Academy. [page 272.]
227. ["Bessy Bell and Mary Gray" (by Ramsay)] c. 1790/96. Pen & wash over pencil  $3\frac{1}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{4}$  with border  $4\frac{1}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{4}$ . National Library of Scotland, MS 15953 (Cowie), f. 33. [p. 272.]
228. "The Yellow-Haird Ladie" and "I'll never Leave thee" (Ramsay), c. 1790/96. Pen and wash over pencil  $5 \times 6\frac{1}{2}$  (each oval). Inscribed with verses, page references to Morison's volumes (1790) and, listed in pencil, the titles of seven ballads. The Mitchell Library, Glasgow, Cowie Collection, SR 241 308864 ("Baby Allan her Book Dalmeny June 29 1801"), f. 5 recto [page 273.]
229. "Will ye go to the ewe bughts Marion", c. 1790/96. Pen and wash over pencil  $3\frac{1}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{4}$ . Royal Scottish Academy. [page 274.]
230. "Ye banks and braes", c. 1794/96 (later version of Figure 206). Pen and wash over pencil  $3\frac{1}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{4}$ , with border  $4\frac{1}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{4}$ , and with words from "Highland Mary" by Burns (1792) inscribed by Thomson. Royal Scottish Academy. [page 274.]
231. "Air— Maggie Lauther—", c. 1794. Pen and wash over pencil  $3\frac{1}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{4}$ . Title in Allan's hand. Royal Scottish Academy. [page 274.]
232. "Laird & Edinburgh Kate, the young", c. 1795/96. Etching  $3\frac{1}{4} \times 5$  (platemark  $4\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{4}$ ). Proof; published as a title-page vignette in some copies of Thomson's *Select Collection*. National Library of Scotland, NLS 6.670, a folder of fifteen "Etchings from Scottish Songs By D. Allan for G. Thomson" (MS. title on blue paper cover, the last three words written in a different ink with a finer pen). [page 275.]
233. "I wadna gie my ain pint stoup for a the Quins in bogie", c. 1790/96. Pen and wash  $5 \times 7$  (oval), words (from an otherwise unknown variant of "Cauld kale in Aberdeen") in Allan's hand. National Galleries of Scotland, Department of Prints and Drawings, D. 4494. [between pages 275-76.]
234. ["The brisk young Lad"], c. 1790/96. Pen and wash over pencil  $3\frac{1}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{4}$ . Royal Scottish Academy. [between pages 275-76.]
235. "Muirland Willie", c. 1790/96. Pen and wash over pencil  $3\frac{1}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{4}$ . Royal Scottish Academy. [between pages 275-76.]
236. "Maggies Tocher", c. 1791/96. Pen outline over pencil  $5 \times 7$  (in a rudimentary oval border). Inscribed with four lines of verse and a page reference to Herd's 1791 collection, published by Lawrie and Symington, Edinburgh. The Mitchell Library, Glasgow: Cowie Collection, SR 241 308864 ("Baby Allan her Book Dalmeny June 29 1801") f. 13, recto. [page 276.]
237. "Woo'd and married and a'", c. 1795/96. Etching  $3\frac{1}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{4}$ . Inscribed: four lines of verse, "Designed & Etch'd by D Allan" and "Published as the Act directs by G. Thomson Edinburgh 1822". From Thomson's *Select Collection*, 1822-3. [page 277.]
238. "Woo'd & married & a'", c. 1790/96. Pen and wash over pencil  $3\frac{1}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{4}$ . Royal Scottish Academy. [page 277.]
239. "Jenny said to Jocky", c. 1790/96. Pen and wash over pencil  $3\frac{1}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{4}$ , with border  $4\frac{1}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{4}$ . National Library of Scotland, MS. 15953 (Cowie), f. 36. [page 278.]
240. "The Lass of Patie's Mill" (Ramsay) & "The Broom of Cowden-Knows" ("S.R."), c. 1794/96. Pen and wash over pencil  $5 \times 6\frac{1}{2}$  (each oval). Inscribed with lines of verse and page references to Ritson's *Scottish Song* (1794). The Mitchell Library, Glasgow: Cowie Collection, SR 241 308864 ("Baby Allan her Book Dalmeny June 29 1801") f. 15 verso. [between pages 279-80.]
241. [Scottish shepherd playing a stock and horn], c. 1790/96. (A later version of Fig. 181; perhaps adapted to illustrate a song by Burns, its first words "Yon wild mossy mountains", 1787). Pen & wash over pencil  $3\frac{1}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{4}$ , with border  $4\frac{1}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{4}$ . Royal Scottish Academy. [between pages 279-80.]



242. "Air The Bagrie O't", c.1795/96. Etching 3½ x 5 (oval; trimmed). Published as "Contented wi' little" (Burns), in Thomson's *A Select Collection of Original Scottish Airs*, 1823; from a grangerised copy of Campbell's *An Introduction to the History of Poetry in Scotland*, Edinburgh, 1798. Edinburgh Central Library Scottish Room, RBR X PR 8501). [page 280.]
243. "Auld Robin Gray", (Lady Anne Lindsay), c.1790/96. Pen & wash over pencil 3½ x 5½ (oval). Royal Scottish Academy. [p.280.]
244. "Air- — Low Down in the Broom", c.1790/96. Pen & wash over pencil 3½ x 5½ (oval), the title and four lines of verse in Allan's hand, Royal Scottish Academy. [page 281.]
245. ["John Anderson my Jo" (Burns)], c.1790/96. Pen & wash over pencil 4½ x 5½ (oval), with lines of verse and a page reference to Johnson's *The Scots Musical Museum*, Volume III (1790), in Allan's hand. The Mitchell Library, Glasgow, Cowie Collection, SR 241 No. 308864 ("Baby Allan her Book Dalmeny June 29 1801"), f. 10 recto. [page 281.]
246. ["John Anderson my Jo"], c. 1790/96. Pen and wash over pencil 3½ x 5½ (oval). Royal Scottish Academy. [page 282.]
247. PATON THOMSON after David Allan: "John Anderson my Jo", 1799, Engraving 5½ x 7½ (oval). Inscribed: "Designed by D. Allan", "Engraved by Paton Thomson", two lines of verse and "Published as the Act directs March 1799, by T. Preston Strand, London, & by the Proprietor G. Thomson Edinburgh", Frontispiece to Thomson's *A Select Collection of Original Scottish Airs for the Voice*, Volume II (first set), 1799 (first edition). [page 282.]
248. J. M. WRIGHT after S. Smith ["John Anderson my Jo"], c.1835. Steel Engraving 5½ x 4½, influenced by Allan's illustration. Inscribed with four lines of verse. From *The Complete Works of Robert Burns* 2 vols., ed. Cunningham, Edinburgh [n.d.] [page 282.]
249. T. RANSON after Thomas Stothard: ["Waly, waly"], 1823. Engraving 3½ x 4½. Inscribed "Stothard del:" "Ranson sculp:", lines of verse and "Pubd as the act directs by G. Thomson Edinburgh 1823". Frontispiece to Thomson's *Select Collection*, Vol. V (1823; first octavo edition). Apparently based on a drawing by David Allan (lost; original sketch, c.1790, Cowie Collection, The Mitchell Library, Glasgow: SR 241 308864, f. 10 recto). [page 283.]
250. [Illustration to "Scotch Song—" (Burns, 1795); first line "Now Spring has clad the grove in green"], c.1795/96. Pen and wash 3½ x 5½ (oval). Royal Scottish Academy. [page 283.]
251. *A Select Collection of Original Scottish Airs With Introductory & Concluding Symphonies & Accompaniments ... with Select verses adapted to the Airs...*, Title Page of Volume V, first folio edition (1818), with vignette by T. RANSON after Allan (cf. Figure 188, p. 249). Engraving 3½ x 5½. Inscribed with lines from "The Bush aboon Traquair" (?William Crawford), "D. Allan inv." and "Ransom sculp". [page 284.]
252. "Barbra Allan" (five sketches), c. 1788. Top left: pencil (very faint) 3 x 3½. Top right: pen and wash over pencil 3 x 3½. Centre: pen outline over pencil 4 x 3½, and 3 x 2½. Bottom: pen and wash over pencil 3 x 4. Inscribed with several lines of verse, "tail piece VIII" and a reference to Herd's *Ancient and Modern Scottish Songs, Heroic Ballads &c.*, (1776). For Ritson's *Scottish Song*, London, 1794. The Mitchell Library, Glasgow, Cowie Collection SR 241 No. 308864 ("Baby Allan her Book Dalmeny June 29 1801"), f. 17 verso (f. 17 recto is reproduced as Figure 181, between pages 243-44). [between pages 284-85.]
253. "Barbara Allan", c. 1790/96. Pen and wash over pencil 3½ x 5½ (oval). Royal Scottish Academy. [between pages 284-85.]
254. "Air Bonny Barbara Allan", c. 1795/96. Etching & aquatint 3½ x 4½ (oval; plate-mark 4½ x 7). Inscribed with two lines of verse and "D. Allan del: et fecit". Published in Campbell's *An Introduction to the History of Poetry in Scotland*, Edinburgh, 1798. [between pages 284-85.]
255. ["My Jo Janet"], c.1790/96. Pen and wash over pencil 3½ x 5½ (oval). Royal Scottish Academy. [page 285.]
256. ["Tak yourauld cloak about ye"], c.1795/96. Etching 3½ x 4½ (oval). Inscribed with four lines of verse, "Designed & Etch'd by D. Allan" and "Published as the Act directs, by G. Thomson Edinburgh 1822": from Thomson's *A Select Collection of Original Scottish Airs*, 1822-23 (first octavo edition). [page 285.]
257. ["The Lass of Patie's Mill" (Ramsay) ], c.1794/96 (a later version of Figure 240, between pages 279-80). Pen and wash over pencil 3½ x 5½ (oval). Royal Scottish Academy. [page 287.]
258. Words and music of "The Lass of Peaty's Mill" (Ramsay, the music attributed to "David Rezzio" by William Thomson in *Orpheus Caledonius*, I, 1725, and to "David Rizo" by James Oswald in *The Caledonian Pocket Companion*, 12 parts, 1745-1759). From Johnson's *The Scots Musical Museum* (12<sup>mo</sup> in half-sheets, engraved throughout, 8½ x 5½ approx.), Volume I, 1787, page 21, No. 20. [page 287.]



259. Words and music of "Maggy Lauder" (verses attributed to Francis Semple of Beltrees by William Stenhouse in *Illustrations of the Lyric Poetry and Music of Scotland*, 1839 "on the joint authorities of two of his descendants"). Johnson's *The Scots Musical Museum* (12<sup>mo</sup> in half-sheets, engraved throughout, 8 $\frac{1}{2}$  x 5 $\frac{1}{2}$  approx) Vol. VI, 1803, pp. 562-63, N<sup>o</sup> 544. [page 288.]
260. ["Young Jockey was the blythest lad"], c. 1790/96 (a reworking of older versions, and listed in Law MS. as "49. Jockey was the blythest lad - Mr Burns's old words", this song appeared in *SMM* III, p. 297, N<sup>o</sup> 287). Pen and wash over pencil 3 $\frac{1}{2}$  x 5 $\frac{1}{2}$  (oval), Royal Scottish Academy. [page 297.]
261. [A Border Collier], c. 1786/88; study for Rogers's dog in Plate I, *The Gentle Shepherd*, Glasgow, 1788 (Fig. 115, between pp. 168-69). Pencil on paper 3 $\frac{1}{2}$  x 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ . Glasgow University Library, Special Collections, Wylie Collection 1138-1921 Bh. 14-x. 13. [page 297.]
262. "Colliers return from work", signed and dated 1783. Pen and watercolours over pencil 8 $\frac{1}{2}$  x 12 $\frac{1}{2}$ . Sold in Edinburgh, February 10<sup>th</sup>, 1797; Glasgow University Library, Special Collections, Wylie Collection 1138-1921 Bh. 14-x. 13. [page 298.]
263. ["The Broom of Cowden-Knows"], c. 1794/96 (later version of Fig. 240, between pp. 279-80 subsequently etched as "Wawking of the fauld" (Fig. 23, facing p. 25). Pen and wash over pencil 3 $\frac{1}{2}$  x 5 $\frac{1}{2}$  (oval). Royal Scottish Academy. [page 315.]
264. "Frontispiece to Scottish Songs", 1790/96. Pen and wash over pencil 3 $\frac{1}{2}$  x 5 $\frac{1}{2}$  (oval), Royal Scottish Academy. [page 316.]
265. WILLIAM HOME LIZARS after Thomas Stothard: Title-page vignette for George Thomson's *The Songs of Burns Sir Walter Scott Bar<sup>t</sup> And Other Eminent Lyric Poets Ancient and Modern United to the Select Melodies of Scotland and of Ireland & Wales With Symphonies & Accompaniments for the Piano Forte by Pleyel, Haydn, Beethoven &c*, 6 vols., Edinburgh and London n.d. (? 1828). Engraving 3 $\frac{1}{2}$  x 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ , derived from a drawing by David Allan. [page 318.]
266. PATON THOMSON after David Allan: "Will and Jean" (MacNeill), 1793. Engraving 4 x 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ . Inscribed: "D. Allan del<sup>t</sup>", "P. Thomson sculp<sup>t</sup>", "Published as the Act directs September 1<sup>st</sup> 1795", title and four lines of verse. [page 322.]
267. ["View of the High Street, Edinburgh, in . . . which is introduced his Majesty's High Commissioner and retinue"], 1789. Pen and watercolours 18 x 25. Sold in Edinburgh 1798. City of Edinburgh, Huntly House Museum. [page 323.]
268. "The General Assembly of the Kirk of Scotland", ?1780. Pen and wash over pencil 10 $\frac{1}{2}$  x 17. Allan made prints of this subject in 1783 and 1787; the latter was published by Robert Scott. King's Topographical Collection, BM. [page 323.]
269. [Group of figure-sketches], c. 1790. Pencil on paper 2 $\frac{1}{2}$  x 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ . Glasgow University Library, Special Collections, Wylie Collection 1138-1921 Bh. 14-x. 13. [page 325.]
270. ["View of the High Street of Edinburgh"] inscribed "D. Allan f. 1793". Pen and wash on etched outline 16 $\frac{1}{2}$  x 22. [page 325.]
271. "Town Guard Soldier", c. 1785/90. Pen and watercolours over pencil 9 $\frac{1}{2}$  x 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ , the figure 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ . National Galleries of Scotland, Prints and Drawings, D 388. [page 326.]
272. "Town Officer" c. 1785/90. Pen and watercolours over pencil 9 $\frac{1}{2}$  x 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ , the principal figure 5. National Galleries of Scotland Prints and Drawings, D 386. [page 326.]
273. "Poor Man Edin<sup>gh</sup>" c. 1783. Pen and watercolours over pencil 9 $\frac{1}{2}$  x 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ , the blue-gown 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ . Allan made a print of this scene, entitled "Charity", in 1783. National Galleries of Scotland, Prints and Drawings, D 397. [between pp. 326-27.]
274. "Water Man", c. 1785/90. Pen and watercolours over pencil 9 $\frac{1}{2}$  x 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ , the figure 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ . National Galleries of Scotland, Prints & Drawings D 396 [between pp. 326-27.]
275. JOHN KAY after David Allan: "Wha'll o Caller Oysters", inscribed "I. KAY 1812". Etching 5 $\frac{1}{2}$  x 3 $\frac{1}{2}$  (platemark 6 x 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ ), the figure 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ . From *A Series of Original Portraits and Caricature Etchings by the late John Kay Miniature Painter Edinburgh*, Edinburgh, 1842. [between pp. 326-27.]
276. "Oyster Girl", 1784. Inscribed "D. Allan Tinta fecit Edin<sup>gh</sup> 1784" Etching and aquatint 6 $\frac{1}{2}$  x 4 $\frac{1}{2}$  (platemark 7 $\frac{1}{2}$  x 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ ), the figure 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ . [between pp. 326-27.]
277. "Girl & Child Procida", 1776. Pen and watercolours over pencil 9 $\frac{1}{2}$  x 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ . Aberdeen Art Gallery: "A Collection of Dresses by Da. Allan mostly from Nature 1776" (photograph Christie's). [page 327.]
278. SIMONE GIULINI after Annibale Carracci: "Vende Quadri", 1740. Etching 10 $\frac{1}{2}$  x 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ , from *Le Arti di Bologna*, Rome, 1740 (the original c. 1590). [between pp. 327-28.]
279. ABRAHAM BOSSE: "L'Aveugle", c. 1650. Engraving, inscribed with "Bosse in. et. sc.", lines of verse and "le Blond excud avec Privilege du Roy". [between pp. 327-28.]
280. MARCELLUS LAURON: "Buy my fat chickens", c. 1710. Pen and wash over pencil 8 $\frac{1}{2}$  x 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ . Private Collection. Lauron's *Cryes of the Citie of London* was published by Tempest in 1711. [between pp. 327-28.]



281. J. F. BEAUVARLET after J.-B. Greuze: "La Marchande de Pommes Cuites", c. 1760, Engraving 17 $\frac{1}{2}$  x 13 $\frac{1}{2}$ , [between pp. 327-28.]
282. PAUL SANDBY: "The Milkmaid", c. 1760, Pen and watercolours over pencil 7- x 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ , Private collection, [between pp. 327-28.]
283. PAUL SANDBY: "The Seller of Mops", c. 1760, Pen and watercolours over pencil 7 $\frac{1}{2}$  x 6. The Museum of London, [between pp. 327-28.]
284. JOHN KAY after David Allan: "The Social Pinch". Etching 6 $\frac{1}{2}$  x 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ , the standing figure 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ ; inscribed with title and "I. W. Kay Fecit [?] 1795". From *A Series of Original Portraits and Caricature Etchings by the late John Kay Miniature Painter Edinburgh*, Edinburgh, 1842. [between pp. 327-28.]
285. JOHN KAY after David Allan: [Margaret Suttie; "Salt-Wife"], 1799, Etching 5 $\frac{1}{2}$  x 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ , the figure 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ ; inscribed "J. Kay 1799" and "Wha'll buy my lucky forpit o' Sa a't; Na; Na; it 'ill nae doe; Deel ane yet." From *A Series of Original Portraits and Caricature Etchings*, [between pp. 327-28.]
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299. ["Taylors at Work"], c. 1785/90. Pen and wash over pencil 7 $\frac{1}{2}$  x 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ , one figure on a superimposed patch of paper. Sold Edinburgh 1797; Dunmarle Album, on loan to National Galleries of Scotland. [page 351.]
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## Synopsis.

David Allan's artistic career may be divided into two major periods. Having first attended the Foulis Academy, he spent at least a decade in Italy, finally returning to Scotland in 1779, his home for the next seventeen years. The pictures which he executed during this second period form the basis of the present study.

Since the emphasis of this study is thematic rather than biographical, some distortion of chronology is inevitable, though it is not uncomfortably obvious. At the same time, some element of biography is indispensable. This is particularly true of the first chapter, a necessary setting of the scene which highlights Allan's training in the arts, his collection of prints, copies, original drawings and plaster casts, and the most important works from his years abroad. That part of this biographical account which deals with his Scottish career is devoted largely to Allan's work as Master of the Trustees' Academy, since the pictures with which he was occupied at this time — portraits, Conversation pieces, literary illustrations, Historical paintings and Genre scenes — are taken in groups and discussed in greater depth in the chapters which follow. Before the first chapter concerned with Allan's work in any of these genres, however, there stands a chapter dealing with the wider context of narrative painting in Britain at the time and introducing a number of themes traced throughout later chapters, where they are more fully and particularly discussed.

Because of the nature of much of Allan's work, a knowledge of social and cultural history is often markedly relevant to its interpretation. The developments and achievements which took place in Scotland during the eighteenth century were momentous indeed. Adequately to consider these events in narrow compass is clearly impossible; entirely to disregard them is inconceivable. Accordingly, those concerns the most relevant to Allan's work are indicated, briefly in most cases but sometimes more fully, at several points in the text itself, rather than being grouped together as a separate chapter. Such a context is important not only to an evaluation of his portraits, discussed in Chapter III, and his Genre scenes, discussed primarily in Chapters III and VII, but to an appreciation of his treatment of subjects both historical and poetic, subjects considered in the chapters which stand between these accounts of his early Genre scenes and his late. In Chapter IV, dealing with his set of illustrations to a pastoral drama, and in Chapter VI, dealing with his illustrations to songs and ballads, the



recurring theme of artists' interpretations of texts is counterpointed with an examination of those contemporary concerns which have most bearing upon these two series, concerns to which Allan made calculated allusion in the short preface which he wrote to accompany his set of dramatic plates. In Chapter V, the analysis of a cycle of Historical Compositions is assisted both by an account of the antiquarian interests which Allan shared with so many of his contemporaries, and by regular reference to the historical events upon which the cycle was founded, as they are related in his major source — Robertson's *History of Scotland* — and as he may have interpreted them in the light of the events of his own day.

Because some of the paintings from this series have been lost, Allan's intentions and the cycle's coherence must in part be divined from those preparatory drawings which survive. Sketches and studies like these, and variants upon a number of designs, enable his interpretation of several subjects and his development of certain ideas to be followed both within each field of interest and throughout his work as a whole. While reference to such preparatory pictures will be found in most chapters, that dealing with Allan's famous edition of *The Gentle Shepherd*, Chapter IV, is best supplied with evidence of this kind. The point at which these studies are introduced to its argument, together with a more detailed exposition of its structure, will be seen in the short notice prefixed to the chapter itself. Similar indications of the topics they contain, the order in which these occur, and the approximate time covered, are placed before every chapter in turn.

The arrangement of Allan's works into separate *niches*, while convenient and even necessary, might obscure the relationships connecting pictures from one *genre* with those from another. When such features are general and characteristic of Allan's *oeuvre*, an indication is given in the biographical account offered by Chapter I. When they are merely interesting but isolated details, such as a repeated expression, gesture, or composition, passing reference is made when appropriate. The deeper purposes and most important issues which informed much of Allan's art are brought together and summarised in the conclusion, when particular works and the groups of which they form part have been successively examined and appreciated, and the contemporary concerns of which they are one expression have been introduced and discussed.

## Introduction.

*"The painter who pleased Burns and Thomson so much with his shepherds and shepherdesses was David Allan; he studied in Rome and in London, but acquired little fame from his classic efforts compared to what he achieved by his delineations of the pastoral scenes and happy peasantry of his native country. With loveliness he could do little; but give him an old cottage, with older plenishing, and still older inhabitants, and he could do all but work miracles. An ancient chair with a dog sleeping - or seeming to sleep - under it; an old woman twirling her distaff in the sun, with her cat and her chickens around her; or an old man sitting ruminating at his own fireside, with his Bible on his knees, inspired him at once; and in subjects like these he has never been surpassed."*

Allan Cunningham, 1834, <sup>1</sup>

Surveying earlier "estimates" of David Allan in his own account of *The Scottish Hogarth*, the biography published in 1951, the late Reverend Thomas Crouther Gordon wrote of a "marked lack of sympathy" evident in Allan Cunningham's assessment, and thought it "strange that Cunningham included him among eminent British artists at all".<sup>2</sup> Had Gordon remembered one of the prototypes for Cunningham's *Lives*, he would readily have understood why Allan had been included. Behind a sentence such as this, from Cunningham's biography of Sir David Wilkie, there is the shadow of Vasari:

*"though David Allan had tried to win the taste of Scotland back to matters rural and national, his ineffectual efforts went to show that the master spirit was wanting, that the time and the man had not yet come".<sup>3</sup>*

That is, the popular acclaim which had once been Allan's was later enjoyed by Wilkie, on whom had fallen Allan's "mantle, with a double portion of his power".<sup>4</sup> Cunningham included Allan in order to demonstrate that Wilkie's successes had been developed from the efforts

of a lesser predecessor, each artist thus assuming an easily perceived rôle and performing a predictable function. Wilkie's colleague John Burnet, the engraver of his most famous pictures, seems to have been of similar mind. Burnet recorded of Wilkie that "next to nature he loved the works of David Allan; and as Raphael is traced in Pietro Perugino, so may David the First be traced, but in a loftier degree, in David the Second".<sup>5</sup> Because his Genre scenes had made the second David's name and fortune, it was inevitable that Cunningham should particularly emphasise this facet of Allan's own achievement, those pictures which, going "deeply into the social feelings and rustic manners of his native land", were "akin to the inimitable works of Wilkie, of which they may be called the forerunners".<sup>6</sup> Nevertheless, in the earliest lengthy account of Allan, the *Memoirs* which had been prepared in 1808 from the recollections of his widow and his half-brother, it had already been laid down that

"as an artist, and a man of genius, his characteristic talent lay in *expression*; in the imitation of nature with truth and humour; especially in the ludicrous representation of laughable incidents in low life, where her more animated, and more varied, effects, operate most powerfully and freely, unfettered, and undisguised, by the drill of ceremonious uniformity; and where blunders and absurdities, are most numerous, and striking".<sup>7</sup>

Cunningham, in writing that Allan's "homely subjects require more attention", may have hoped to ensure that future enquiry would be directed in the way that he wanted.<sup>8</sup> Remarkably, this limited estimate has largely determined the tone and even the content of subsequent criticism — usually to be found in general histories of painting in Scotland and in Britain — even when the importance of Allan's Historical works is acknowledged, and even when evidence of extant Histories has been admitted. A recurrent feature of later accounts, by Brydall, Caw, Cursiter, Waterhouse, Gordon and others, is the division of Allan's work into two major groups, and, this convenient distinction once achieved, an emphasis on "homely subjects" to the virtual exclusion, or the depreciation, of everything else, although one Historical picture — which may have been the only one known to some writers — is never mentioned except with the greatest respect.<sup>9</sup>

Brydall's was the first "complete and systematic" history of painting in Scotland, an elegantly written account of "a subject of so great importance".<sup>10</sup> His appraisal of Allan, "by far the most notable and the most popular artist of his time", is sympathetic, although its emphasis,



as always, is biographical rather than critical.<sup>11</sup> Brydall reserved his highest praise for those among Allan's Genre pieces which "fully justify the character he enjoyed from Burns and others of his contemporaries, as a truthful delineator of Scottish character", while his own artistic temperament is evident in his assessment of Neoclassicism:

"The style of art then fashionable at Rome was the cold academic formalism practised in the previous century by the Caracci—a style completely opposed to the nature of Allan, but in which, nevertheless, he was sufficiently successful to gain a medal of silver, and one of gold given by the Academy of St Luke in 1773".<sup>12</sup>

Sir James Caw, writing some years after Brydall, also noted the early successes as a Historical painter, but, even having acknowledged that Allan "did not abandon history wholly", could nevertheless describe his "vast regret . . . that 'heroic or historic subjects' were at a discount" as not fully sincere.<sup>13</sup> Concluding that the artist, in "depicting the life around him", was at last giving "his natural inclination free play", he linked Allan with the Vernacular tradition represented by the poetry of Ramsay, Fergusson and Burns, and recognised that, as Master of the Trustees' Academy, he would have

"exercised considerable influence on his pupils and immediate successors as regards subject; and one of the most interesting features of the following half-century and more is the importance of the domestic genre-painting, which originates in his designs." <sup>14</sup>

It is of interest that Caw, writing in the opening years of the present century, should see that Allan's work in Genre "was not only novel in its kind in Scotland but opened the way for much that is most characteristically Scottish in art".<sup>15</sup>

Both John Tonge and Stanley Cursiter in later decades were to link Allan with Burns, and each in turn was to concentrate almost entirely upon the Genre scenes, Tonge writing in his short account of the artist that "Caricature was more his *métier* than ancient history".<sup>16</sup> Cursiter believed that these scenes were

"Allan's most valuable contribution to the story of Scottish art. In them he laid the foundations of Scottish *genre* painting and opened the path that Wilkie was to follow a generation later." <sup>17</sup>

In accepting Cunningham's analysis, Cursiter also seems specifically to have echoed W. D. McKay, who, at about the same time as Caw, perhaps with a recollection of Hogarth's famous words, had written that Allan was "the first to break ground in a department which, within half a century in the hands of Wilkie, was to form a corner-stone of Scottish

painting".<sup>18</sup> The most remarkable feature of McKay's account is his very evident antipathy to the "long-established incubus of classicism", of which he thought Allan's "common sense had wearied":

"he . . . spent ten or twelve years in Rome. This probation, far from confirming him in the Roman ideals, seems to have awakened him to the futility of the classicism then fashionable".<sup>19</sup>

Ellis Waterhouse, bearing in mind "the state of patronage in the country" at the time, thought that Allan's intention to continue as a Historical Painter in Britain was a "Utopian desire", and saw the works which Allan termed "groups of the manners in Scotland" as "pure rustic genre, without any overtones of satire, social, political or moral pre-occupations", suggesting also, with a fine disregard of chronology, that Wheatley "had made popular with his *Cries of London*" scenes of local characters.<sup>20</sup> All of the most recent commentators on Allan are at one in their implicit disagreement with Waterhouse's decision that his work lacks evidence of any significant social awareness, although none has been prepared to grant the Historical Painter the meed he laid claim to in a definitive expression of his artistic principles and aims, the dedication to his edition of *The Gentle Shepherd*.†

The Reverend Gordon in his biography was consistently sympathetic, and gave a much wider account of the diversity of Allan's career than had any previous writer. At the same time, even when recognising that "in his own generation, it is clear, men judged The Scottish Hogarth only by his humorous sketches" and deploring such a wilfully limited view, even when emphasising that "he attempted works of art in nearly all its branches", Gordon invariably saw the various aspects of Allan's art as disparate and to be separated rather than regarded jointly, as interests necessarily opposed one to the other rather than as different facets of the one practice, facets which, when examined with appropriate attention, and in addition to their having enhanced Allan's work in his own time, contribute to a more accurate appreciation of the artist himself in later centuries.<sup>21</sup> Gordon recognised that, in the field of illustration, Allan had "an interesting and definitive place in the story of Scottish art", and, in writing of his "domestic scenes" - Cunningham's "homely subjects" - that he was definitely "a discoverer and pioneer, and . . . broadened the whole range of Scottish art", he gave the correct emphasis rather than merely repeating "the usual platitudes on Allan's art".<sup>22</sup> Nevertheless, Gordon's

† Appendix IV, transcribed in full from the first edition, Glasgow, 1788.



statement that Allan's "training along classical lines was not without its value" betrays its ancestry and a long-standing assumption, and accords ill with a recognition that "the range of his works now catalogued calls for a new appreciation".<sup>23</sup> It is ironic that a biographer with such evident admiration for his subject, one who stressed that the dedication to *The Gentle Shepherd* "is of real importance for an understanding both of the man and his work", should also have written that "Allan never tries to teach morality by his pencil".<sup>24</sup>

The years which Gordon devoted to his book resulted in its providing a reliable foundation of biographical fact and documentary evidence, together with a list of almost three hundred and forty works.<sup>25</sup> His research was fully acknowledged in the next significant study of the artist, the Scottish Arts Council exhibition of 1973, in which Basil Skinner set out to give a representative picture of the wide range and importance of Allan's oeuvre, and an indication of his influence on later Scottish painters. Skinner's critical observations on particular works are the occasional highlights of the catalogue, its introduction a masterly blend of a roughly chronological narrative with copious extracts from contemporary sources, the whole laid in on a background of the "enlightenment Edinburgh" of Dundas, Robert Adam, the Earl of Buchan and Robert Burns, and the Rome of Batoni, Gavin Hamilton and the exiled House of Stuart.<sup>26</sup>

Of the two most recent accounts of Allan, each of which forms part of a wider survey of Scottish painting, the fullest and most balanced is that prepared by David and Francina Irwin.<sup>27</sup> That more recently written by Duncan Macmillan, a slightly longer account, concentrates on only a few aspects of Allan's work, although the wide range of his interests is indicated.<sup>28</sup> The diversity of that work is addressed in more detail in the earlier book, in which Allan is introduced as being

"uniquely versatile among British eighteenth-century artists in painting not only histories and genre scenes, but also portraits and conversation pieces, designing book illustrations and prints, and teaching in an Academy concerned with industry".<sup>29</sup>

Inevitably, Allan's disappointment that there was little encouragement for Historical painting in Britain is recorded and the artist seen to have "wisely transferred his energies" to other genres on his return from Italy.<sup>30</sup> For the first time, however, not only is Allan's abiding interest in Historical painting, in history and in antiquity noted, the

influence of Classical art and academic principles upon some of his later works is demonstrated.<sup>31</sup>

The only serious omission of the Irwins' critique is of any mention of Allan's numerous illustrations to Scottish songs, an activity which the Reverend Gordon had himself virtually, and unaccountably, ignored.<sup>32</sup> Their awareness of how important was Allan's "consistent exploitation of Scottish subject-matter" makes this failing all the more surprising, although a concentration upon how a "valuable visual and sociological record" was provided by much of his later work suggests why these illustrations were passed over in favour of pictures "recording incidents in both town and country life".<sup>33</sup> In dealing with these Genre pieces, the Irwins noted contemporary comparisons with Teniers and Ostade as well as the more familiar identification of "The Scottish Hogarth", but agreed with earlier writers that Allan did not envisage a "didactic, moral end" for his pictures.<sup>34</sup> Though referring briefly to his statement of just such an aim in the dedication of *The Gentle Shepherd*, the authors, clearly out of sympathy with the humanistic belief that art should both please and instruct, decided that Allan "did not share . . . the conviction that pictorial imagery should serve the purpose of preaching sermons".<sup>35</sup> Allan's having remained "faithful to the academic principles of decorum" is, however, commended in his literary illustrations as in his Genre scenes, primarily for that insistence on accuracy of costume which is seen as one of his most significant influences upon later Scottish artists.<sup>36</sup> The Irwins provided a more searching analysis of Allan's contribution to Scottish art than any that had been published before, admiring especially his family groups, the influence of which on Nasmyth had already been pointed out by Basil Skinner, and of course the Genre pieces. These were shown to represent "the academic principle of decorum applied to contemporary life":

"Allan's figures have an honesty and simplicity that can be paralleled by Hogarth's. By contrast, the peasantry and working class as they appear in Gainsborough, Wheatley, Morland and Walton, as well as Boucher and the French Rococo, are sentimentalised and often pretty. This pastoral, pretty vision of peasantry is not echoed in Scotland, except in the case of a Scottish decorative painter like Delacour, who had himself come from France . . . Such directness or 'truth to nature' was one of Allan's most important legacies to the next generation of Scottish artists".<sup>37</sup>

Duncan Macmillan's recent book on Scottish painting is concerned with the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, and with the ideological and æsthetic links among painters, philosophers, poets, novelists,



medical men and other scientists. His account of Allan is centred upon one of the two "principal preoccupations" which he identifies as unifying the achievements of Scottish painters of this time, the

"belief, shared with poetry, that the primitive art of the remote past or of the unsophisticated present can provide models through which it is possible to reach a purer sensibility that may offer the key to a better world".<sup>39</sup>

Allan's having developed the relationship between painting and Scots poetry, a question shown to have been addressed by his contemporaries Alexander Runciman and Robert Fergusson, is recognised as particularly important.<sup>39</sup> Macmillan is concerned not solely with Allan's choice of subject-matter, but with the matter of style, which is regarded at several points as being of crucial significance. His drawings of Italian peasants, and the similar studies later made in Scotland, are not only seen as one expression of that interest in primitive times, and in "simple, unspoilt people", which was shared by so many of Allan's contemporaries, but also as "an ingenious extension of the new aesthetic of history painting as proposed by Hamilton and developed by Runciman".<sup>40</sup> These Italian pictures — costume studies and other Genre scenes — are considered to have a "definite documentary purpose", their subject-matter belonging "under that very eighteenth-century heading of 'manners', that is, social customs, especially dances, games and public amusements".<sup>41</sup> Strangely, however, though conscious that Allan, in Italy as in Scotland, was never "motivated by idle curiosity" in undertaking his Genre pieces, and even although he is prepared to suggest that the artist's interest in Italian costumes, "almost in the nature of ethnographic field work", might have been connected with a search for "evidence of the survival of antediluvian Mediterranean culture", Macmillan, like so many others, does not consider that Allan had in any of these scenes a "satirical intention. Things are recorded for their own sake".<sup>42</sup>

A visual expression of natural, supposedly primitive simplicity, and of its implicit association with virtue, is never far from Allan's work, and is nowhere more evident than in his illustrations to Scottish songs. Macmillan's summary of the connection with Burns, by the agency of George Thomson, and his paragraph criticising these song illustrations, supply the *lacuna* in the Irwins' account, and touch upon the important congruence of purpose which informs Allan's literary illustrations and his Genre scenes. As in earlier assessments, the "real value as social documentation" of these Genre scenes is noted, but the style of his pictures of this kind, and also of the set of plates which

he prepared for his edition of *The Gentle Shepherd*, assumes in Macmillan's book an importance never before accorded it.<sup>43</sup> Allan, in this light, is allowed to be more than "simply a recorder of visual fact":

"Style for him is in certain circumstances part of the process of recording. The naive grace or unconscious awkwardness of a gesture or the humour in a scene are part of the naturalness of the way of life which is his subject and which can only be matched qualitatively in an appropriate style".<sup>44</sup>

Quoting extensively from the dedicatory letter to Gavin Hamilton, Macmillan remarks on Allan's search for "actual models of undistorted simplicity which nature herself presents", and regards his presentation of an attractive and simple rural life as a worthy counterpart to the eighteenth-century Vernacular tradition in Scottish verse: "loyal to this tradition", he concludes, "Allan's pastoral vision is neither morally nor politically neutral".<sup>45</sup>

The Vernacular tradition, as it was interpreted and developed in Scotland in the eighteenth century, is but one among many strands forming the fabric of contemporary life and thought which are of particular relevance to an understanding of Allan's art. While the question of language and national culture was peculiarly important in eighteenth-century Scotland, it would be remarkable if an artist of the time were not influenced by the intimacy of association which existed among the arts throughout Europe. It was truly a century in which "Art reflected images to Art", when a perception of the affinity between painting and poetry was part of the shared culture of artist and patron alike.<sup>46</sup> Fruitful also were the relations among painters and other men of learning, the historians, the novelists, the antiquarians and the philosophers and moralists. A keen analysis of the manners of their own society was mirrored in observations on other nations, including the primitive peoples of the Americas and South Seas. Above all, those of learning and culture were aware of a "moral tendency" in the arts.<sup>47</sup> The proper study of the artist was his fellows, the proper purpose of his art didactic. Such an object was to be achieved not only in literary and pictorial satire, that mode so characteristic of the eighteenth century, but also in the presentation of examples of human endeavour and endurance worthy of imitation.

Concerns and connections like these, each in its own way relevant to an appreciation of David Allan, are in the present study addressed and developed where most appropriate, often in the chapters devoted to



particular facets of his *oeuvre*. While his immediate situation was Scotland, his work may profitably be studied in relation to the wider context of painting in Britain in the eighteenth century. Accordingly, after a brief biography of the artist — a necessary setting of the scene which treats his later career, the subject of the body of the thesis, in very summary fashion — there is placed a chapter concerned with some aspects of painting in Britain at this time. This chapter, developed from an interpretation of the wider field of painting in eighteenth-century Britain, has been condensed in a manner that made it suitable as a preliminary study in a work concentrated upon one artist's career without, however, unduly compromising its own structure or distorting its conclusions.

Eighteenth-century British painting is a subject already covered in several lengthy books, with all of which the specialist, and many of which the general reader may be presumed familiar, and upon which, in part, any shorter discussion necessarily depends. Since it is primarily a discussion of ideas and examples rather than a *résumé* of the whole field, the whole practice of painting in Britain at the time, many artists, paintings and events which could not properly be excluded from an account aiming at balance may in this chapter be passed over summarily or silently omitted. It is, for example, no part of its purpose to repeat or condense accounts of the stages by which the Royal Academy rose out of dissensions in the two other artists' Societies in London, although the exhibitions mounted by all three provide material essential to its argument.

Because the subject of pictorial art at this time is both vast and greatly ramified — one commentator has called it "hydra-headed" — no apology need be given for restricting attention to a few branches among many, though some explanation should be offered for the choice finally made.<sup>40</sup> First, each branch of painting selected requires that artists create narrative works, or offers them opportunities to do so. Secondly, each has some relevance to the wide-ranging *oeuvre* of one artist in particular. The appraisal of these different areas, sometimes separately but more often in relation to each other, will offer a view of a familiar structure in which various aspects of David Allan's art, from every stage of his career, may find a place. Finally, as both reason for the selection and development of the initial account, this view provides a background against which the more detailed study of Allan's art may be set. Certain features introduced in

this general survey — the perceived function of art, for example, the associations which certain types of painting held for an artist's public, the true approach of artist, patron and society as a whole to narrative or literary painting, and the way in which the very appearance, the *form* of a picture may itself imply and communicate a meaning — will be traced throughout the following chapters, as they are embodied in some of the works which are there discussed as part of the appraisal of Allan's later career.

Even less than in the succeeding assessment of David Allan is the method employed in this chapter biographical. Neither is it focused exclusively upon those considered major figures. The work of some minor painters is occasionally adduced, suggesting as it does the *milieu* in which they lived, reflecting at the same time the nature of the demand for paintings which is revealed by exhibition catalogues and the evidence of other contemporary sources. Only in a few cases in this chapter has a picture from after 1800 been mentioned, but the evidence of these catalogues shows that this termination, though arbitrary and artificial, is by no means distortive.<sup>49</sup>

The century may conveniently be bracketed by great Historical schemes in architectural settings. It was Thornhill's work in the second and third decades which fired Hogarth's ambition to be a History painter, and which was the supreme public, perhaps national, example of large-scale Historical painting during a century in which many artists complained of the little demand there was even for easel-paintings in this mode, all the while looking back enviously at the patronage enjoyed by Verrio, Laguerre, and Thornhill himself. Despite such obstacles, towards the end of the century, James Barry's voluntary undertaking at the Adelphi, home of the Society of Arts, may justly be seen as the pictorial epic of the Enlightenment.

More modest narrative paintings can be arranged into the two great classes of Historical Composition and Genre. The former was regarded as the zenith of the Western pictorial tradition, comparable to the verse epic, which, as Dryden wrote, "is undoubtedly the greatest work which the soul of man is capable to perform".<sup>50</sup> The latter, always popular in Britain, was not — at least officially — usually held in high esteem. What might be seen as a form of meeting-ground of the two, the painting or print of contemporary events, gradually edged its way into prominence as the century progressed. The rise in number and perceived importance of these works, and of the printed illustration of



literature published as part of a book or "Gallery", is of major consequence, indicative as it is of an enlargement and broadening of the public reached and addressed by the visual arts, and of the responses made by different artists to meet a demand apparently changed.<sup>51</sup> A few pages are given to the Boydell Gallery, which does serve as a paradigm of the wider situation in a number of aspects, an example which may be conveniently discussed from the *Collection of Prints* which was published early in the nineteenth century.<sup>52</sup>

In ranging over genres from decorative schemes to original prints, encompassing Historical Compositions, paintings of battles, shipwrecks, "notorious" contemporary events, "fancy portraits", and Genre scenes themselves, and commenting primarily upon their narrative content, a consciousness of many differences must be subordinated to a recognition of points held in common by some, occasionally by all of these kinds of pictures. So too in considering particular works in the same manner, a great disparity in their intrinsic merits must be anticipated, as also in the abilities of a variety of artists. In that a painting or painter demonstrates particular assumptions, or conspicuous success in some field, or simply some interesting narrative features, a work by Kauffmann may be accorded as much attention as one by Hogarth, or a West may be set beside a Barry.

The circumstances encountered by Allan on his return to Britain from the Continent would have been familiar to any artist in the country. At the same time, Allan was a Scot, and for the fifteen years or so with which the present study is primarily concerned, his home was the "native land" in which he hoped to be usefully employed.<sup>53</sup> It is little wonder that, like many fellow countrymen, Sir Walter Scott should later be so fascinated with the study of those "changes which took place, and the causes which led to them", or write that there was

"no European nation, which, within the course of half a century, or little more, [had] undergone so complete a change as this kingdom of Scotland",<sup>54</sup>

As David Hume, for once echoing the beliefs of others rather than confuting them, had written, "the spirit of the age [affected] all the arts".<sup>55</sup> Nowhere did people "carry improvements into every art and science" with more energy and diligence than in Scotland.<sup>56</sup> Allan received his earliest training in the visual arts at the Academy founded in Glasgow by the brothers Foulis, that worthy endeavour to improve manufactures in Scotland by imitating the practice of the *Académie* in

France. The Trustees' Academy in Edinburgh, of which Allan was Director and Master for ten years, was also concerned with "propagating and encouraging arts, sciences, and manufactures", and was instituted only a few years later, in 1760.<sup>57</sup>

It is entirely characteristic of the eighteenth century that an academy of the fine arts, no less than one set up as a school of design, should be so intimately connected with the economic growth of a country, and that each should be associated with a university. A person of learning and culture, though his own genius was properly employed in a few fields of enquiry among many, seldom lost sight of the systematic connections running through every aspect of contemporary life, and uniting people in society; Smith contributed a study of *Moral Sentiments*, and another of the *Wealth of Nations*, to the advancement of "the science of Man", a term used by Hume in his own philosophical *Treatise* some years before beginning his work as a historian.<sup>58</sup>

The remarkable economic growth of Scotland in the eighteenth century, the background to extraordinary achievements on every hand, has often been rather uncritically accepted as a natural consequence of the Union of Parliaments in 1707. Improvement in living conditions — with the exception of delicacies and luxuries for the houses of lairds and those of the aristocracy who remained on "the Marches o' their ain estates" — was not seen for several decades, and Scotland's trade with France, the Low Countries, the Baltic states and the Americas, as well as within the United Kingdom itself, a trade in many cases established and increasing long before the beginning of the eighteenth century, was hampered by political union at least as much as it was assisted.<sup>59</sup> Defoe, writing in the 1720s, recorded that Glasgow's success in both "Foreign [and] Home Trade" was not shared by the rest of North Britain, and the ruinous effect of the Union upon Scottish trade in other areas, "particularly in the towns on the Frith of Forth" and along the east coast in general, was remembered in the first *Statistical Account*, prepared in the 1790s and an invaluable document covering every aspect of contemporary Scottish life.<sup>60</sup> Earlier in the century, Lieutenant Lismahago, pointing out that other European nations had "increased in commerce" within living memory, and adducing "the natural progress of improvement", reminded Tobias Smollett's readers that *post hoc, ergo propter hoc* is as seductive a proposition, and as erroneous, in modern times as in ancient.<sup>61</sup> More recent enquiry, covering both commercial and cultural matters and setting Scotland in a



European or indeed an international context, and in the perspective of a continuous course of change and development stretching over several centuries, has been less limited in its field of enquiry and less restricted in its objectives, and has confirmed that, in Scotland, "the period of the Enlightenment, as it eventually developed, was the consummation of a long process in Scottish life and literature".<sup>62</sup> Whatever the causes which may be suggested for Scotland's pre-eminence in the latter part of the eighteenth century, the remarkable efflorescence of enquiry and publication must always be borne in mind in any consideration of selected aspects of this "Enlightenment", as must the country's commercial expansion; only a couple of years before David Allan's return to his homeland, an English visitor, Captain Edward Topham, had written:

"within these few years Scotland has worn a very different appearance from what it formerly did; and though, as yet, it cannot vie with the later and more luxurious improvements of some nations, it now has the ample means of furnishing employment for the greater part of its own inhabitants. The mechanic Arts, Trade, Agriculture, Manufactures . . . wear the promising marks of future vigour and stability".<sup>63</sup>

Such confident commercial growth forms the material background to Allan's later career. Like literary and philosophical matters, and some distinctively national concerns, this growth and its consequences will be addressed when they are demonstrably relevant to the artist and his work, rather than being brought together with related cultural topics in a distinct chapter which, in its being accommodated as a subsidiary part of a larger work, would be little more than perfunctory, and could never be adequate. In any case, much scholarly material is readily available in recent and easily accessible books, some of which are specifically indicated in footnotes, many more being listed in the second part of the Bibliography.<sup>64</sup>

Together with his portraits and Genre scenes, which sometimes occur in pairs or as loosely connected sets of views, three major series may be distinguished among Allan's later works. Two are illustrative, being sets of pictures based upon Scottish verse and song, the other Historical, a cycle of paintings relating to the life of Mary, Queen of Scots. Allan's portraits and early Genre scenes are considered in Chapter III, his later Genre scenes in Chapter VII. Chapters IV and VI are devoted to his illustrative series, and the Historical cycle, which Allan must have regarded as his greatest project, is discussed in Chapter V. In Chapter VIII, a concluding study of the artist in his

society shows how his major Genre pieces and the works forming these three series are related one to another, and how, both separately and in combination, they further the design to which Allan, with remarkable discipline and perseverance, dedicated himself for more than fifteen years.

The early discussion of Allan's portraiture has been included in the present study in order to give a "finished" picture of the artist and his methods. The primary object of this thesis, as has been implied, is the criticism of subject-pictures. Circumstantial details, it is true, often have a part to play in conveying the full meaning, or creating the intended impression, in these portraits and Conversation Pieces. Although such details are, of course, always apt, any anecdotal suggestions that they occasion are seldom of much complexity. For this reason, the proportion of these works which is actually discussed is much lower than that of any other genre practised by Allan in his later years, with some of the dozen or so portraits reproduced providing a representative view of his work rather than acting as the foundation for any extended *critique*.

Relatively more attention is given in this chapter to the small group of subject-pictures which came of Allan's first documented journey into the Highlands, that of 1780. In these, as in earlier pictures of French and Italian *costume*, he recorded the manners of a race with which he was quite unfamiliar. For all that both he and the people whom he drew dwelt in eighteenth-century Scotland, a Lowlander like Allan could consider the Gaels to be as foreign, and as primitive, as Polynesian fishermen or Pawnee warriors. The study of different stages of human society, of the progress of civilisation, of human nature itself, was of great moment to his contemporaries. By studying the customs of primitive societies yet surviving, the Scottish *Literati*, in common with savants throughout Europe, hoped to understand the ancient manners of their own.<sup>65</sup> In his pictures of Highland subjects, Allan for the first time experimented in a Scottish idiom with the expression of an ancient, indeed a timeless simplicity which could be imaginatively associated with virtue.

Similar ideas were explored in his set of illustrations to Ramsay's famous pastoral *The Gentle Shepherd*. These plates, published in 1788 and the best known of all Allan's works in his own time, are the subject of Chapter IV. This chapter has been developed from a dissertation written in 1984, the starting-point for the present thesis. The text



has been thoroughly revised, and incorporates additional information and further criticism, the result of subsequent research and the reflection of a deeper understanding of the relationship of this series to the rest of Allan's work, and of his ideas and intentions to contemporary concerns. At the same time, some deletions have been made, as, for instance, brief and selective mention of later artists' illustrations to *The Gentle Shepherd* was felt to be more appropriate than the fuller account originally prepared. Editions, or, at least, illustrations of the play earlier than Allan's are, of course, studied in appropriate depth.

Allan dedicated his edition of Ramsay's "justly admired Pastoral" to the Historical Painter Gavin Hamilton, confident that the friend of his years in Italy would recognise the didactic purpose of his "series of designs". Both the matter and the implications of the dedicatory letter are analysed in some detail. Not only is it a work of specific importance to the full understanding of the plates which it accompanies, it has appreciable relevance to the wider field of Allan's art and ideas.

The plates themselves, though introduced in sequence, are discussed with reference to those themes and concerns embodied in the play which Allan chose to express and develop visually. Needless to say, his illustrative skill is readily discovered in the immediacy of these plates. The survival of a number of sketches and studies allows the course of Allan's ideas for most of these illustrations to be followed with some precision, incidentally permitting a brief general description of his characteristic drawing style and also providing valuable evidence for the dating of another of his illustrative schemes.

Allan's work on a cycle of Historical paintings from the life of Mary, Queen of Scots occupied him for at least two years, from 1789 until 1791. For a painter to choose his subjects from national history was not unusual in what Hume termed "the historical age", and the work of other painters in this field, already touched on in Chapter II, is in Chapter V more fully described.<sup>66</sup> Allan had a keen interest in historical writing, was indeed an acquaintance of William Robertson, and an account of the research which he undertook before beginning these pictures, together with an indication of his relationship with the enthusiastic but erratic Earl of Buchan, precedes a discussion of the series itself. As in the case of his work on *The Gentle Shepherd*, a number of preparatory drawings has survived. Not only do these

drawings allow the development of Allan's ideas to be followed, they, in conjunction with a good deal of contemporary documentation, enable his ambitious Historical cycle to be envisaged, if not reconstructed, almost in its entirety. Few of the finished paintings are located.

In contrast to the approach adopted in Chapter IV, in this chapter Allan's pictures are mainly discussed in "chronological" order, with frequent reference being made to the historical events upon which they are based, as these are recounted in Robertson's *History of Scotland*.<sup>67</sup> At the same time, their participation in a coherent cycle is not neglected. Allan's use of repeated *motifs* — in itself characteristic of his work — is shown to unite the cycle formally and, both within particular scenes and throughout the sequence, to provide further depth of import and comment. The subject of this major venture was of both historical significance and contemporary relevance, and the chapter therefore closes with a study of its relationship to its time.

Both the set of plates for *The Gentle Shepherd* and the cycle of paintings based on the life of Mary Stuart are relatively compact groups of pictures, and thus each can be illustrated and considered in its entirety. Allan's illustrations to Scottish songs, though each drawing or etching is appropriately modest in scale, form a more extensive collection, and a selection of representative examples has therefore been made. Slightly more than half of the designs which Allan prepared have been reproduced, including some watercolour drawings of striking freshness and delicacy. Similarly, only about a dozen have been criticised in depth, with a similar number among the remaining illustrations being given any more than a brief mention.

As in the discussion of Allan's plates for *The Gentle Shepherd*, pictures in this chapter are criticised with reference to a number of concerns, or chosen as examples characteristic of the collection and its recurrent themes and techniques. As in previous chapters, pictures are always seen in relationship to others, not only from the group of which they form part, but from other areas of Allan's work. It is not long before such an approach to Allan and his art is recognised as the only appropriate one. Again, pictures by other artists are adduced, as possible influences, as both comparisons and contrasts to his work, and as an indication of contemporary tastes and interests.

When Allan prepared these drawings and etchings, the texts which they illustrate, and the airs to which these were sung, were as familiar



as the song of the lintie on the thorn or the cries of street vendors and chapmen from the planestanes and causey below his window. Most indices to contemporary song-books list not titles but first lines. Since a full appreciation of any illustration requires a knowledge of the text on which it was based, occasional quotations in this chapter from the songs which Allan illustrated are supplemented by a group of transcriptions from the sources which he used.<sup>†</sup> Immediately after this appendix is placed a Glossary. As Henry Mackenzie put it, "it is a cool Operation to stop in the midst of a Sentiment or Description to scrutinize the Sense of a Vocabule", but, since Allan's sources included ballads already hundreds of years old in his day, and the writings of John Knox, as well as recent Vernacular pieces by Burns and by Ramsay himself, a glossary is sometimes needed.<sup>68</sup>

A fascination with ancient, unspoilt simplicity, already noted in connection with Allan's pictures of subjects from the Highlands, is seen also to find expression in his song illustrations. So too the subject of national song, of general interest throughout Europe but of particular importance in Scotland, where it was unavoidably coupled with the question of language, is known to have interested him greatly.<sup>69</sup> The chapter ends with an account of contemporary thinking upon these matters, and an interpretation of the attitudes identified among Allan's fellow Scots.

Chapter VII, though it follows analyses of Allan's edition of *The Gentle Shepherd*, his subsequent Historical cycle and his song illustrations, deals both with pictures executed several years before any of these major groups was completed and with Allan's very last Genre scenes. It comprehends pictures of "the manners in Scotland" dating from 1783 to 1796 — that is, the whole range of Allan's work of this kind apart from the early Highland scenes — and, as part of this résumé, includes a short account of his prints. As in the case of Allan's portraiture, a selection of the most characteristic examples of his minor Genre scenes gives a representative view of this facet of his activity. More detailed criticism of his "modern moral Subjects" is conducted against a background of contemporary writings, and demonstrates how the typical devices of specific allusion, gesture and expression, the very form of a picture itself, both particularly and in combination, reveal that the works of "the Scottish Hogarth" had a much

† Ten songs and ballads are given, in whole or in part, in Appendix X.

more serious and responsible purpose than the "ludicrous representation of laughable incidents in low life".<sup>70</sup>

Such incidents formed one major vein of popular material worked, with conspicuous success, by many Scottish painters of the generations after Allan. In the closing pages of Chapter VII his representation of "ordinary Life" is contrasted with the work of later Scottish Genre painters among whom his influence — as transmitted, and transformed, by Sir David Wilkie — was most evident, but whose approach and conceptions were as different from his as his times and circumstances had been from theirs; no attempt has been made to give even an indication of other nineteenth-century Scottish painting.<sup>71</sup> David Allan cannot reasonably be regarded as a Genre painter who prepared the way for "a brilliant succession of followers".<sup>72</sup> To make such an assertion is to promote an unduly restricted view of the man and his work; to accept such a view as the starting-point for all later discussion is to derive the premises from a supposedly irrefutable conclusion.

Because Allan's oeuvre is so integrated, his purpose so consistent, it is seldom possible, without anticipating an argument or presuming a conclusion, to put a final, admittedly personal interpretation upon any facet of his art in a chapter of which that facet is the subject. There is always a further connection to be made or parallel to be drawn with pictures or ideas which more properly form part of another. Thus, a chapter may address its primary subject in some detail, appearing adequate to the scrutiny of that immediate focus, though the wider discussion to which it in turn contributes remains unresolved. In the same way, each of a number of studies for different figures or details in a painting might appear finished in its own right, until the greater composition of which these elements form part is seen as a whole, the harmony and balance of mass and tone, and the effects of reflected light and colour, being only then appreciated. The completion of a painting is, of course, much more than the arrangement of details previously prepared and finished with a definite end in view; only when these details are brought together can the "keeping" be attended to, and the varnishing begun. Similarly, a final, sealing touch to an argument with many subordinate points is appropriate in a conclusion, and the opportunity is taken in Chapter VIII.

Just as Allan and his pictures must be seen in the wider context of painting and society in Scotland, in Britain and in Europe as a whole, so too these pictures are themselves best and most fully appreciated when set against the background of his other known or identifiable



interests. His knowledge of Scottish literature, history, song and antiquities is specifically recorded, and could in any case be deduced not only from extant pictures but also from letters and other written sources.<sup>73</sup> Allan was well-read, finding inspiration in the works of a variety of authors both ancient and modern, and referring appositely on one occasion to Mæcenās soon after remarking on the difficult task faced by Reynolds in undertaking to correct public taste in Britain with his "pamphlets or academick discourses".<sup>74</sup> Among the many essays and treatises on the arts which he owned were both Vasari's and Bellori's *Vite*, Hogarth's *Analysis*, and "A treatise on Painting, by Leonardo da Vinci, London, 1721".<sup>75</sup> He may have carried with him during his prolonged stay in Italy Winckelmann's influential *Reflections Concerning the Imitation of the Grecian Artists*, having bought it in Glasgow before leaving.<sup>76</sup> From his reading, his study in Glasgow and in Rome, and, not to be neglected, the pictures which he would have seen and the conversations which he would have heard and taken part in, Allan learned that "all the fine arts have a double purpose; they are destined both to *please* and to *instruct*".<sup>77</sup> Consistently and fruitfully, he took account not only of "the general taste of the public" but also of the ideas of the times, and ranged widely both within his own field and among many areas of contemporary interest.<sup>78</sup> He was, in addition, both in Italy and in Scotland, on friendly terms with "learned and ingenious men" such as James Byres, Sir William Hamilton, Gavin Hamilton, the Earl of Buchan, Sir James Grant, William Robertson and, through the agency of George Thomson and the medium of writing, Robert Burns.<sup>79</sup>

This preamble ends as it began, with a close look at Cunningham's manipulation of critical opinion. His reliability in biographical matters has been called into question before; Alistair Smart concluded coolly that he was frequently "the victim . . . of an untethered imagination", and the distinguished Burns scholar Franklin Bliss Snyder wrote that "his imagination was unrestrained by any profound respect for facts; the result is that he stands alone among his contemporaries — some of whom were none too scrupulous — on a pinnacle of unique untrustworthiness".<sup>80</sup> In the case of his account of David Allan, examples of Cunningham's licence can occasionally be detected — a few are indicated in footnotes where appropriate — and, in any case, his "inventive mendacity" does not necessarily compromise his critical views, some of which, particularly with reference to Allan's edition of *The Gentle Shepherd*, evince a fine understanding and appreciation of the subject.<sup>81</sup> Three of his distortions, however, must

immediately be exposed. One already has been.<sup>62</sup> Two more, made with the same purpose, the implicit praising of Wilkie's painting and personality at the deliberate, and unnecessary, expense of Allan's art, are found together, towards the end of his account in the *Lives*, and can best be brought into full view by a comparison with the source in which "honest Allan" Cunningham found his material in its original state. Near the close of the *Memoirs* of 1808 occurs the following description of the artist himself:

"when in company he esteemed, that suited his taste, as restraint wore off, his eye, imperceptibly, became active, bright, and penetrating; his manner and address, quick, lively, and interesting, always kind, polite, and respectful; his conversation open, gay, humorous, without satire, and communicative, playfully replete with benevolence, observation, and anecdote. On the antiquities, and literary history of his country, he had employed much of his attention, and delighted to discourse." <sup>63</sup>

In Cunningham's *Lives*, this became:

"in company to his liking . . . his large eyes grew bright and penetrating; his manners pleasing, and his conversation open, gay, and humorous, inclining to satire, and replete with observation and anecdote. On the antiquities and literary history of his country he had employed much of his leisure time, and delighted to discourse." <sup>64</sup>

While the unwarranted interpolation of "inclining to satire" is Cunningham's most impudent distortion, his substitution of "leisure time" for the original "attention" cannot be allowed to pass unchallenged, since the function of this expression is deliberately to disguise the nature of Allan's research and debase it from what it had truly been, a methodical and disciplined enquiry, to what Cunningham decided it ought to have been, the pursuit of an occasional evening by the fire. The quiet subtlety of the attempt makes it all the more insidious.

To the information gathered from Allan's widow and his half-brother, the author of the *Memoirs* added, from the *Biographia Scotica*, that the artist's

"private life was marked by the strictest honour, and integrity. His manners were gentle, unassuming, and obliging. He will be long remembered, and his loss regretted, by every one who enjoyed the happiness of his friendship." <sup>65</sup>

## Notes

1. *The Works of Robert Burns*, 8 vols., 1834, Vol. V, pp. 175-76; in 2 vols., also ed. Cunningham, 1835, Vol. II, p. 144 (with minor changes in the pointing).

2. *David Allan of Alloa 1744-1796 The Scottish Hogarth*, Alva, 1951, pp. ix and 75.

3. *The Life of Sir David Wilkie; with his*

*Journals, Tours, and Critical Remarks on Works of Art; and a Selection from his Correspondence*, 3 vols., London, 1843, Vol. I, p. 42. The opening of Cunningham's account of Allan in the *Lives*, in its providing a general statement the truth of which (in the commentator's view) is exemplified in the career of a particular



artist, is very reminiscent of Vasari's technique:

"Genius is natural to all parts of the earth; lives where it chooses; works in its own way, and to please its own spirit; and is sometimes content with local fame. Of this class of unambitious men was David Allan, fondly called by some of his countrymen the Scottish Hogarth. But though his fame is chiefly confined to Scotland, and though it was his pleasure to aim at little beyond delineating the humble tenants of the cottage and the shieling, he is not unworthy of a place amongst those artists who had higher aims, and whose fame has been further diffused."

(*The Lives of the Most Eminent British Painters, Sculptors, and Architects*, 6 vols., London, 1833, Vol. VI, p. 23; also *The Lives of the Most Eminent British Painters by Allan Cunningham, Revised edition, Annotated and continued to the Present Time by Mrs. Charles Heaton*, 3 vols., London, 1879, Vol. II, p. 358). The first translation (selected) into English of Vasari's *Vite* was that of William Aglionby, 1685.

4. *Works of Robert Burns*, ed. Cunningham, 8 vols., 1834, V, p. 176; in 2 vols., 1835, II, p. 144.

5. Burnet's memoir was incorporated by Cunningham in his *Life of... Wilkie*, 1843, I, pp. 43-4; the words quoted are from p. 44. It continues:

"Wilkie, as you may see in some of his pictures, did not hesitate to avail himself of several of Allan's attitudes: I can see this even in the Chelsea Pensioners; but the one was always within the circle of taste and propriety, while the other, even in his happiest works, seldom seems to have observed such limits, which are easier felt than defined. In his early study of character, his skill, his more than skill, in seizing nature in her negligence and happiest moods, may be found the origin of his vast success in representations of familiar manners and domestic life".

His words are reminiscent of Cunningham's own strange dismissal of Allan in the *Lives* of a decade earlier:

"His genius lay in expression, especially in grave humour and open drollery. Yet it would be difficult, perhaps, to name one of his pictures where nature is not overcharged; he could not stop his hand till he had driven his subject into the debatable land that lies between truth and caricature. He is among painters what Allan Ramsay is among poets—a fellow of infinite humour, and excelling in all manner of rustic drollery, but deficient in fine sensibility of conception, and little acquainted with lofty emotion or high imagination". Vol. VI, p. 48, or II, p. 378 (the concluding paragraph). In surveying all the extant criticism on Allan,

major and minor, a sense of familiarity, of *déjà vu*, is soon experienced, as is shown in the next couple of pages. Cunningham himself was indebted more than once to an earlier memoir of Allan (p. xlvii *infra*), in which he is also paired with Ramsay and described in terms very similar to those quoted (*MEMOIRS of the late DAVID ALLAN Painter in Edinburgh, commonly called the Scots Hogarth*, in *The Gentle Shepherd*, 2 vols., Edinburgh, 1808, II, pp. 629-31, the conclusion of the account). A lesser-known writer on Scottish painting, John Tonge, is occasionally incisive, and his opinions on Wilkie's "taste and propriety" (as Burnet put it), and on his work in general, are delivered with vigour; he was

"not so much an innovator as a popularizer, bringing to the material of Allan and Carse a bag of tricks learned from Ostade, Brouwer and Teniers; his originality lay in his perfect appraisal of early Victorian taste. 'To know the taste of the public - to learn what will best please the employers - is to an artist the most valuable of all knowledge' he wrote" (*The Arts of Scotland*, London, 1938, p. 63, quoted *verbatim*; "anticipation" might be preferred to "appraisal", or "early Victorian" replaced by "late Georgian").

6. *Lives*, 1833, VI, p. 32 (1879, II, p. 366).

7. *Memoirs*, in *The Gentle Shepherd*, pp. 629-30.

8. *Lives*, 1833, VI, p. 42 (1879, II, p. 374).

9. "The Origin of Painting" (reproduced in colour as Plate IV between pages 139-40): Robert Brydall, *Art in Scotland Its Origin and Progress*, Edinburgh and London, 1889, p. 132 ("Invention of Drawing"); William D. McKay, *The Scottish School of Painting*, London, 1906, pp. 23-4; Sir James Caw, *Scottish Painting Past and Present 1620-1908*, London, 1908, pp. 50-51; Tonge, *op. cit.*, p. 44; Stanley Cursiter, *Scottish Art to the close of the nineteenth century*, London, 1949, p. 42; Gordon, *op. cit.*, pp. 24-5; Sir Ellis K. Waterhouse, *Painting in Britain 1530-1790*, Harmondsworth, 1953, p. 213 (mentioned; cf. also *The Dictionary of British 18<sup>th</sup> Century Painters*, Woodbridge, 1981). For a likely explanation of this concurrence, see Chapter I, p. 18 and note 89.

10. *Art in Scotland*, 1889, Preface, p. v. Brydall's organisation, particularly with regard to the eighteenth century, is not always easy to follow, but the table of Contents shows it to be approximately chronological within the various chapters, each of which is devoted to a different aspect of Scottish art.

11. *Ibid*, p. 130.

12. *Ibid*, pp. 133 and 131-32, original spelling.

13. Caw, *Scottish Painting*, London, 1908, p. 51.

14. *Ibid*, pp. 52-3.

15. *Ibid*, p. 50 (Caw had worked on his book for more than a decade; his Introduction, p. 3). He



also suggested, with reference to Wilkie and Allan (not Allan alone, as implied in Gordon, *op. cit.*, pp. 75-6) that "it is not straining the facts to say that the effective beginnings of modern realism appeared in the young Scotsmen's pictures"; *Scottish Painting*, 1908, p. 477.

16. *The Arts of Scotland*, 1938, p. 44.

17. *Scottish Art*, 1949, pp. 49-50.

18. *The Scottish School of Painting*, London, 1906, p. 22; Hogarth described his "modern moral Subject[s]" as "a Field unbroke up in any Country or any age"; quoted in David Bindman, *Hogarth*, London, 1981, p. 53; cf the "Autobiographical Notes", in *The Analysis of Beauty*, (1753), ed. Joseph Burke, Clarendon Press, 1955, p. 216.

19. For the first two quotations, see McKay, *op. cit.*, p. 31; for the last, *ibid.*, p. 22.

20. *Painting in Britain*, Harmondsworth, 1953, pp. 213-14 and, on "patronage" *ibid.*, p. 197. Allan's words are quoted from a letter of 1780 to Sir William Hamilton, given as Appendix II. On Wheatley's *Itinerant Trades of London*, see Mary Webster, *Francis Wheatley*, London, 1970, pp. 82-3; "Twelve of the pictures were engraved and published in pairs between 1793 and 1796, the thirteenth appeared in 1797, and the fourteenth . . . was not published until 1927". Wheatley's *Cries* - six were exhibited at the RA in 1792 - are perhaps the most familiar English example of the *genre*; see Chapters II and VII, pp. 56, 323 and 326-27 *infra*. He had exhibited scenes such as "Wheelwright's shop - study from nature" in the 1780s, but Allan's interest in this kind of subject may be dated at least to the previous decade (Chapter I, p. 13 ff.), and, in any case, Paul Sandby's prints and drawings of such subjects, dating from c. 1760, are a much more likely influence (cf. Figures 282-83, between pp. 327-28).

21. *David Allan of Alloa*, Alva, 1951, pp. 74 and 27; his Chapter VIII, "The Art of Allan", both indicates the previous accounts of the artist and summarises the major areas of his *oeuvre* (*ibid.*, pp. 74-81).

22. *Ibid.*, pp. 78, 80, and 75; the last words are Gordon's strictures upon Monkhouse's estimate in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, 1885.

23. *Ibid.*, pp. 81 and 76; there is a "List of Works by David Allan" at the end of his book. In his Preface Gordon acknowledged the help of three successive directors of the NGS (Caw, Cursiter and Waterhouse).

24. *Ibid.*, pp. 45 and 26.

25. Gordon in his Preface wrote of "the joy and the toil of more than a dozen years". His "List of Works" is divided into five sections ("The Glasgow Period", "The Italian Period", "Undated Italian Works", "The Scottish Period" and "Undated Scottish Works"). The description of

the medium in which each work was executed is occasionally haphazard, and there are some omissions of pictures which Gordon knew and mentioned in his text; on p. 76 he wrote that "[Allan's] works number over four hundred". More than six hundred works by Allan are recorded, some five hundred of these being extant, together with several sketch-books.

26. *The Indefatigable Mr Allan*, Scottish Arts Council, 1973. The title refers to an assessment made of the artist by Sir William Hamilton, recorded in HMC II, Appendix - see note 33 to Chapter III - but, bearing in mind that Allan "in one aspect was essentially a vernacular artist", Mr. Skinner admits that "there was some temptation to call this exhibition in the language of today 'The David Allan Show'". Allan's importance in various aspects of art in Scotland - in portraiture and Conversation Pieces, in History, in topographical drawing and in illustration as well as in "domestic *genre*" - is shown both in this catalogue and in an article in *Country Life*, 19th August, 1965, in which Mr. Skinner describes Allan as an "experimenter, an explorer in the subject matter of paint", and considers him a "catalyst" among Scottish painters. In the catalogue, the importance of Allan's contemporary work for the social historian is emphasised rather than its didactic function (*e.g.* p. 10); the words quoted in the text are from p. 13.

27. *Scottish Painters at Home and Abroad 1700-1900*, London, 1975, Chapter 7, "David Allan: Classical Antiquity and Contemporary Genre", pp. 114-23, and also Chapter 4, "Portraiture: Ramsay's Contemporaries", 2, "David Allan, Alexander Nasmyth and the Conversation Piece", pp. 68-72. The title of Chapter 5 might imply the usual division of Allan's work into separate *niches*, but in fact the authors point out that "Classical art was also to influence some of his non-classical works" (p. 114).

28. *Painting in Scotland The Golden Age*, Oxford, 1986, Chapter V, "A Vision of Pastoral Simplicity", pp. 63-73.

29. D. and F. Irwin, *op. cit.*, p. 114.

30. *Ibid.*, p. 166.

31. Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 71, 114, 116 and 118.

32. Gordon had certainly seen many of Allan's song illustrations, in a volume still held by the Royal Scottish Academy, but in his chapter "The Illustrator of Burns" he devoted more attention to the poet than to the painter, referred in the briefest of terms to Allan's "new work on the songs of the national poet", and only mentioned in passing the titles of a few songs without indicating that some of these songs were in fact traditional. The Irwins refer only to Allan's having "undertaken to illustrate



some of Burns's own works" (*op. cit.*, p. 118).

33. D. and F. Irwin, *op. cit.*, pp. 36 and 120.

34. *Ibid.*, p. 121. Cf. Gordon, *op. cit.*, p. 26 (quoted p. xxxii *supra*), and Tonge, *op. cit.*, p. 45; "To call him 'our Scottish Hogarth' is to be very wide of the mark". Cf. also Macmillan, *op. cit.*, p. 66 (quoted p. xxxiv *infra*).

35. *Ibid.*, p. 121. It was not only Hogarth and Greuze - cited by the Irwins - who thought thus. The religious implication in the sentence quoted may be a memory of Paton's reference to "sermons in colour" (quoted *ibid.*, p. 294).

36. *Ibid.*, p. 118-19 and 121.

37. *Ibid.*, p. 121.

38. *Painting in Scotland*, Oxford, 1986, Preface (second paragraph). The other "preoccupation" is "the relationship between seeing and knowing, in which painting followed philosophy"; Macmillan reminds readers of his having "had to compromise between coherence and comprehensiveness", and also of his having been "limited by the practicalities of scale".

39. *Ibid.*, p. 64.

40. *Ibid.*, p. 65. On Hamilton and Runciman, cf. esp. *ibid.*, pp. 39 and 52 ff.

41. *Ibid.*, pp. 64-5.

42. *Ibid.*, pp. 64-6.

43. *Ibid.*, p. 66.

44. *Ibid.*, p. 66.

45. *Ibid.*, pp. 68 and 73.

46. The quotation is from Alexander Pope's epistle "To Mr. Addison Occasioned by his Dialogues on Medals", line 52. In ancient Rome,

"The verse and sculpture bore an equal part

And Art reflected images to Art".

(*Collected Poems*, ed. with an introduction by Bonamy Dobrée, Everyman edn., London and New York, 1924, revised 1956, 1963 reprint, p. 106).

47. The quotation is from Fuseli's Fourth Lecture at the Royal Academy; the immediate subject is "an epic performance". His words are quoted more fully in Chapter II, p. 80 *infra*.

48. Robert Rosenblum, quoted in J. Burke, *Art in England 1714-1800*, Oxford, 1976, Preface, p. vii.

49. See, for example (from Algernon Graves *The Royal Academy of Arts A Complete Dictionary of Contributors and their work from its foundation in 1769 to 1904*, London, 1905) the works exhibited by Henry Singleton from 1784 until 1839; there is little change in his subject-matter during this long period. Similarly, Fuseli continued in his rôle of "hobgoblin painter" for twenty-five years after the turn of the century.

50. Dedication of his translation of *Æneis*, in *Works*, ed. Walter Scott, 18 vols., London, 1808, Vol. 14, p. 127; or *Poems and Fables*, ed. James Kinsley, Clarendon Press, 1958, Vol. III, p. 1003.

51. The word "Gallery" was for long the general term for a collection of prints, often after

the work of one painter, whether or no these had ever actually been exhibited together in a gallery.

52. *Collection of Prints, From Pictures Painted for the Purpose of Illustrating the Dramatic Works of Shakespeare, by the Artists of Great-Britain*, London, 2 vols., 1803-1805, containing one hundred prints, with another hundred in the nine folio volumes of Shakespeare's *Works*, ed. George Steevens, 1802. The collection was reissued in 1968, and reprinted (in slightly abridged form) by Arno Press, New York, 1979, introduction by A. E. Santaniello.

53. Cf. his letter to Buchan, Appendix III.

54. Scott spoke of Baron Hume's Edinburgh University lectures on law in the words first quoted; Lockhart's *Life*, (1837; i.e. *Memoirs of the Life of Sir Walter Scott*), quoted in David Daiches "The Scottish Enlightenment", in *A Hotbed of Genius The Scottish Enlightenment 1730-1790*, Edinburgh University Press, 1986, p. 7 (his essay was substantially reprinted as a Saltire Society pamphlet, 1986). The second quotation is from *Waverley*, 1814 (anonymously), Chapter LXXII, "A Postscript, which should have been a Preface", third paragraph; Everyman edn., London and New York, 1906, 1973 reprint, p. 476.

55. Hume, *Essays Moral, Political and Literary*, (1741-42), Part II, Essay II, "Of Refinement in the Arts" (entitled "Of Luxury" in some editions), in *The Philosophical Works of David Hume*, 4 vols., Edinburgh and Boston, 1854, Vol. III, p. 297; "affects" in original.

56. *Ibid.*

57. The quotation is from William Smellie, "A Dissertation on the Means of Supporting and Promoting Public Spirit, wrote November, 1760", in his *Literary and Characteristical Lives*; quoted by D. D. McElroy in *Scotland's Age of Improvement A Survey of Eighteenth-Century Literary Clubs and Societies*, Washington State University Press, 1969, p. 66. In 1780, the Trustees' Academy was "solely appropriated for the use of manufactures, not intended as an academy of painting"; Hugo Arnot, *The History of Edinburgh from the earliest accounts, to the present time*, Edinburgh, 1780, p. 323.

58. Adam Smith's *Theory of Moral Sentiments* was published in 1759, his *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations* in 1776; the closing sentences of the first record Smith's view of its connection to the second. Hume refers several times to "the science of Man" in his Introduction to *A Treatise of Human Nature; Being An Attempt to introduce the experimental Method of Reasoning into Moral Subjects*, first published in 1739 and 1740, anonymously. Hume's *History of England* was published 1754-62, in six volumes.

59. The quotation is from Robert Fergusson,



"Hame Content, A Satire, *To all whom it may concern*", line 74 ("MARCHES" and "estate" in original); *Poems*, STS edn., ed. M.P. McDiarmid, 2 vols., Edinburgh and London, 1954-56, Vol. II, p. 159. A brief, balanced and readily accessible account of the economic effects of this Union is in T. C. Smout, *A History of the Scottish People 1560-1830*, London, 1969, Chapter X, "The Transformation of the Economy", I, The Prelude to the Take-Off, 1690-1780. Smout quotes from Mackintosh of Borlum's *Essay on the Ways and Means for Inclosing*, 1729, his observation that the "improvement" of which most boasted, or the change in living conditions most remarked upon, was "how much more handsomely the gentry live now than before the Union" (*op. cit.*, p. 285; Fontana reissue in paperback, 1982, p. 266).

60. Defoe, *A Tour through the Whole Island of Great Britain*, (1724-1726), Letter XII; Everyman edn., London and New York, 1962, 1966 reprint, p. 334. The second quotation is from the *Statistical Account of Scotland*, ed. Sir John Sinclair, (21 vols., 1791-1799), quoted from the reprint in 20 vols. by EP Publishing, Wakefield, 1978, in which "all the parish accounts for individual counties are printed together for the first time" (see n. 64; *Account* cited in subsequent notes as *SA*). The Rev. Fleming of Kirkaldy, whose words are quoted (*SA*, X, p. 528), was not alone in noting the severe effects of taxes and duties imposed after 1707, of the restrictive practices adopted to protect English trading interests, and of the "several wars, which followed each other with little intermission for more than half a century" (*ibid.*). Within this same volume of *SA*, for instance - covering the kingdom of Fife - the Rev. Forrester of Anstruther-Wester noted that, from more than fifty before the Union, the number of boats and ships in Easter and Wester Anstruther was in 1764 less than ten; *ibid.*, pp. 38-9, and cf. also pp. 92 and 326n.

61. *The Expedition of Humphry Clinker*, a letter of September 20<sup>th</sup>, Matt. Bramble to Dr. Lewis, in *Works*, ed. W. E. Henley, London and New York, 1899, Vol. IV, p. 167. Lismahago was conceived as a redoubtable conversationalist: "I may safely admit these premises," answered the Lieutenant, "without subscribing to your inference." &c.

62. The quotation is from John MacQueen, *The Enlightenment and Scottish Literature Volume One Progress and Poetry*, Scottish Academic Press, Edinburgh, 1982, p. 37 (the last sentence of Chapter I, "Prelude to the Eighteenth Century"; "The" in original). In I, MacQueen demonstrates that "the Scottish Enlightenment was the natural, almost the inevitable, outcome of several centuries of Scottish and European

intellectual history", and indicates the relationship of contemporary concerns to "our world of the late twentieth century" (cf *ibid.*, pp. 3-5). In addition to the wide-ranging publications cited in n. 64 *infra*, another recent work in which the author stresses the importance of setting eighteenth-century Scotland in its proper European perspective is F. W. Freeman's *Robert Fergusson and the Scots Humanist Compromise*, Edinburgh University Press, 1984; some of the material in Chapter I, "The Intellectual Background of the Vernacular Revival before Burns", has previously appeared in *Studies in Scottish Literature*, and, as "The Vernacular Movement", in *A Companion to Scottish Culture*, ed. David Daiches, London, 1981, pp. 393-96.

63. *Letters From Edinburgh; Written in the Years 1774 And 1775; Containing Some Observations On The Diversions, Customs, Manners, and Laws, Of The Scotch Nation, During A Six Months Residence in Edinburgh*, 2 vols., London, 1776, Letter XXI, February 18<sup>th</sup>, 1775, "The Different Manufactures of Scotland", II, p. 172 ff. (cited as *Letters from Edinburgh* in subsequent notes).

64. Among secondary sources, Henry Grey Graham's famous *The Social Life of Scotland in the Eighteenth Century*, (1899), is consistently readable, but less reliable - except, of course, when Graham adduces contemporary sources - than later commentators, against whose more balanced judgments his colourful account should always be tested. T. C. Smout's *A History of the Scottish People 1560-1830*, London, 1969, is classic, while the greater political field is covered in William Ferguson's *Scotland: 1689 to the Present*, Edinburgh, 1968, and Bruce Lenman's *Integration, Enlightenment and Industrialization; Scotland 1746-1832*, London, 1981. Four collections of essays make indispensable reading; the earliest, *Scotland in the Age of Improvement*, edd. Phillipson and Mitchison, Edinburgh University Press, 1970, covers a wide range of material; Houston and Whyte, *Scottish Society 1500-1800*, Cambridge University Press, 1988, and Devine and Mitchison, *People and Society in Scotland*, Edinburgh, 1988, are complementary, containing much valuable information and analysis and offering in some cases views of the same or similar subjects from different angles; to these must be added *Improvement and Enlightenment Proceedings of the Scottish Historical Studies Seminar University of Strathclyde 1987-88*, ed. Devine, Edinburgh, 1989. Norbert Waszek, *Man's Social Nature A Topic of the Scottish Enlightenment in its Historical Setting*, (1979), Frankfurt and New York, 1986, is an interesting account of the views of "four leading representatives" (Hutcheson, Hume, Smith and Ferguson) of that



Enlightenment against a background of the "economic, social and political situation" of the country; and *A Hotbed of Genius The Scottish Enlightenment*, ed. D. Daiches, Peter Jones and Jean Jones, Edinburgh University Press, 1986, includes studies of Hume, Smith, Joseph Black and James Hutton, together with a look at "Scotland and America" and an introductory chapter by Daiches since substantially reprinted as a Saltire Society pamphlet. Among primary sources, the *Statistical Account* is unsurpassable, and may be the more conveniently consulted in the edition by EP Publishing, Wakefield, 1978, in which the parish returns are arranged by county. References to this edition, however, by including the names of the relevant parishes, will enable the reader to make use of the *original* volumes with little less ease. In these, as in all other quotations from contemporary or earlier sources, the original punctuation, spelling and other accidentals are preserved where possible; reference to all such sources is made in a manner which, in addition to its allowing immediate location in one edition or collection, will allow approximate location - of chapter or letter, for example - in any other.

65. Cf. Adam Ferguson, *An Essay on the History of Civil Society* (1767), Part II, Section I, fourth and third paragraphs from the end:

"Thucydides, notwithstanding the prejudice of his country against the name of *Barbarian*, understood that it was in the customs of barbarous nations he was to study the more ancient manners of Greece.

"The Romans might have found an image of their own ancestors; in the representations they have given of ours; and if ever an Arab clan shall become a civilized nation, or any American tribe escape the poison which is administered by our traders of Europe, it may be from the relations of the present times, and the descriptions which are now given by travellers, that such a people, in after ages, may best collect the accounts of their origin. It is in their present condition, that we are to behold, as in a mirror, the features of our own progenitors; and from thence we are to draw our conclusions with respect to the influence of situations, in which, we have reason to believe, our fathers were placed" (ed. D. Forbes, Edinburgh, 1966, p. 80; other contemporary views are adduced in Chapter III, pp. 130-34 *infra*). Ferguson, from northern Perthshire and a native Gaelic speaker, referred in his writings no more frequently to Scotland's own "oldest race of inhabitants" than, for example, did John Millar; *i.e.*, not at all. Perhaps the rising of 1745 and the subsequent, systematic destruction of the clan

system and the people's way of life were subjects so recent and sensitive that it was felt safer to discourse upon primitive peoples from different continents or island groups.

66. "This is the historical age and we are the historical people": quoted from *Letters of David Hume*, ed. J. Y. T. Grieg, Oxford, 1932, 2, p. 230, by David Daiches in "The Scottish Enlightenment", in *A Hotbed of Genius*, Edinburgh University Press, 1986, p. 8, and by many others.

67. William Robertson, *The History of Scotland during the reigns of Queen Mary and of King James VI till his accession to the crown of England With a review of the Scottish history previous to that period, and an appendix containing original papers*, (1759); "chronological" in the text (p. xliii), of course, refers to the dates of the events themselves rather than the order in which Allan's pictures were executed.

68. *Letters to Elizabeth Rose of Kilravock On Literature Events and People 1768-1815*, ed. Horst W. Drescher, Edinburgh and London, 1967, p. 176; Letter of 17<sup>th</sup> August, 1775, on, *inter alia*, Allan Ramsay's *The Gentle Shepherd*. Public expressions of opinion about the Scottish language, by Mackenzie and others, are given in Chapters IV and VI, pp. 145-46, 257-58 and 309-13 *infra*. Needless to say, Allan consulted (and copied) Knox's words in connection with his Historical paintings, *not* his song-illustrations.

69. Cf. *Memoirs*, in *The Gentle Shepherd*, Edinburgh, 1808, pp. 628-29, quoted p. xlvii *infra*.

70. *Ibid.*, p. 630.

71. The words quoted are from Allan's dedication to *The Gentle Shepherd*, transcribed in full from the first edition, Foulis Press, Glasgow 1788, as Appendix IV. The contrast is conducted in broad and general terms; a few examples of Allan's works — invariably those published as prints — having been actually copied by later artists are brought together in footnote 4 to Chapter VII, and cf. also two illustrations to songs written by Burns, Figures 199 and 248 (in Chapter VI).

72. Cf. the last sentence of the Rev. T. C. Gordon's account:

"His training along classical lines was not without its value, but neither his training, nor even his shyness nor his self-reproach could stifle his inherent genius, nor divert him from that new field of the Scottish genre, where, while he made it so much his very own, he yet left ample scope for a brilliant succession of followers" (*David Allan of Alloa*, Alva, 1951, p. 81).

73. Other written sources include holograph references on drawings, of particular significance in Chapters V and VI; it is only slightly anticipating material more fully pre-



sented in later pages to make reference here to, for example, the quotation from the *Memoirs* of 1808 given on the next page (p. xlvii), and to Appendix VI, where evidence of one of these interests is given literally in passing. There are subjects from Tasso, Ariosto and Voltaire from Allan's hand (extant or recorded), as well as from the Classics and other typical sources for a British artist of the time, the Bible, Shakespeare, Thomson, "Ossian", and, in addition, a wide range of Scottish poets (Chapters II, IV and VI). To judge from the books known to have been in his possession, Allan read French as well as Italian; together with the Italian in which he must have become fluent, Allan almost certainly knew Latin, presumably learnt at school in Alloa; he did not require any translation of several lengthy inscriptions which he copied from Roman altarpieces, though he did request an explanation of Greek characters (see n. 41 to Chapter I). The late Rev. Gordon's view of Allan's punctuation, spelling, &c. was based largely on his having accepted Burns's style and polish as characteristic of letter-writing of the time; while the expression in Allan's letters is conversational and often haphazard, there is not any need to assume that some of the material which he prepared for publication is "too well written to have come from the pen of Allan", though at the same time there is not any reason to deny that "a literary friend" would have revised his letter of dedication in his edition of *The Gentle Shepherd* (Gordon, *op. cit.*, pp. 26 and 45).

74. See for example Chapter I, pp. 10 and 26; Allan refers to "Mecenas" and "St. Joshua Rynolds" in a letter of December, 1780, to the Earl of Buchan, transcribed in full, from the original in the Laing MSS., Edinburgh University Library, as Appendix III.

75. Details of Allan's collection of books and prints, drawings, paintings, and other items, are given in Chapters I and VII, pp. 8-10, 19, and 323, and the corresponding footnotes. These details have been gathered from two sales of Allan's effects, both held in Edinburgh after his death; for the full titles of these public auctions, see "Abbreviations used in the Notes", entries "Sale I" and "Sale II". The "treatise" was lot 98, first day's sale, in the second of these auctions (Sale II, p. 6), and was bought by a "M<sup>r</sup> Walker" for 8/-. This may have been George Walker, a pupil of Alexander Runciman's who kept a "Drawing and Painting Academy" in Edinburgh at the turn of the century (Brydall, *Art in Scotland*, Edinburgh and London, 1889, pp. 293-94); he bought some artist's equipment on the last night of the sale, as may be seen from one of the two slips of paper pasted into

the copy of the catalogue in the National Library of Scotland. The edition of the *Trattato* would have been *A Treatise of Painting, by Leonardo da Vinci, Translated from The Original Italian, And adorn'd with a great Number of Cuts. To which is prefix'd The Author's Life; Done from The Last Edition of the French*, London, 1721, dedicated to Sir Thomas Hanner by John Senex. The French version would probably have been the selection by Dufresne, published in Paris, 1651.

76. Sale II, p. 6, lot 89; "Abbe Winkelman, on the Fine Arts, Glasgow 1766", presumably *Reflections Concerning the Imitation of the Grecian Artists in Painting and Sculpture. In a Series of Letters, By the Abbe Winkelman, Principal Librarian to his Prussian Majesty*, Glasgow, 1766, printed not by the Foulis Press but by Robert Urie (title given *verbatim et literatim*).

77. Winckelmann, *op. cit.*, Letter seventh, p. 156.

78. The words quoted are from the dedication of Allan's edition of *The Gentle Shepherd*, 1788.

79. The quotation is from Sir Joshua Reynolds, *Discourses on Art*, London, 1797, (ed. Robert R. Wark, New Haven and London, 1974), Discourse VII, line 35; Burns, though he and Allan never met, knew that they would have been "the best friends on earth"; most of the last paragraph from his letter of November 19<sup>th</sup>, [1794], to George Thomson (chief clerk to the Board of Trustees in Edinburgh) is quoted in Chapter VI, p. 279 *infra*, from *The Letters of Robert Burns*, ed. J. de Lancey Ferguson, 2 vols., Clarendon Press, 1931, Vol. II, pp. 278-79 (second edn., ed. 6, Ross Roy, 1985, Vol. II, pp. 330-31), serial number 647 in each.

80. Alistair Smart, *The Life and Art of Allan Ramsay*, London, 1952, p. 101; F. B. Snyder, "Burns and his biographers", article in *Annual Burns Chronicle and Club Directory*, Burns Federation, Kilmarnock, 1932, pp. 55-74 (p. 68 quoted).

81. Snyder, *ibid.*

82. Cf. p. xxix *supra*. This particular distortion may have been accidental, not deliberate; there is, however, no doubt about those immediately following (p. xlvii).

83. *MEMOIRS of the late DAVID ALLAN, Painter in Edinburgh; commonly called the Scots Hogarth, in The Gentle Shepherd, with illustrations of the Scenary*, Edinburgh, 1808, pp. 628-29.

84. *The Lives of the Most Eminent British Painters, Sculptors, and Architects*, 6 vols., London, 1833, Vol. VI, p. 48; also *The Lives of the Most Eminent British Painters by Allan Cunningham, Revised edition, Annotated and continued to the Present Time by Mrs. Charles Heaton*, 3 vols., London, 1879, Vol. II, p. 378.

85. The author of the *Memoirs* was presumably Robert Brown of Newhall (Chapter IV, p. 160 *infra*).



# Chronology

- 1744 [ February 13<sup>th</sup> ] David Allan born in Alloa.
- 1755 [ February 23<sup>rd</sup> ] Allan enters the Foulis Academy in the University of Glasgow. Draws from casts and life model. Studies painting and printmaking; Meets James Tassie (1735-1799).
- 1761 Engraves first Foulis Exhibition.
- 1762 Allan registers with masonic Lodge of St. John, in Alloa.
- 1764 Possible arrival in Italy.
- 1767 [ August 23<sup>rd</sup> ] Allan arrives at Livorno. In Rome, Naples, Venice, Florence &c. for ten years; member of the *Accademia di San Luca*.
- 1771 First exhibits at Royal Academy.
- 1773 Wins the gold medal in *Concorso Balastro*; scene from *Iliad* Book VI
- 1775 "Roman Carnival" series & "Origin of Painting". Presents portrait of Sir Wm. Hamilton to British Museum.
- 1776 "About to leave Roma" [ February ] Album "Dresses ... mostly from Nature"
- 1777 Allan in London.
- 1779 Sells "Carnival" to Sandby; returns to Scotland; falls "dangerously ill"
- 1780 Highland Tour. Illustrates Gaelic poems (in translation). Atholl family group and "The Highland Dance". Stays at Hopetoun House.
- 1783 "Employments ... in Edinburgh" or "Scotch Figures" series begins; "set of the Gentle Shepherd" mentioned.
- 1784 "Black Stool" / "Presbyterian Penance" (aquatint).
- 1786 [ June 14<sup>th</sup> ] Allan appointed Master of the Trustees' Academy.
- 1787 Portrait of William Inglis.
- 1788 Allan's edition of *The Gentle Shepherd* printed by Foulis Press. Drawings from Scottish songs. Marries Shirley Welsh [ October ].
- 1789 Begins cycle of "historical peices from the life of the unfortunate Queen Mary"; three exhibited 1791.
- 1791 Tassie's *Descriptive Catalogue*.
- 1792 [ September ] Allan in Glasgow.
- 1793 Occupied with illustration of Scottish songs and ballads.
- 1795 "The Penny Wedding".
- 1796 [ August 6<sup>th</sup> ] Allan dies.
- 1745 Jacobite Rebellion.
- 1747 Paul Sandby in Scotland, until 1752.
- 1750 Robert Fergusson born.
- 1752 *Proposals for Public Works in... Edinburgh*.
- 1753 Hogarth's *Analysis of Beauty* published.
- 1754 Foulis Academy founded. Hume's *History of England* begins publication. Burt's *Letters*.
- 1757 Allan Ramsay *senior* dies [born 1684].
- 1758 Sandby's etchings from Ramsay's *The Gentle Shepherd*. The "Five Cuts" first issued.
- 1759 Robert Burns born. William Robertson's *History of Scotland* published (2 vols).
- 1760 Trustees' Academy founded. First Society of Arts exhibition. Macpherson's *Fragments*.
- 1762 Publication of Hume's *History of England* completed (6 Volumes).
- 1765 Bishop Percy's *Reliques* published.
- 1767 James Craig's *Plan* for New Town of Edinburgh approved by Town Council.
- 1768 A. Ross's *Poems*. Royal Academy founded.
- 1769 Herd's *Ancient and Modern Scottish Songs*. Thomas Pennant in Scotland.
- 1771 Pennant's first *Tour*; another in 1774-5.
- 1772 A. Runciman Master of Trustees' Academy.
- 1773 First edition of Fergusson's *Poems*.
- 1774 Fergusson dies.
- 1775 Andrew Foulis dies; Academy closes. Barry's *Inquiry* published; Dr. Johnson's *Journey to the Western Islands* published.
- 1776 Herd's *Ancient and Modern Scottish Songs* [enlarged, 2 vols]. Topham's *Letters from Edinburgh* published. The Foulis Collection sold in London, by Christie. Robert Foulis dies; printing continued by his son Andrew.
- 1780 Sandby publishes four of the "Roman Carnival" series in aquatint. David Stuart Erskine, 11<sup>th</sup> Earl of Buchan, founds the Scottish Society of Antiquaries.
- 1783 Public exhibition of Barry's *Series of Pictures ... at the Adelphi*.
- 1784 Allan Ramsay *junior* dies [born 1713].
- 1785 David Wilkie born; A. Runciman dies [b 1736].
- 1786 The Kilmarnock Edition. Boswell's *Tour of the Hebrides* published.
- 1787 James Johnston's *The Scots Musical Museum* commences publication. Six volumes, each of one hundred songs: 1787, '88, '90, '92, '96, 1802. Burns writes Prefaces for II, III and IV.
- 1789 Foundation stone of New College laid, Edinburgh University. Gavin Hamilton in Scotland. Fall of the *Bastille*.
- 1790 *Scots Songs* published by Morison of Perth.
- 1791 Collection of Scottish songs published by Lawrie and Symington, Edinburgh.
- 1793 Thomson's *Select Collection* (First Set).
- 1794 Ritson's *Scottish Song* (two volumes).
- 1795 Morison's *Ossian*, with prints after Allan.
- 1796 Burns dies.

"The appellation of, a Scotch Bard, is by far my highest pride; to continue to deserve it is my most exalted ambition.—Scottish scenes, and Scottish story are the themes I could wish to sing.—I have no greater, no dearer aim than to have it in my power, unplagu'd with the routine of business, for which Heaven knows I am unfit enough, to make leisurely pilgrimages through Caledonia; to sit on the fields of her battles; to wander on the romantic banks of her rivers; and to muse by the stately tower or venerable ruins, once the honored abodes of her heroes.—" <sup>1</sup>

"In the humbler walk of Painting, which consists in the just representation of ordinary Life, (by which it is believed, the best moral effects, may be often produced,) there can be no better models, than what Nature, in this country, daily presents to our view. Without descending to mean and low objects, it is possible, by a strict adherence to truth and nature, to produce compositions, which though not so striking as the sublimer efforts of the pencil, are yet capable both of pleasing and instructing, in a very high degree.

This consideration has incited me, to present the public, with a series of designs, illustrating the different scenes of a justly admired Pastoral, the *GENTLE SHEPHERD* of Allan Ramsay. . . . May I hope that *YOU*, who have justly acquired the highest reputation in the present age, for the *HEROIC* and *SUBLIME* of painting, will not condemn me for this attempt to join with the Poet of my native country, in the imitation of agreeable nature." <sup>2</sup>

"I look on myself to be a kind of brother-brush with him.—"Pride in Poets is nae sin," & I will say it, that I look on Mr Allen & Mr Burns to be the only genuine & real Painters of Scottish Costume in the world.—" <sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Robert Burns to Mrs. Frances Anna Dunlop of Dunlop, 22nd March, 1787. From *The Letters of Robert Burns*, edited by J. De Lancey Ferguson, Clarendon Press, 1931, Volume I, pp. 80-81 (second edition, edited by G. Ross Roy, Volume I, p. 101), number 90.

<sup>2</sup> David Allan to Gavin Hamilton, 3rd October, 1788. From the dedicatory epistle in Allan's edition of *The Gentle Shepherd*, published by the Foulis Press, Glasgow, December, 1788. The text is transcribed in full from the original on pp. 390-91 *infra*, in Appendix IV.

<sup>3</sup> Robert Burns to George Thomson, 19<sup>th</sup> November, 1794. From *The Letters of Robert Burns*, edited by Ferguson, Clarendon Press, 1931, II, p. 279 (second edition, edited by Roy, II, p. 331: Burns originally wrote, but deleted, the word "to" after "brother-brush"), number 647. The quotation is from Ramsay's second "Answer" to Lieutenant William Hamilton of Gilbertfield, stanza nine.



Scottish Scenes

and

Scottish Story

## Chapter I

### Making a progress in the Arts.

Allan at the Foulis Academy, the Accademia  
di San Luca and the Trustees' Academy.

1755-1796

*David Allan's first patrons—the Foulis Academy—its origin and conduct—Allan in Italy—his sketchbooks—his collection of prints—studies from the Antique, copies of Old Masters, and some original drawings—Allan's contemporaries and contacts in Italy—influences upon his work—his sketches of costume and character—the Roman Carnival—Allan's Historical paintings—his return to Britain—the end of the Foulis Academy—Allan's portraits, family groups and Conversation Pieces—Master of the Trustees' Academy—his interest in Scottish history, antiquities, literature and music—last Histories and Genre scenes.*



## I

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### Making a progress in the Arts.

*"Former favours I have already received invites me to send something to Alloa in my way of painting, and write that I am well, and never forgets the generous assistance, which my benefactors has been pleased to grant in placing me in this first and noblest school in Rome, which may lead me to improvement in that fine art of painting, which is all my comfort and greatest pleasure."*

David Allan, April 1773.<sup>1</sup>

An irresistible, and well attested anecdote of David Allan's childhood tells how he was expelled from Alloa parish school for his having caricatured the elderly and short-sighted master.<sup>2</sup> His being sent to the Foulis Academy soon after his eleventh birthday, probably at the suggestion of Lord Cathcart, confirms that his talent was a precocious one.<sup>3</sup> While the cause of his leaving Alloa has often been thought prophetic of Allan's true artistic humour, his particular genius, it is the influence behind his going to Glasgow which may be more profitably recognised as a sign of things to come.

Allan was fortunate in his patrons and their connections throughout his life. His youthful studies were assisted by the local families of Erskine, Cathcart and Abercrombie, his career advanced and his works commissioned in later years by, among others, the Earl and Countess of Hopetoun, the Duke and Duchess of Atholl, Sir James Grant, Sir William Hamilton, Thomas Graham of Balgowan and the Earl of Buchan.<sup>4</sup> At the time of Allan's entering the Foulis Academy his father was the Shoremaster at Alloa, supervising the loading of coal from the pits owned by the Erskine family. In this position he was succeeded by his son James, David's half-brother and an important source of information about the artist's life and interests.<sup>5</sup> Thus from the first Allan, entirely by chance, was favourably placed to receive enlightened patronage from several quarters, and he took full advantage of the opportunity. Many years later Robert Burns wrote to his friend

Alexander Cunningham about Allan's famous edition of *The Gentle Shepherd*, and innocently wondered

"Why is he not more known? Has he no Patrons; or do 'Poverty's cold wind & crushing rain beat keen & heavy' on him? . . . — What has led me to this, is the idea of such merit as Mr Allan possesses, & such riches as a Nabob, or Government Contractor possesses, & why do not they form a mutual league? — Let Wealth shelter & cherish unprotected Merit, and the gratitude & celebrity of that Merit will richly repay." <sup>6</sup>

Not only was Allan grateful for his having greatly profited from such early protection, as his future regard for those he always referred to as his "benefactors" attests, he did indeed become "celebrated", in the language of the time, both at home and abroad.

The first recorded fruits of the "mutual league" formed between Allan and his many patrons were two paintings of the Foulis Academy, and the engravings he made after them. One recorded an exhibition of paintings by its students, the other showed them at their benches and easels, and included "an exact portrait of Robert Foulis . . criticising a large painting, and giving instructions to his principal painter about it".<sup>7</sup> The second of these paintings, the only one now located, remained in Allan's possession for the rest of his life.<sup>8</sup>

It is fitting that this painting of the Foulis Academy should eventually have entered the Hunterian Gallery. Robert and Andrew Foulis, printers to the University of Glasgow, felt that the Old College would be the proper place for their Academy to flourish, and were gratified to be offered accommodation there in October, 1753.<sup>9</sup> The Earl of Buchan, little older than Allan himself and once a student at the University, later wrote that the brothers

"naturally concluded that an Academy for the cultivation of the Fine Arts would, with great propriety and utility, be united to a University. From this union they hoped a double benefit would be derived; for, as learning is necessary to artists, so, a fine taste is necessary to complete a liberal education, nor should learned men be without a relish for those arts, which have in all ages been deemed liberal and polite." <sup>10</sup>

The founders of the Academy had their practical objectives too, sharing with others, such as the founders of the contemporaneous Select Society, the conviction that "nothing can contribute more effectually to promote public advantage, than the erection of societies for propagating and encouraging arts, sciences, and manufactures".<sup>11</sup> Of slightly later date was the Trustees' Academy, more commercially conceived as an Academy of Design, its classes being held in the University of Edinburgh from 1760.<sup>12</sup> Some years after this, the foundation of the Royal Academy in London was also said to have as



its "principal object" the "establishment of well-regulated schools of design".<sup>13</sup> In setting up their own "school for the Art of Designing", with financial support from merchants like Archibald Ingram and aristocrats like Sir John Dalrymple, the Foulis brothers were realising an ambition of some fifteen years' standing. Their business as booksellers and printers had entailed several visits to the Continent, and according to their own account,

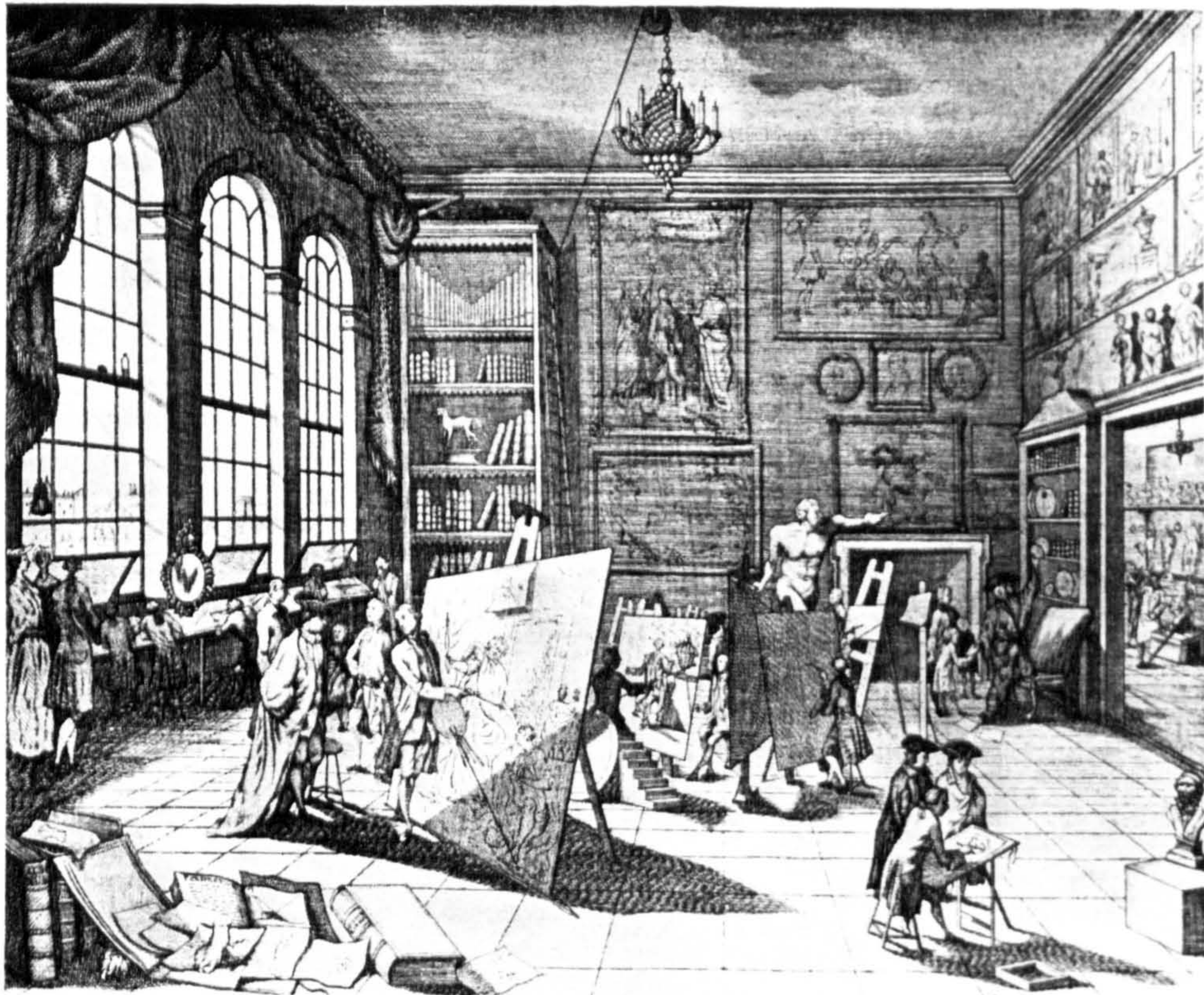
"in the years 1738 and 1739, having gone abroad, and resided for several months at each time at Paris, we had frequent opportunities of conversing with gentlemen of every liberal profession, and to observe the connection and mutual influence of the Arts and Sciences upon one another and upon Society. We had opportunities of observing the influence of invention in Drawing and Modelling on many manufactures. And 'tis obvious that whatever nation has the lead in fashions must previously have invention in Drawing diffused, otherwise they can never rise above copying their neighbours,"<sup>14</sup>

Only by first imitating those of other nations could Scottish artists, and hence manufacturers, hope to excel them. The new Academy was therefore advertised as "a school for the Art of Designing, to be taught by the 'sieurs Aubin and Payien upon the same plan with the foreign Academies".<sup>15</sup> The engraver *Aveline* and the painter Payien were soon joined by their fellow Frenchman Dubois and an Italian "statuary" named Torrie.<sup>16</sup> In addition to works in private collections - "Daniel in the Lions' Den", then owned by the Duke of Hamilton, was copied by Payien and engraved by James Mitchell - students at the Academy had access to more than five hundred paintings and a selection of plaster casts.<sup>17</sup> The Foulis brothers understood that

"such an institution requir'd not only the inspection of proper masters, but seem'd to lay the founder under a necessity of procuring from abroad such a collection of pictures as might communicate the first ideas to his Scholars, and excite their emulation."<sup>18</sup>

If this were not enough, Robert Foulis - already paying his scholars for the prints and plaster casts they made - also offered "little rewards or prizes occasionally to stir them up to outdo themselves or their companions".<sup>19</sup> The success of coupling this modest "distribution of premiums" at the Glasgow Academy with the opportunity of studying after the manner practised on the Continent was soon seen in the work of some of his apprentices, boys with "a proper disposition to the arts", and Foulis recorded that "he [had] been happy in the choice of several, who [had] already made considerable progress".<sup>20</sup> One of these boys, sure enough, was David Allan, and all of twenty years later, having mentioned the progress that had been made in the Academy "in portraits, in history-painting, in engraving, and in the application of drawing to many useful arts,





1. [ The Foulis Academy ], c. 1760. Engraving  
94 x 11. The Mitchell Library, Glasgow,  
(Glasgow Room, GC V. 10).



both civil and military", Robert Foulis was proud to recall that Allan had "laid the foundation of his education" there.<sup>21</sup> Foulis at this time still owned "some drawings and pictures by David Allan, before he went abroad, that are done with invention and spirit, and are surprising at so early a period".<sup>22</sup> As one of the most promising students, Allan would have been admitted to a life class organised by the Foulis brothers, in which those who had

"made a sufficient progress [ would ] have an opportunity of drawing and modelling, not only after pictures and figures in plaister, but also after the life for the space of two hours every evening", <sup>23</sup>

Before proceeding to this class, of course, students would have spent many hours making drawings of those very pictures and plaster casts mentioned by Foulis and shown by Allan in one of his engravings of the Academy. In that, his companions are engaged in every stage of the training offered to a painter of the time. By the large windows overlooking the College Gardens and the Observatory, some of the youngest busy themselves with copying prints or drawings. One of their colleagues, seated with a portable drawing-table at the other side of the room, has progressed to working from a plaster cast. This first move from copying flat prints or drawings to drawing the three dimensions of plaster casts was followed by another of further complexity, as the study of *colore* succeeded that of *diseño*. Such an emphasis upon the understanding of tone and volume seems to have been deeply inculcated in Allan. On several occasions in later years, when in the early stages of developing pictures, he clearly took particular care over the modelling of figures and groups, and the arrangement of whole compositions, in masses of light and shadow.<sup>24</sup> These would typically be created with areas of body colour and patches of black chalk or crayon, white chalk being used to touch in the highlights of drawings made on tinted or prepared paper.

Not only does Allan's engraving show every stage of the mechanical instruction offered at the Foulis Academy, it is virtually a compendium of every aspect of the régime there. Thus in the middle of a room well provided with paintings, books and artists' materials, some of the senior students have progressed to painting from the life, while a cast of the Borghese Gladiator dominates the scene. In the foreground rests a collection of volumes, including Gori's *Museo Florentinum* and a treatise on perspective, overspread by a scattered sheaf of anatomical drawings weighted with another plaster cast. Yet more casts may be glimpsed through the doorway opposite, where a





2. [ The first Foulis Exhibition, 1761 ] En-  
graving 94×11. The Mitchell Library, Glas-  
gow (Glasgow Room, GC V. 10).

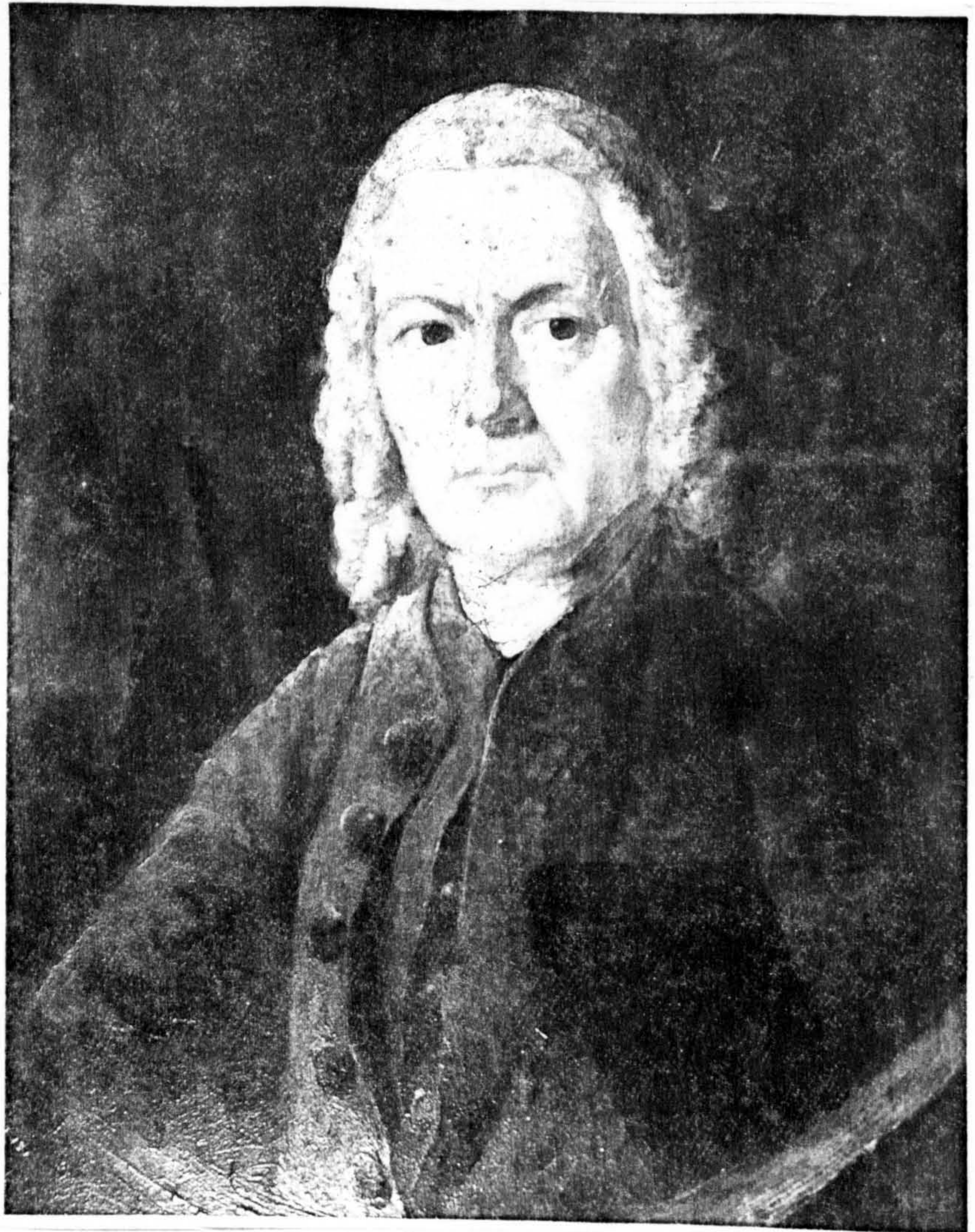


"statuary" wields a chisel in an adjoining room, one singularly free of any *débris* from his work. Pride of place, however, goes appropriately to the Academy's "principal painter", almost dwarfed by the canvas before him. Last stage of all, the ultimate desire of every aspiring artist, was the exercise of Invention in first choosing a notable event from poetry or history, one worthy of being the subject of a Historical Composition, and then deciding the Expression most appropriate and best calculated to strike the imagination of the viewer when that subject was represented on canvas.<sup>25</sup>

While the benefits derived by manufacturers from the Academy were of necessity to be sought in the future, its founders also anticipated a more immediate return upon their investment. Prints, drawings, paintings and plaster casts were made by the apprentices and sold to visitors and subscribers. In 1758, for example, one shilling and sixpence would have bought a "Head of Homer, from fancy, as reciting his verses, in black chalk on blue paper".<sup>26</sup> Casts like the portrait bust seen in the foreground of Allan's print could be had for a guinea, both modelling and casting having been carried out in Glasgow, perhaps by Allan's lifelong friend James Tassie, already a time-served stonemason from Pollokshaws when he entered the Foulis Academy.<sup>27</sup> Most optimistically of all, a copy of the Borghese Gladiator, large as life and cast in lead as an ornament for a formal garden or a country estate, was offered at fifteen guineas.

In addition to raising money for the Academy by the sale of such works, and enjoying the support of aristocrats and local merchants, it seems the Foulis brothers had entertained some hopes of securing royal patronage. The first of their public exhibitions of paintings in the quadrangle of the Old College was held in 1761, at the time of the coronation of George III, Allan's print showing the smoke of a bonfire lit in the High Street to mark the occasion. The novelty of the affair seems to have attracted most of the population of Glasgow, tradesmen, merchants, lords and ladies, College professors and clergymen all craning their necks to see the paintings ranked around the walls or hung high on the tower, where "Daniel in the Lions' den" looms over the bust of Zachary Boyd placed in a *niche* above the gateway. Amidst all this activity and chatter Allan picks out in *silhouette* a pair of dogs, as with social noses they too "snuffed and snowket". Closest to the picture plane and attracting much comment is a large copy of Raphael's "Transfiguration", one that had once been in the possession of Cardinal Richlieu.<sup>28</sup> Raphael is the artist most frequently





3. [Portrait of George Langlands], signed and dated 1765, Oil on wood, 14 $\frac{1}{2}$  X 11 $\frac{1}{2}$ , Royal Scottish Academy.



encountered of all those represented in the Academy's collection and named in its catalogues, although attributions tend to be optimistic; the painting of Saint Cæcilia seen in Allan's other print, for example, is described as "an original, prior to the famous picture at Bologna".<sup>29</sup> The largest painting on show in the quadrangle, occupying almost the whole of the wall next to the "Transfiguration", hopefully represents a king in his state robes, but, while certainly an original, it is not the coronation portrait it has been supposed to be.<sup>30</sup> Instead, it shows a monarch showering coins upon a young artist diligently applying himself at the easel, hardly the most subtle of allegories, and a plea which was not destined to be answered.

Like several of his fellow students, Allan followed his years in the Foulis Academy with a period of study in Italy.<sup>31</sup> Unlike them, however, he was supported not by the travelling scholarship offered by the Academy but again by Lord Cathcart, whose wife was a sister of Sir William Hamilton, British envoy at Naples and "the head of Virtù" there.<sup>32</sup> Another amateur archæologist with whom Allan soon became acquainted was the artist Gavin Hamilton, originally from Lanarkshire but a Roman resident for some time, whose hospitality — particularly to his fellow countrymen — was as proverbial as his antiquarianism was assiduous.<sup>33</sup> Hamilton's advice and encouragement were recalled with gratitude many years later, in the dedication which Allan wrote for the edition of *The Gentle Shepherd* published in 1788 by the Foulis Press.<sup>†</sup> When Allan arrived in Italy, Hamilton was the "Premiero" of the Accademia di San Luca, and his young *protégé* soon entered "this first and noblest school in Rome".<sup>34</sup>

While he was enrolled in the Accademia, Allan's art gained in technical facility, his interests meanwhile developing in three major fields, those of Portraiture, Genre and Historical Composition. The sketchbooks he kept at this time reveal that he did not neglect either Roman ruins and artefacts or the countryside in which they were found, as do finished pictures still extant or recorded in contemporary catalogues. In addition to altars, *sarcophagi*, antique tripods, and the tomb of Virgil near Naples, Allan drew the "Ruins of the Temple of Peace at Rome", the temple of Jupiter Tonans, the Arch of Titus, and "Mecena's Villa at Tivoli".<sup>35</sup> At the same time, like many making the Grand Tour when prints were "in every hand", he bought several volumes of engravings of Antique statues, Piranesi's *Vedute di Roma*, and

† Appendix IV.





4. "Arianna Abandonata da Tesio", c. 1770. Pencil on paper 9 x 9. Copied from *Antichità di Ercolano*, "Pitture", Tomo II, Tavola XV, "Arianna abbandonata da Teseo sul lido di Nasso". From Allan's "Memorandums & Scetches of the Antient Pictures of Herculanium", National Galleries of Scotland, Prints and Drawings; photograph Christie's.



5. [ Dancing Bacchante ], c. 1770/76. Pencil on paper, the figure about four inches high, ( Sketchbook in the National Galleries of Scotland, Department of Prints and Drawings, D5088, f. 4 recto ).



individual prints after Titian, Correggio, Domenichino, Guido Reni, Pietro da Cortona, Annibale Carracci, Andrea Sacchi and his pupil Carlo Maratta.<sup>36</sup> He bought three volumes and another sixteen loose prints after Raphael's works, and even owned a "Head of a damned Soul, traced by a mechanical process, from Mich. Angelo's last judgement", like the Vatican stanze one of the "principal works of modern art" which Allan would have studied in Rome.<sup>37</sup> Rather than the Accademia di San Luca or the French Academy, Rome itself, with the Vatican, the Museo Pio-Clementino and the great *palazzi* to which artists and *milordi* might seek admittance, was "a repository for the great examples of the art", and Allan, in "very commodious" rooms in the Strada della Croce, was indeed living in the midst of treasures.<sup>38</sup>

The most venerable works which had "stood the test of ages", faring rather better than the ruins of the Eternal City, were those Antique statues which represented "almost all the excellent specimens of ancient art".<sup>39</sup> From this source Allan drew *inter alia* "Endymion sleeping", "The Gladiator", the Faun attributed to Praxiteles, several Roman portrait busts and a few reliefs.<sup>40</sup> At least one relief was sketched in Naples, where he would also have studied both Sir William Hamilton's collection of Antique vases and the wealth of artefacts discovered in the excavations at Pompeii and Herculaneum.<sup>41</sup> Few of these drawings are highly worked, most being slight sketches indicating structure rather than detail.

With equal freedom and verve, Allan also sketched from gems and cameos, several such pieces being numbered among his modest collection of *objets d'art*. Most curious and delicate of all was a "Model in Cork, of Constantine's Arch at Rome, on a scale", but the pride of his collection, and no doubt a source of great interest to his friend James Tassie, was surely

"A Box, containing 200 Sulphurs of the most capital Gems in Europe, purchased from the famous maker at Rome, Sig. Christiano." <sup>42</sup>

The copying of paintings themselves was practised with similar industry, both in order to learn from these "great examples of the Art" and in order to sell the results to foreign visitors, generally English and often gullible.<sup>43</sup> Had the Foulis brothers known the extent of this activity, it is likely that their catalogues would have listed less "originals" than they do. In addition to the drawings he made after Raphael, Guido Reni and Guercino, his oil sketches after these and other artists, and the details he painted from a couple of larger pictures or





6.  
[Lapith and Centaur I], c.1770. Pencil on paper 8 $\frac{1}{4}$  x 12 $\frac{1}{4}$ . Copied from *Antichità di Ercolano*, "Pitture", Tomo I, Tavola II. From Allan's "Memorandums & Scetches of the an-tient Pictures of Herculanium", National Galleries of Scotland, Prints and Drawings; photograph Christie's.



7. [Apollo Kitharoides I], c. 1770/75. Pencil on paper 5 x 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ . Sketchbook in a private collection (BCS), f. 4 verso.



8. GAVIN HAMILTON; [Aphrodite bringing Helen to Paris, Prince of Troy], c.1774. Oil on canvas 129 $\frac{1}{2}$  x 111 $\frac{1}{2}$ . Museo di Roma, Rome (from the Villa Borghese, Rome).



frescoes, Allan himself made about a score of finished copies when in Italy.<sup>44</sup> These included copies after works by Titian, Correggio and Caravaggio, a large "Persian Sybil, from the original in the Capitol at Rome, by Guercino", and a small "Holy Family, from the original, by Barocci".<sup>45</sup> He did not neglect examples of ancient painting, turning his eye on "Three Pieces . . . from the Herculaneum" and, like many an artist before and since, on the Aldobrandini Marriage.<sup>46</sup> As well as a painting copied by Gavin Hamilton from the work of an unidentified Roman master, Allan owned original drawings by, among others, Guercino, Piranesi and Antonio Bernini, his collection including such pieces as two views which Batoni made of a statue, a study from the life by Borgognone, and even a "Portrait, original, by Albert Durer".<sup>47</sup>

Finally, artists never scorn to learn from their contemporaries. Gavin Hamilton's taste in Italian paintings, exemplified by his selection *Schola Italica Picturæ*, is clearly mirrored in Allan's own copies and in his collection of prints.<sup>48</sup> Among Allan's pictures, the influence of Hamilton is particularly evident in the weighty figures in a scene of Europa and her maidens, painted in 1769.<sup>49</sup> Less directly obvious, but no less important for that, is the influence on Allan of Hamilton's famous decorative scheme based on the story of Helen of Troy. Although work did not begin in the *Sala di Elena ed Paride* of the Villa Borghese until Allan had left Italy, Hamilton's part in this "great plan" had been discussed as early as 1770.<sup>50</sup> The younger artist seems to have been fired with enthusiasm for such a project, designing a scheme of his own partly from reference to published descriptions, partly from his knowledge of the frescoes at Herculaneum, but largely, to judge from corrections, repetitions, variations and interlineations, from his own fancy.<sup>51</sup> The scheme could be all the more ambitious because it took shape in the pages of a notebook, though a number of subjects described there were later drawn or painted by Allan.<sup>52</sup> Most ambitious of all the planned decorations were several Homeric cycles, and there can be no mistaking the influence here:

"The middil picture exhibits Andromache attended by the Trogan Matrons invoking minerva for the safety of the city The six Smaller ones contain differant stories from homers Iliad viz andromache weaving A mantle for hector The Meeting between him and Andromache hector upbraiding paris his going to the feild accompanied by paris venus Silencing Helen who reprochies paris for his having retreated from menalaus And Aeneas with other trogan chiefs assisting hector when overthrown by Ajax..."<sup>53</sup>

Of the many fellow Scots associated with Gavin Hamilton, Allan knew the Jacobite Andrew Lumisden and was a friend of James Byres, antiquarian and amateur geologist.<sup>54</sup> While there is no definite record of





9. [ Calabrian Shepherds ], c.1770/75. Pencil  
on paper 7½ x 7½. The British Museum, Print  
Room, 1865-6-10-1321.



his having met other members of this "casual academy", it is inconceivable that Allan — his notorious reticence notwithstanding — would not have known at least some of them, such as James Nevay and the *abbé* Peter Grant, as well as having been acquainted with other members of the British community in the *Ghetto degl'Inglesi* around the Spanish Steps.<sup>55</sup> Some of the Historical subjects which he painted, and these not the most common, were also treated by Alexander Runciman and his younger brother John, who died at Naples in the winter of 1768.<sup>56</sup> Closely associated with the Runciman brothers was the portraitist Anne Forbes, who arrived in Rome soon after Allan. Both were therefore under the generous tutelage of Hamilton at the same time, an acquaintanceship renewed later in Scotland.<sup>57</sup>

\* PLATE V

There is equally little evidence of his having had any contact with artists of other nationalities, but there are slightly stronger indications that Allan's knowledge of contemporary Italian painting had some influence on his own work. None of the prolific *vedutisti* seems to have been of great importance to his finished pieces, although, by one account of the time, many Italian painters would have been "ready enough to obtrude their precepts", and to offer their pictures for his inspection.<sup>58</sup> He thought sufficiently highly of works painted in the Vatican by Mengs, *Principe* of the Accademia during part of his stay, to bring home a set of engravings after them.<sup>59</sup> Less elevated in concept and in execution were *Genre* pieces by Pietro Fabris and by Longhi and his followers, minor artists such as Spadaro and Falciatore. Of earlier date are the popular caricatures by Ghezzi which were for long widely available as prints. Allan could have learned from each of these most accessible of sources. There is something of Ghezzi's touch about the slightly mocking characterisation and generally inoffensive satire in his scenes of the Roman Carnival, the choice of tints and the tonal relationships in his paintings often recall Longhi's subtlety, and Sir William Hamilton enjoyed *bambocciate* by both Fabris and Allan, who did go to Venice at some point.<sup>60</sup> His slighter works include a sketch in ink of a Venetian court scene, a pencil drawing of a grinning *gondoliere*, and a finished watercolour of a very dashing "Schiavon of Venice".<sup>61</sup> There he may have bought the large *Studi di Pittura publicati in Venezia* which he brought home with him, and also have seen many examples of Venetian *Genre*, from Longhi's meticulous and tranquil paintings to collections of prints like *Le Arti che vanno per via nella città di Venezia*, published by Zompini in 1753.<sup>62</sup>

\* Figure 18





10. [ Italian mother and child ], c. 1770/76.  
Pen and brown wash over pencil, the figure  
about four inches high, the page 8 $\frac{1}{4}$  x 5 $\frac{1}{4}$ .  
(Sketchbook in the National Galleries of  
Scotland, Department of Prints and Drawings  
D5088, f. 7 *recto*).





11. "Neapolitan Family", 1776. Pen and water-colours over pencil  $9\frac{1}{16} \times 7\frac{1}{4}$ . Aberdeen Art Gallery; "A Collection of Dresses by Da. Allan mostly from Nature 1776" (photograph Christie's).





12, "Napolitan Dance", c. 1770/75. Etching 8¼ x 6¼ (platemark 11¼ x 7¼), Inscribed "D. Allan invt & etcht",



13, "Evening Amusements at Rome", signed and dated 1769, Pen and watercolours over pencil 13 x 18, Glasgow Art Gallery and Museum,



In 1774 a portrait of Allan was painted by Domenico Corvi, a noted Historical painter and winner of one of the famous *Concorsi* organised by the Accademia di San Luca. Composed dramatically in depth, and showing the young artist intent on painting from a reduced cast of the Borghese Gladiator, it may well indicate that he received some form of coaching from Corvi, twenty years his senior, and is at least a memento of friendship arising from shared interests. Apart from prints after Allan's work by several Italian engravers - at least one of whom, Domenico Cunego, would have been introduced by Gavin Hamilton - Corvi's portrait is the only documented link between Allan and contemporary Italian artists. At the same time, it demonstrates the popularity of the sinewy statue as an "Academy figure".<sup>63</sup>

More sinuous and elegant are the statues appearing in Batoni's portraits of young *milord*i, often as objects of their admiration and always as inspiring reminders of the Grand Tour. Neither the minuteness of Batoni's handling nor the brightness of his palette had as much influence on Allan as on Dance, but he was certainly aware of that portrait type in which many a "Relic of nobler days, and noblest arts" provides an evocative background detail, imparting to the subject what is virtually reflected grandeur.<sup>64</sup> He adopted it, though with considerable restraint, in several instances, most notably and appositely in the commanding portrait of Sir William Hamilton which he presented to the British Museum in 1775, not long before his own return from Italy.<sup>†</sup> The progress which Allan made in Portraiture in only a few years is striking. Early portraits such as that of George Langlands, dating from 1765 and suggesting - despite its being rather dryly painted - the "invention and spirit" upon which Robert Foulis commented, are barely to be placed beside the accomplishment and assurance displayed in the self-portrait of five years later.<sup>65</sup>

Sir William Hamilton also appears in one of Allan's Italian Genre scenes, an etching which he entitled "Napolitan Dance".<sup>66</sup> The artistic ground which Allan was exploring in this kind of subject was not entirely new to him, but there would have been added interest, for both artist and potential purchaser, in the opportunity to study in such scenes the customs of foreign parts. Like any artist who made of his *porte-crayon* a constant companion, he had sketched the sights on the voyage to Italy, and once arrived he filled notebooks with drawings of Italian characters and written descriptions of their costume.<sup>67</sup> By 1769 he had begun to arrange these figures in groups, calling the several

<sup>†</sup> See Appendix I for the relevant correspondence.

\* Figure 86

\* Figure 3

\* PLATE III

\* Figure 12

\* Figure 10

\* Figure 13





*Italian Fishermen*

14.  
"Italian Fishermen", 1776, Pen and watercolours over pencil 9 $\frac{1}{4}$  x 7 $\frac{1}{4}$ , in frame 10 $\frac{1}{4}$  x 7 $\frac{1}{4}$ , listed (in Allan's hand) as "Fishermen of Gaeta". Aberdeen Art Gallery; "A Collection of Dresses by Da. Allan mostly from Nature 1776" (photograph Christie's).



15.  
[The game of Morra], c. 1770/75, Pen and watercolours over pencil 13 $\frac{1}{2}$  x 18, British Museum, Print Room, 1865-6-10-1320.



small compositions which resulted "Evening Amusements" and placing them in two tranquil settings, with his deft pen outlines and delicate touches of wash suggesting graceful movement and a clear, warm atmosphere.<sup>68</sup> The prevailing tone is serene compared with Allan's earliest surviving essay in *Genre*. He had already, when living in Glasgow, made a lively pen drawing of a Fair at Rutherglen, presumably that held annually on Saint Luke's day.<sup>69</sup> With a surprisingly mature control of line, it is an amusing and boisterous imitation of the Dutch *Genre* pieces he had seen at the Foulis Academy, some forty years before Alexander Carse sketched a brawl at an ale-house door, or the young David Wilkie visited Pitlessie Fair.<sup>70</sup>

The gentle nature of these *Genre* scenes which date from around the beginning of Allan's stay in Italy, perhaps the result of his having encountered paintings by Longhi, is characteristic of the works he produced over the next twenty-five years. Among many examples of customs and amusements, the impromptu dance was a theme to which he returned again and again during his years in Italy, and one which he developed later in Scotland, changing Neapolitan *scialli* and the *giubbette* of Gaeta for the tartans of Tayside and Pentland plaids, with music provided by bagpipes and fiddles instead of Sir William's *chittara*.

Recording the various costumes of Italy was in itself an activity of much interest to Allan. From hundreds of sketches he prepared around fifty finished watercolour drawings illustrating the "Character and Dresses of the people".<sup>71</sup> In a typical example of these, a single figure might be seen before a landscape, a coastal scene or some vernacular architecture, lightly tinted settings appropriate to the inscribed identification of region and occupation. Occasionally the subject is a couple or a small group, the picture having greater narrative content as a result, and in a few cases Allan presented in the same form scenes of traditions like "Blessing the Beasts at Rome", and of games such as *Pallone* and *Morra*.<sup>72</sup> The caption to one of his drawings of "The Game of Moro" - a game in which each of two players, upon an agreed signal, immediately extends some fingers of one hand, at the same time guessing aloud the number his opponent will show - reveals how Allan's knowledge of the Classics could illuminate his ventures in *Genre*, these lighter studies themselves enlivening his antiquarian pursuits. He must have been delighted to discover that modern Italians still played "The antient Game called Alicare digitis Invented by Germanicus".<sup>73</sup>

Most of Allan's pictures of Italian costume concentrate on Rome and Naples, dresses from the island of Procida in the Bay of Naples being

Figure 11  
Figure 14  
Figure 16

Figure 15





16. "Chesnut Gatherers of Loiana", 1776. Pen & watercolours over pencil  $9\frac{1}{4} \times 7\frac{1}{4}$ . Aberdeen Art Gallery; "A Collection of Dresses by Da. Allan mostly from Nature 1776" (photograph Christie's),



17. "Lace Woman Edr 1784". Pen & watercolours over pencil  $8 \times 5\frac{1}{4}$ , the figure  $4\frac{1}{4}$  high, National Galleries of Scotland, Department of Prints and Drawings, D 403.



covered in quite remarkable detail. He did venture further 'afield, travelling northwards, past Viterbo, to Florence and Bologna, and sketching in Lombardy as well as the Veneto. His "Lady of Greece", however, even if she may have been part of a series showing thirty-six "Eastern Dresses", is probably a drawing of a visitor to Rome, or of a traveller in the western Mediterranean, rather than the only surviving record of a voyage to the Levant.<sup>74</sup> Sometimes a figure or detail in the background of one picture was made the main subject of another, as Allan shuffled his store of drawings into different combinations. The existence of sketches of characters which only figure as such background details, or which do not figure at all in any surviving watercolours, leads to the slightly alarming conclusion that numerous as these finished pieces are, there may have been yet more.<sup>75</sup>

Like his depicting various scenes of dancing, Allan's recording of the costumes peculiar to different areas was to be repeated in Scotland, although in later drawings of this kind he restricted himself almost entirely to the city of Edinburgh. The people he drew there - a "Fish Wife", a lace-seller, a Water Carrier with his dripping cask and sodden leather harness - would find their way into views of the city itself, another characteristic technique which he had developed in Italy, where he practised it relentlessly.<sup>76</sup> Nowhere is the practice seen to better advantage than in the series of scenes from the Carnival at Rome, made famous by Paul Sandby's selection of four prints, from which Allan's *soubriquet*, "The Scots Hogarth", was inevitably derived. In his original drawings for this series the motley cast of Allan's costume studies comes into its own, peopling the streets and *piazze* of Rome with characters as memorable as a swaggering Neapolitan *Michelito* and a "contented Capuchin", as well as the less picturesque but equally distinctive costumes of villagers from Nettuno, Roman tradesmen, and "the Baragello, or city marshal".<sup>77</sup>

The *Bargello* and other characters are identified in a fifth plate published by Sandby, as large as the other four and containing, after a general "Introduction", an explanatory passage for each picture, in all around two thousand words forming a short essay on "the most cheerful and brilliant Festival of the Romish Church". Thus the buyer learnt the season and duration of the Carnival, the significance of ringing the great bell of the Capitol or of detonating mortars in the Corso, that it was customary for lawyers to assume the costume of Punchinello, and how the evening closed "with cheerfulness; seldom or never with drunkenness and riot". A reader may choose to compare this behaviour

PLATE X

Figure 17

PLATE VIII

Figure 274

Figure 18





18. "The Opening of the Carnival at Rome The Obelisk near the Porta del Popolo."

Etching and aquatint, 13 $\frac{1}{2}$  x 19 $\frac{1}{4}$ . Published 1780/1781 by Paul Sandby, from Allan's original drawing (Royal Library, Windsor Castle, 13351, inscribed "Da. Allan invt et del Rome 1775").

#### OPENING OF THE CARNIVAL

AT the sound of the great bell of the capitol, the Maskers come out and assemble in the Corso and about the Obelisk of the Popolo, where scaffolds and seats are erected for those who choose to look on, the View represents the Piazza del Popolo, and the long street called the Corso, and the preparation of the horses for the race; in the middle is a Harlequin dancing with a Fraschetana Girl; a Lady and a Gentleman from Nettuno standing by; near the Harlequin is a Jewish Family, and a Punch joking with the wife; a modern Painter in an ancient dress showing the Obelisk to an English Lady; behind is a Chevalier di Malta,- a Sweetmeat Crier;- in the corner, a French Grenadier, in the Pope's service - the people are so quiet that he and the Drummer have little to do;- a Trumpeter on horseback in the skin of bear

ON the Fore Ground, an Improvisatore Poet speaking extempore, and accompanied by the Calasone instrument and a Dwarf begging;- near the Obelisk are two Italian Barbers masked, and imitating a French Abbé and his Valet; the Abbe is spying at the car of music with disdain, as if he had heard much better music at Paris.

A DIGNITARY of the Church, distinguished by his cross and muff, is frequently seen on these occasions walking among strangers from Countries the most hostile to Roman customs and superstitions, who resort from all quarters to admire, in perfect security and freedom, the hospitality and the splendor of Rome

[ From the explanation printed to accompany the four scenes of the Roman Carnival which were published by Sandby, c, November 1780/January 1<sup>st</sup> 1781 ].



with that frequently encountered among all classes in London or in Edinburgh, but the author gives nothing more than the hint. With only a few, slight indications of his own views, the text describes the festivities, the locations, and the *costume* of the people in the most urbane and lucid manner. It was clearly written by one who had truly enjoyed "the hospitality and the splendor of Rome", presumably Allan himself.<sup>78</sup> Only once is there any perceptible change of tone, when, carefully choosing his words, he castigates those who

"barbarously took down the noble arch of Trajan, which was in the Corso, to make more room for the horses to run; yet some friend to good taste preserved its bas relievos, by placing them on the arch of Constantine near the Coloseo."

No less evident in the general "Introduction" than Allan's antiquarian interests are his academic training and his pride in accuracy. Viewers would immediately have recognised that this series of Roman views was in the tradition of amusing Genre pieces. On reading Allan's words they would also have acknowledged that, while each plate was indeed "a representation of an individual spot", the human actions and characters had not merely been included just as they occurred, but presented a typical view of the Carnival composed of numerous particular sketches and observations.<sup>79</sup>

"The Characters or Figures represented in the Prints are partly dresses of the country, and partly fancy dresses, the Carnival is composed of both; they have been grouped and arranged; but the several Views are faithful portraits of different parts of Rome, and all the Characters, whether real or fancy, were drawn from nature."

This acknowledgment of theory does nothing to compromise the sheer ebullience of the series. Allan's admiration of "the genuine humour, cheerfulness, and good manners of the modern Romans" is everywhere evident, as, in addition to describing the costumes and festivities depicted, he enthusiastically evokes the magnificence and clamour of the spectacle, where

"triumphal cars [are] filled with ladies and gentlemen in elegant dresses; others assuming all the devices of poetic, or Gothic, or even of the heathen mythology, are conducted in triumph along the streets: entire bands of musicians and players are conducted in the same manner. And in every corner of the streets, different balconies and stages are filled with parties engaged by turns in contributing to the entertainment, and in partaking the mirth of others."

The urbanity of his text notwithstanding, Allan's depiction of this "most cheerful and brilliant Festival of the Romish Church" is not as devoid of satire as has been commonly thought.<sup>80</sup> In several pictures of the sequence Allan exposes the venality of some characters, or, in



the same spirit as that in which he had deplored the sacrifice of the Arch of Titus, indicates a want of true taste among those who would most vociferously have laid claim to *virtù*. One of these *virtuosi*, for example, deems himself a Heroic poet, and has bound laurels around his brow, but the set of Pan-pipes slung over his shoulder tells a different story. This latter-day Marsyas declaims outside the Palazzo Mancini, but Allan, who identified every other scene by locations such as "Piazza Navona" and "Palazzo Ruspoli al Corso", mischievously entitled this one "French Academy Rome", adding for good measure volumes by du Fresnoy and de Piles heaped ignominiously in the dust.<sup>81</sup>

Interspersed throughout all the planned or official events which Allan shows and which give his series a coherent structure are numerous *vignettes* which form a kind of picaresque sub-plot. These diverting episodes - some of which, predictably enough, appear in other pictures of the Italian "manners" - include characters ranging from pedlars and beggars to gamblers and thieves, and involve situations traditional in painting or literature and farcical in both. The passage describing the start of the annual horse race concludes thus:

"A fellow with an Ass, as a courier, in driving through the crowd, overturns the Abbé gallanting a Lady, both being in confusion, a gentleman passing by offers to assist the Lady, whose mask falling off, the gentleman starts back on finding his own wife in that situation, and one of the Pope's Swiss guards is grinning at the sight; by him an old citizen buying fruit for his son looks narrowly for fear of being cheated, the merchant looks angry to think that he should suspect his honesty; while they are busy, a thief has a hand in the basket unnoticed. In the middle is an English and a Roman Jockey, who tells that horses should not be barbarously forced to run with riders, the Newmarketman is laughing at him, his horse-race, and customs."

When Allan Cunningham included a critical biography of Allan in his *The Lives of the most Eminent British Painters, Sculptors and Architects*, he singled out this last *vignette* for particular comment in his review of the set of prints. Having given as Allan's original words his own abridgment of the passage, he continued:

"They approach, in their nature, to caricatures; nor has he always been able, as some of my readers may have already guessed, to tell the story with the pencil, so clearly as he has described it with the pen. The Italian horseboy, who ridicules the barbarity of the English practice of running horses with a load of flesh, bones, boots, and spurs, on their backs, might be talking of anything else, for aught that his looks express to the contrary. This kind of delusion, however, is common to artists: they see sentiment and story, where others can only see figures; and suppose they have made everything plain, when all, save to themselves, is mysterious." <sup>82</sup>

Not only did Cunningham choose, he prepared his ground carefully. There is something less than honourable about his decision to exclude from





19. [The Parting of Hector and Andromache], 1773.  
Oil on canvas 29x39, Accademia Nazionale  
di San Luca, Rome.



his abridgment one episode, that involving the fruit-seller and his customers, the circumstances and irony of which may easily be followed from the image alone. He may have realised that readers could also, if given the chance, have guessed that he was protesting too caustically. As has been shown, and as is evident even where Cunningham is most severe, Allan seldom had any need to borrow "collateral assistance" from the written word.<sup>93</sup>

Allan exhibited five of these drawings at the Royal Academy in 1779, whereupon Paul Sandby bought the complete series.<sup>94</sup> By the end of the next year four had been reproduced in aquatint, to be sold at a guinea for the set. As he happily told Sir William Hamilton, Allan was pleased with the venture, which promised to be profitable for his friend Sandby and to establish his own reputation as a humorist.<sup>95</sup>

Inevitably, however, Historical painting had claimed Allan's allegiance. He painted subjects from Scripture, from Classical fable and from Roman history, sending examples to be exhibited at the Royal Academy, and it was as a History Painter that he achieved his greatest Italian triumph.<sup>†</sup> Since 1763 the *Concorsi Balestra* had fostered ambition in artists of all nationalities.<sup>96</sup> In 1773 the subject set was an episode from the *Iliad*, the parting of Hector and Andromache, and Allan's Invention fixed upon and represented the moment when Hector, having refused his wife's plea that he should conduct the war from within Troy itself rather than face Agammemnon's dreadful host in the field, turns aside to clasp his infant son. This fond gesture only begun, his firm expression has barely softened, the artist thus contrasting Andromache's mournful entreaty with Hector's stern resolve, and in the same moment uniting with both the fright of Astyanax at the sight of his father's helmet, shaded by its nodding horsehair crest. All around this arrested *tableau* preparations for battle are made. The painting gives but a glimpse of stately arches and palaces, and streets alive with clashing arms and flaunting banners, while, barely restrained, horses snuff the evening breeze as Hector, Paris and their followers make their way to the Scæan Gate.

Allan's painting remained in the Accademia, the young artist bearing home in triumph the gold medal awarded there, the only British painter thus distinguished in the eighteenth century.<sup>97</sup> It was, however, another of the works he painted when in Rome that was destined to become his most famous History. "The Origin of Painting", dating from

<sup>†</sup> See Appendix VII, "Works exhibited by David Allan.





[PLATE IV, reproduced in colour between pages 139-40.]



1775 and belonging to James Byres, was engraved several times, most successfully by Cunego, the engraver of Gavin Hamilton's paintings from the *Iliad*.<sup>88</sup> Allan Cunningham, writing in 1833, was favourably disposed towards this piece, probably because he had "heard Wilkie praise it as one of the best told stories that colour and canvass ever united to relate", though he may also have borne in mind the reputed judgment of the Accademia di San Luca.<sup>89</sup> "The Origin of Painting" had, in fact, by then literally usurped the place of "The Parting of Hector and Andromache", and was for long thought to be the prize painting in the *Concorso Balestra* of 1773, an identification erroneously repeated since the first "biographical sketch" of Allan's life was published in 1804.<sup>†</sup>

The colours united in this small painting - the support is a wooden panel - are among Allan's richest, the mellow tones of the drapery emerging softly from the dun-coloured, barely defined background. The scene is lit only by a flaring oil lamp, of a form which had been turned up by the dozen during many an archæological excursion. By this light, and guiding her subject to the best angle with the lightest of touches, the "Corinthian Maid" traces on the wall the shadow cast by a youth who holds the pose most obligingly as she balances on his knee. Thus, according to legend, was drawing born.<sup>90</sup>

According to Cunningham, Cunego's engraving made Allan's name known "far and wide".<sup>91</sup> Although generally unsympathetic to any but Allan's most homely works, he allowed that there was "happy elegance and serene grace about the group which have seldom been surpassed".<sup>92</sup> This unusually generous criticism suggests that Cunningham, for all that he was assistant to Chantrey during the latter part of Flaxman's career, attended too much to the picture's intrinsic merits, too little to the associations its very appearance would have had for the artist's contemporaries. Its popularity is not to be solely attributed to its sentiment, or to Allan's understanding of structure and volume, far less to his harmonies of light and colour, or the ease and fluidity of his handling, which could in any case only be appreciated in the painting itself. The subject alone might well be expected to appeal to viewers in a century which saw published enquiries into the origins of language, of civil society and of human ideas and feelings, although this particular "Origin" is in truth a "poetic dream" when compared with these works.<sup>93</sup>

Of further appeal to Allan's contemporaries was the form which this origin had supposedly taken, a form to which Allan made astute allusion

† Appendix VIII.



in his painting. In admiring and striving to attain in their works "the real simplicity of nature", artists of the time found this "true taste" to be inherent in the Antique, such desirable simplicity being thought innate to the Ancients themselves.<sup>94</sup> Figures seen on antique vases confirmed that painting of this era was virtually Spartan in its austerity. Because of its association with the Ancient world, such a style could be hailed as the most truly natural and excellent, later refinements being but elaborations actually vitiating the stark power which images originally possessed. In the severity of unadorned outline — outline such as Allan and others would have seen in d'Hancarville's engravings of Sir William Hamilton's vases, or, later, in Flaxman's illustrations to the *Iliad* — viewers found the suggestion of a primitive *naïveté* that was essentially honest and natural, and, in this direct simplicity, the idea of artistic perfection.<sup>95</sup> Allan, of course, had seen examples of Sir William's collection for himself, and included one such vase, inobtrusively but purposefully, at the right side of his painting.

By the beginning of 1776, Allan was "about to Leave Roma".<sup>96</sup> The three pictures he exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1777, all scenes of Italian Genre, were sent from an address in London. He may have returned by sea, as he had arrived about a decade earlier, but more probably followed the same land route as he had taken at least once in the intervening years, through Piedmont and the Alpine passes, and into Savoy, Burgundy and Champagne before lodging for a while in Paris.<sup>97</sup> Instead of taking ship from Boulogne, as he had on an earlier visit home, Allan may have proceeded to Holland, by no means an unusual diversion.<sup>98</sup> With him he brought — in addition to his sketches and paintings, his collection of prints and curios, and the gold medal of the Accademia — publications such as *L'abcedario Pittorico* by Crozat, "L'art de dessiner, par Jean Cousin", both Vasari's and Bellori's *Vite*, and Baldassare Orsini's *Delle Geometria e prospettiva practica*, published in Rome in 1773.<sup>99</sup> These books he later supplemented with Hogarth's *The Analysis of Beauty*, "Gilpin's Essays on Picturesque Beauty", and "A treatise on Painting, by Leonardo da Vinci".<sup>100</sup>

In London Allan met again James Tassie from Glasgow, then living in Leicester Fields. He may also have met another old classmate, John Paxton, before his departure for India, and, had he arrived early enough, perhaps even Robert Foulis himself.<sup>101</sup> The intervening years had gone hard with the Foulis Academy. The American War had disrupted



and let the browne bride alone.

Battle of Otterburn

Pearsey Prigoun



As soon as he knew it was Montgomery,  
He stuck his sword point in the ground:  
And Sir Hugh Montgomery was a courteous knight,  
And he quickly brought him by the hand.

20. "Battle of Otterburn", c. 1790. Pen and wash overpencil 5x6 1/2 (oval). The Mitchell Library, Glasgow, Department of Rare Books and Manuscripts, The Cowie Collection; SR 241 308864; "Baby Allan her book Dalmeny June 29 1801", f. 23 recto.



trade with the Colonies and thus caused retrenchment among the Glasgow merchants, upon some of whom, like Glassford and Ingram, the Academy had depended for support. By 1776 mounting debts, coupled with the death of his brother Andrew in the previous year, had forced Robert to close the Academy and bring its collection of paintings to London, to be auctioned "by Mr Christie, at his Great Room in Pall-Mall".<sup>102</sup> Former students may have been able to offer some help in the circumstances. A Mr. "Tassey" bought four pictures at this sale, where "The stories of Percy and Douglas, on Chevy Chace, in five pictures" appeared as lot 576, the work of "D. Allen".<sup>103</sup> At the same sale a Mr. Allen bought around a dozen pictures, some attributed to Guido Reni and to "Dominicino" for a little over four guineas.<sup>104</sup> None of those identified, however, is known to have belonged to David Allan at any time.

By his own account, Allan's two years in London were not financially rewarding.<sup>105</sup> Apart from his having exhibited again at the Royal Academy, selling his drawings of the Roman Carnival to Sandby as a result, the only success which can be identified from these years is the set of four emblematical figures he designed for Murray's edition of *The Seasons*, published in 1779.<sup>106</sup> His return to Scotland was similarly inauspicious. Allan's health was never robust, and "the severe cold" of a winter endured in Edinburgh left him dangerously ill.<sup>107</sup> In the summer of 1780 he was invited to Blair Atholl in order to paint a family portrait there - the Duchess of Atholl was one of the Cathcarts of Schawpark, Allan's longest-standing patrons - and during his stay in, as he put it, the "pure air" of the Highlands he also painted a Highland wedding and dance, continuing his interest in national and regional customs and beginning the series of "groups of the manners in Scotland" which was to occupy him for the rest of his life.<sup>108</sup> By November of the same year the Earl of Hopetoun had invited him to spend the winter at Hopetoun House, the beginning of a long and sincere friendship with the family.<sup>109</sup>

That Allan was on terms of some intimacy with the Earl and Countess of Hopetoun, and of some conviviality with a Mr. Watson, perhaps Charles Watson of Saughton, may be divined from a characteristic letter of around this time. Dating from December of 1782, it reveals among other things his high regard for Sandby and his own thoughts on the possibilities of the print market, suggesting in addition that he had given occasional drawing lessons to the younger members of the family.<sup>110</sup> With a nice sense of decorum, Allan related more domestic



matters in that part of his letter addressed particularly to Lady Hopetoun, adding as a postscript the detail of his continued contact with the Murrays of Atholl.

My Lord

My health is well this winter but there is so much reek & the days dark & short that I cannot paint so much as I ought, but I fill up the time in Drawing a Colection of Italien & french dresses between Roma & Paris & Procita some drolery & groupes from the Scetches I did from Nature, I have done a set for Mr Stuart of Allan bank they are figures 5 inches long & back ground in character & done with the pen & water colour, I have done only 2 Doz for Mr Stuart at present but in all I have upwards of fifty, but in doeing a set of so many I find it so tiresom in traceing them over & over I have thoughts of doeing them slightly on copper & wash them in water Colour, this woud be easier for me & coud do them cheap, if I coud find a number of People who woud take sets I hope to please them & same time woud be an agreable way of filling up a space of time I am doeing a set to show as a specimen & to try how this schem will answer —

Now as the Ladies are in London & amongst other Studys I wish your Lordship woud let them get a month or two of Sandby, if your Lord<sup>sh</sup> thinks proper as it might do them much good in Landskip & woud much improve their taste even the sight of his Drawing are improveing.

I hope your Lordship got the Defincive figure I sent. The Provest presented the band with a set of Colours at the Cross in the midst of a great concourse of People & Horses & made a great show very agreable the masons had a procession at same day L<sup>d</sup> Buchan was Grand master & I belive many of them fou that night.

I have the honour to be with perfect resp<sup>t</sup>  
& Esteem

My Lord

Your Lordships

Most Obed

humble serv<sup>t</sup>

D Allan

To Lady Hopetoun

My Lady

I am happy to hear from Mr Watson that the Family are all well, he is so kind as call me sometimes to Dine & makes me drink your healths both in Porter & wine. the family are all well Mr James has got a prety litle Sister I have not seen her yet but Miss Monypeney says when she was born she was a bony well made creature I bellievel it but will see her soon my self. bot[h ?this] young Lady & Lady Margret are well

I offer my humble respts to your Ly<sup>sh</sup> & all the family haveing opportunity of a frank for London has taken this liberty of offering my respts & has the honour to be with gratitude & Esteem ever

My Lady your Ladyships

D. & Duchess of Athole pased here with all the four children on their way to London I had the honor to wait upon them at Duns hotel.

much obliged  
& obed serv<sup>t</sup>

D. Allan 111

Although in a letter of November 1780 Allan had confided to Sir William Hamilton that he intended to "try London once more", he was soon thinking of establishing himself in Edinburgh, and wrote to the



Earl of Buchan in the following month of his immediate ideas and intentions.<sup>†</sup> As is to be expected, he had been ambitious of continuing to practise as a Historical painter, but, perhaps equally inevitably, he was soon lamenting that he had been "obliged like many others to give [this] up for want of encouragement".<sup>112</sup> From 1779 until 1786, when he was appointed Master of the Trustees' Academy in Edinburgh, Allan painted a succession of portraits, family groups and conversation pieces, the last of which genres he characterised in a happy phrase as "the means of everlastingly joining friends together on the canvace".<sup>113</sup> Few works in these lesser genres were undertaken by Allan after 1786, around thirty, including all his family groups, belonging to the years before his appointment.

By becoming the fourth Master of the Trustees' Academy Allan, then in his early forties, enjoyed a secure income and a more settled life.<sup>114</sup> Six candidates had applied for the position — which carried a salary of one hundred and twenty pounds *per annum* — Allan's most serious rival being John Brown. Brown, whose particular genius lay in portrait drawings, had the ear of Allan's own friend the Earl of Buchan, as Allan himself noted ruefully in a letter to Thomas Graham of Balgowan, later Lord Lynedoch.<sup>‡</sup> He was, nevertheless, confident that his Invention would count for more than Brown's talent in portraiture, a reliance upon the contemporary hierarchy of genres which proved to be justified.<sup>115</sup> Allan's patrons, his "benefactors", had once again been of significant help to him. Supported by Lord Cathcart and Lady Hopetoun as well as Thomas Graham, Allan in the same letter added that he would "try to firret out Sr W<sup>m</sup> Erskine, & if I could get the Treasurer of the Navy he would be a treasure to me".<sup>116</sup>

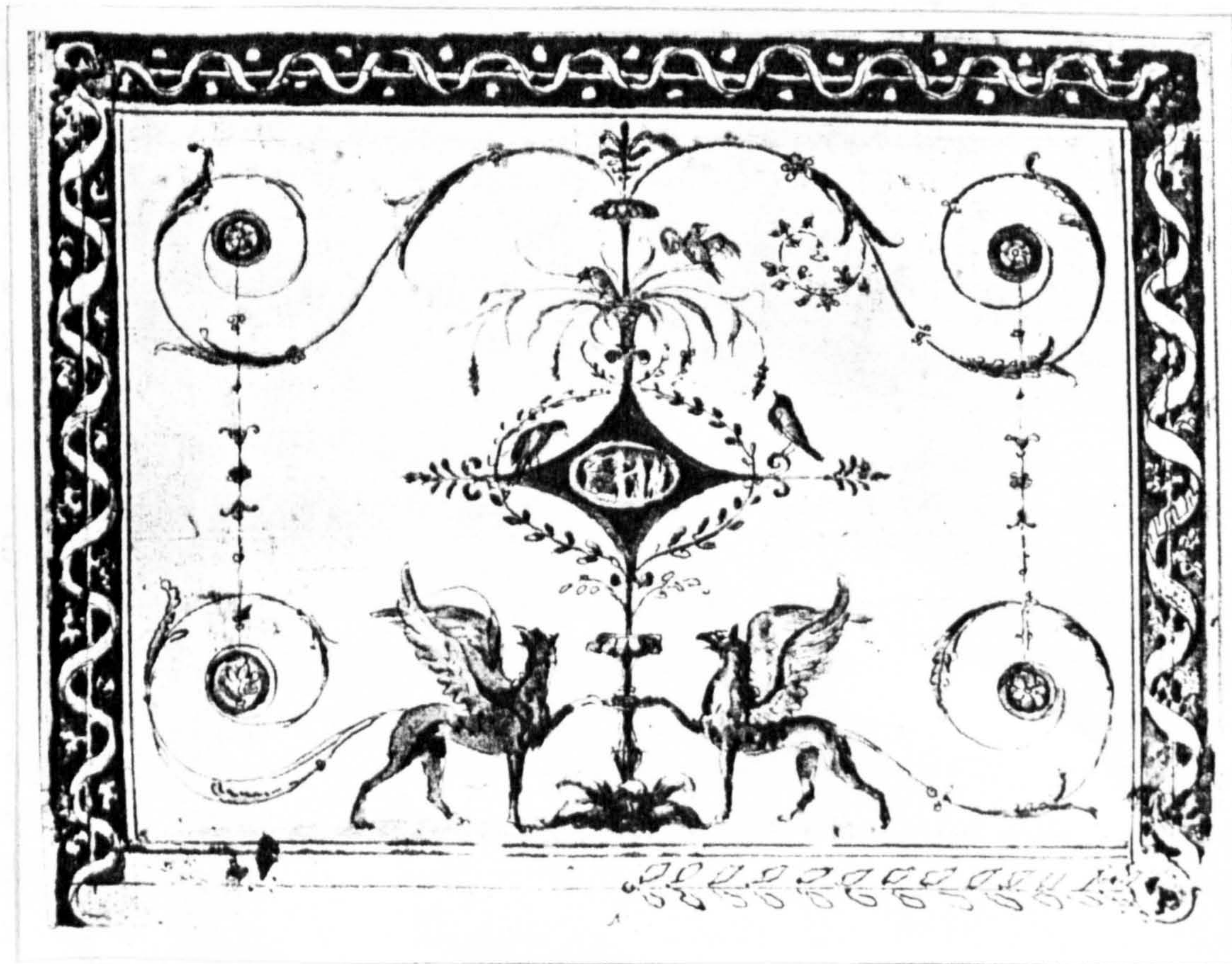
While maintaining a quietly facetious tone throughout his letter, Allan at the same time clearly foresaw that his patrons' wider circle of acquaintance, extending to the most influential positions, might be of as much benefit to him as their personal recommendations. A momentary reminder could be of great consequence. The Treasurer of the Navy since 1782 — except for an insignificant *hiatus* during the short-lived Coalition of 1783 — had been Henry Dundas, a former Lord Advocate, future Home Secretary, Keeper of the Scottish Signet for life and "the absolute dictator of Scotland".<sup>117</sup>

As Master of the Academy Allan, in addition to teaching for six hours every week, was also required "to give every year at least two new patterns of his own designing for the benefit of such manufacturers as

† Appendices II and III.

‡ Appendix V.





21. [ Design with Pompeian *motifs* ], 1786/96.  
 Pen and watercolours over pencil 8 $\frac{3}{4}$  x 11 $\frac{1}{4}$ .  
 National Galleries of Scotland, Department  
 of Prints and Drawings, D 439.



may incline to put them upon cloth".<sup>118</sup> In 1787 he wrote proudly that his design for a tablecloth had been thought superb, and described how it represented "Musick by the Lyar and other instruments in the center, enclosed in an oval of grapes and a border of Ivy with Tassels hanging round the table".<sup>119</sup> An anecdote related by one of Allan's friends, a Dr. Peter Wright, also refers to his deriving *motifs* from natural objects, confirming at the same time what is suggested by the letter to Thomas Graham, that

"Allan was fond of a pun; one day I had called upon him in Glasgow; he was drawing fishes upon paper, and he observed, that a *shoal* of fish was a very proper pattern for a *Shawl*." <sup>120</sup>

More than one hundred of the drawings in Allan's possession were of such natural forms, a catalogue of his collection "comprehending a great many Studies of Flowers, from nature", and listing examples in chalks, in ink and in watercolours.<sup>121</sup> Fruit and flowers seem to have been favourite subjects in the Academy from the first, since the same catalogue listed similar pictures by "de la Cour", Pavillon, and Runciman, that is, by all the Masters before Allan, as well as drawings of a Scots Fir, a tulip, pineapples, and "Scots Thistle and Grapes" by Allan himself.<sup>122</sup> The last pattern may well have graced many a *salon* in Glasgow or in Edinburgh, if it were the one offered in 1788 as the centre of a tablecloth design.<sup>123</sup>

Compared with his other work, the designs which Allan made in the Trustees' Academy were equally distinguished by diversity. In addition to table-cloths and shawls, and stuffs such as calico, gauze and damask, they were intended for carpets, upholstery, furniture, ceilings, and "Chimney Pieces".<sup>124</sup> He had known of Adam's style of decoration for many years, referring when in Italy to Kedleston Hall and Sir Laurence Dundas' house in Edinburgh.<sup>125</sup> As well as some prints of the Emperor Diocletian's palace at Spalatro, published by Adam in 1764, he owned

"The five original designs of Ceilings, for the late Lord Chief Baron Ord's house, in Queen-Street, Edinburgh, by the late Robert Adam Esq; in colours" <sup>126</sup>

In designing "Pannels", "sides of rooms", half a dozen "cielings", and a couple of Etruscan borders, therefore, Allan had the best of models to hand. Not only was there Adam, he could draw inspiration from the engravings in volumes like *Logge di Raffaele nel Vaticano* or *Antichità di Ercolano*, and, of course, from drawings of *grotteschi* among his own numerous "sketches and outlines from the Antique".<sup>127</sup>

Allan's teaching at the Academy was of six hours' duration every week, his "zeal and attention" in office being commended by the



Trustees and perhaps extending to the preparation of two copperplates for the instruction of his twenty students.<sup>128</sup> *Elements of Drawing for Scholars*, "designed and used in teaching, by Allan", were presumably prints demonstrating perspective, hatching, foreshortening and the like.<sup>129</sup> Judging by an announcement which was inserted in *The Caledonian Mercury* not long after Allan's appointment, little more would have been required — or indeed permitted — by the Trustees. The same source, however, suggests that Allan's *Elements of Drawing* may have been otherwise employed in his own home, together with the collection of a dozen or so plaster casts which was probably more extensive than the Academy's own:

"The students at this Academy are admitted by the Board, and are taught gratis; but as it was instituted for the sole purpose of promoting an elegance of design in the various manufactures and house-works, which admit of being figured, ornamented, or decorated, these only need apply for admission who can show that they follow one or other of such manufactures or house-works; and, by the regulations of the Board, none are admissible under thirteen years of age. Mr Allan will likewise open Private Classes at his own house (in Dickson's Close) for such Ladies and Gentlemen as may wish for instruction from him in Drawing in its different branches." <sup>130</sup>

That Allan included in the Trustees' Academy teaching similar to that which he had received himself is shown by drawings which Robert Scott made when a student there.<sup>131</sup> A couple of his own drawings — "Pair, Dancing Figures, for looking glass ornaments" — suggests how ingeniously Allan may have reconciled instruction in figure-drawing with the Trustees' more prosaic requirements.<sup>132</sup>

The security provided by his salaried post allowed Allan to develop a number of schemes which he had been considering for some years.<sup>133</sup> The work undertaken in the decade after 1786 includes the best of his mature achievement and much of what was to be his most lasting influence upon Scottish art. Of the several series of pictures that he planned, each more ambitious than his earlier studies of Italian costume, of the Roman Carnival and of the Seven Sacraments, only one can be studied in its entirety. In 1788 he published a set of aquatint plates illustrating Allan Ramsay's "Scots Pastoral Comedy" *The Gentle Shepherd*, the edition in which these appeared being printed by Andrew Foulis, son of Allan's teacher Robert, and being thought by Burns a "noble edit" of the noblest Pastoral in the world.<sup>134</sup> This noble edition included as preface a dedicatory epistle to Gavin Hamilton, in which, after regretting the contemporary lack of demand for "public and great works" of Historical Composition, Allan declared that his illustrations had been prepared with the object of "pleasing and instructing", and thus



# FINGAL.



22. A. STEVENSON after David Allan; [illustration to "Fingal"], Engraving, 5 x 3. For Morison's Edition of the Poems of Ossian, *The Son of Fingal Translated by James Macpherson*, Perth, 1795 (Volume I, facing the title page of "Fingal", Book II).



"Wawking of the fauld", c. 1795/96. Etching 3 1/2 x 5 (oval; trimmed). Edinburgh Central Library, RBR X PR 8510.



occupied the same didactic ground as "the *Heroic and Sublime* of painting".<sup>135</sup> While pointing out that Scotland could supply material in plenty for the attention of both poet and painter, Allan — bearing in mind Ramsay's dramatic and poetic models no less than his own academic training — acknowledged the importance of the Antique, alluding specifically to "the best of the Greek statues and busts".†

The poetry of Scotland provided Allan with subjects for other groups of pictures, and for a pair of drawings of Leith Races based upon his own observation and Robert Fergusson's verse description in about equal measure.<sup>136</sup> He prepared two sets of drawings of Ossianic episodes, the first soon after his return to Scotland in 1779, the second more than a decade later, this set being engraved to illustrate the edition published in 1795 by Morison of Perth.<sup>137</sup> By the following year *Twenty-five Etchings by David Allan Illustrative of some Celebrated Scottish Songs* was ready for publication, these etchings forming part of a larger project, still unfinished at his death, on which Allan had probably begun to work whilst preparing his edition of *The Gentle Shepherd*, although his interest in such lyrics and ballads was of long standing.<sup>138</sup>

Allan's musical interests led to his becoming associated with the publishing ambitions of George Thomson, Principal Clerk of the Trustees' Academy, and a number of his illustrations appeared in issues of *A Select Collection of Original Scottish Airs*, that remarkable venture for which Thomson sought and obtained the assistance of composers like Pleyel, Haydn and Beethoven to arrange the "most favourite of our national melodies . . . the better to fit them for concerts, both public and private".<sup>139</sup> Thomson also sought new verses, words in "every way worthy of the music", beginning in 1792 by writing to Burns with the request that he might "devote [his] leisure to writing twenty or twenty-five songs" for the melodies which Thomson selected.<sup>140</sup> Burns, who had been contributing greatly to the less splendid but more important *Scots Musical Museum* since 1787, immediately and cheerfully promised his "mite of assistance", adding that his songs were to be "either above, or below price", and scorning any financial reward for his compositions and researches.<sup>141</sup> Thomson eventually found it best to express his gratitude in the form of gifts which the poet could not well refuse — recently-published collections of Scottish and English songs, a gold seal, a shawl for his wife — and when he learned that Allan had already made a drawing of "The Cotter's Saturday Night", he commissioned a finished watercolour of the same subject and sent it to

† Appendix IV.





24, "Merchant of Venice Act 4· Scene I", c.1780/85, Pen and wash over pencil 7 $\frac{1}{4}$  x 9 $\frac{1}{4}$ , the sheet 9 $\frac{1}{4}$  x 10 $\frac{1}{4}$ , National Galleries of Scotland, Department of Prints and Drawings, D 4602,

~~Shy~~

Por. Shed thou no blood; nor cut thou less nor more,  
But just a pound of Flesh:— but if the Scale turn  
—thou diest, & all thy goods are confiscate"



25, [Sketch of two men]; ?"Reading the News", 1795, Pencil 8 $\frac{1}{4}$  x 11 $\frac{1}{4}$ , British Museum, Print Room, c. 105 III B u 522,





"Then, would it not be  
 kindly,  
 And, under a thicket, or in the bush, or well,  
 When you take me home, bringing to the field,  
 And, when you see me, looking on the ground,  
 In your own heart, to be my friend?"

[Reprise of Figure 118, between pages 168-69.]



*Frontispiece to  
 Scottish Songs.*

[Reprise of Figure 264, page 316.]



Dumfries in the spring of 1795.<sup>142</sup> Burns returned "most grateful compliments" to Allan, and felt himself and his poetry honoured by the artist's "masterly pencil".<sup>143</sup>

While the illustration of Scottish poetry absorbed much of Allan's creative energy during these years, he did not thus confine his attention or production. He had earlier been attracted by subjects from Tasso, Ariosto, and even Voltaire, and at some time in the 1780s turned his eye on Shakespeare, about a dozen of the drawings he made then being still located.<sup>144</sup> A more extensive project was the illustration of James Tassie's *A Descriptive Catalogue of a General Collection of Ancient and Modern Engraved Gems and Cameos*, published in 1791 with fifty-seven plates from Allan's hand.<sup>145</sup>

Naturally, Scottish history also suggested itself as a fruitful source, inspiring a number of individual pictures and one major series.<sup>146</sup> The preparation for his group of "historical peices from the life of the unfortunate Queen Mary" dominated Allan's attention once his edition of *The Gentle Shepherd* had been published.<sup>147</sup> Towards the end of 1789 he wrote to the Earl of Buchan that he had been "Exercising [his] brush & brains for some time" in what he saw as a service to the house of Stuart.<sup>148</sup> His brush had by then completed two large Histories, his brains meanwhile having been occupied with amassing information about the period, his studies ranging from the consultation of published histories to the pursuit of "the old Scottish dresses" in portraits and engravings.<sup>149</sup> Allan found this kind of research as congenial as the illustration of his favourite Scottish songs. As his wife and half-brother James were to recall, he delighted in speaking of these antiquarian studies, to which he had devoted much of his time.<sup>150</sup> Unfortunately, some of the paintings from this cycle having been lost, Allan's intentions must in part be divined or reconstructed from preparatory drawings and copies.

It was, however, as a painter of Scottish Genre scenes that Allan was best known in his own day. It was the popularity of these scenes which was to have the greatest effect upon subsequent Scottish painting, even if artists of succeeding generations took their lead from Wilkie as he, like Carse and Weir, had taken his from Allan. Just as his Conversation Pieces and group portraits "everlastingly" join friends together, Allan's prints, drawings and Genre paintings preserve valuable glimpses of life in the Scotland of his day, as his earlier works had shown the dresses and suggested the atmosphere of Italy. Thus one of these later pictures shows a number of popular superstitions of the Highlands, others a

Figure 24

PLATE XIII

PLATE XXIII

PLATE XXIV  
PLATE XIV

Figure 25





26, "A Penny Wedding", signed and dated 1795.  
Pen and watercolours over pencil  $13\frac{1}{4} \times 17\frac{1}{4}$ ,  
the frame  $13\frac{1}{4} \times 18\frac{1}{4}$ , National Galleries  
of Scotland, Department of Prints and  
Drawings, D (NG) 613,



27, "Muirland Willie", c. 1790/96, Pen and wash  
 $5\frac{1}{2} \times 7$  (oval), National Galleries of Scotland,  
Prints and Drawings, D 430,



variety of Lowland festivities, a few recreate scenes enacted in many a parish kirk, and all record the *costume* of the times and the various places. That is, they record not only the dress of his contemporaries but their customs and conditions, or, as Allan had earlier called them, "the manners in Scotland".<sup>151</sup>

A drawing which he made of a Lowland wedding in 1795 has long been held to be his last dated work, and although this may not be strictly accurate, the "Penny Wedding" is in many ways a fitting culmination of Allan's career.<sup>152</sup> It is entirely typical of his Genre pieces, not least in that he repeated and adapted the composition a couple of times in his literary illustrations, figures from earlier works being incorporated in all these variants.<sup>153</sup> More significant than such merely stylistic or technical matters is the subject-matter itself. The dance, one of the oldest symbols of social harmony and for long a favourite subject of Allan's, was an important feature not only of festivities but even of daily life among the country people whom he drew so sympathetically.<sup>154</sup> Their love of traditional music, of singing and dancing, was all but proverbial.<sup>155</sup> Though his observation was sharp and telling, neither their customs nor people themselves were, for Allan in his later years, the object of any detached regard. Particularly in the case of music and song, the animation readily displayed by the peasantry of all nations never seems to have been, for him, only a matter of disinterested contemplation, of distant amusement at perusing the "simple annals of the poor". A love of the traditional music and the national songs throughout all classes in Scotland was, indeed, the object of some contemporary remark.<sup>156</sup> Allan himself was certainly an enthusiast. Their frequent association with music surely contributes to that unmistakable mood of levity which characterises Allan's drawings of "the Common People", whether they come from Scotland or from Italy.<sup>157</sup> His pictures in this vein are instinct with enjoyment, a feeling effortlessly communicated. It is fitting, too, that poetry, even works of the most homely kind, should also be recalled by the "Penny Wedding", his last major composition.<sup>158</sup> Literary references or reminiscences are seldom far from Allan's work, being so much a part of his own interests, and so characteristic of his century as a whole.



## Chapter II

### The higher Arts of Design.

Narrative painting in eighteenth-century Britain.

1700-1800

*The parallel between painting and literature—a didactic purpose—Historical subject-matter—decorative painting—exhibitions—the several genres practised—the "Poetical" painting—pictures from literature—pictures from national history—Genre pieces—the question of costume—pictures of contemporary events—prints and Galleries—pleasing and instructing—Imitation, Invention and Narrative—the meaning of a picture—true pictorial narrative—a picture's form and content—the Antique, the past, the present and the future—the contemporary context.*



## II

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### The higher Arts of Design.

*"I had long set my heart upon . . . establishing a solid, manly taste for real art in the place of our trifling, contemptible passion for the daubing of little inconsequential things, portraits of dogs, landscapes &c. — Things, in which the mind which is the soul of true art having no concern, that have hitherto only served to disgrace us all over Europe."*

James Barry, 1773 ' 1

The art of painting in the eighteenth century was, to a remarkable degree, allied to the art of writing. Not only were subjects for paintings frequently drawn from literature, not only could authors assume among their readers a knowledge of the Antique, the Old Masters, and contemporary art theory, paintings themselves were often judged by criteria similar to those brought to the appreciation of poetry. Influential throughout the century was Dryden's translation of du Fresnoy's *De Arte Graphica*, published in 1695 with his own *Parallel of Painting and Poetry* as Preface. In the first paragraph of the poem are interpolated two classical aphorisms which had been taken particularly to heart. The poem begins with the Horatian comparison of Painting and Poetry, and within two lines is introduced the observation, attributed to Simonides, that painting is mute poetry, poetry a speaking picture. To draw analogies in general is natural and useful, as it is a means of communicating not only a subject but the effect made by it, and of making this communication more vivid by appealing to experiences held in common. Thus mention may still readily be made of a "hot" colour, a "dark" voice, or a "lyrical" painting. Reynolds, who had recommended to young artists the society and conversation of "learned and ingenious men" in all the arts, also pointed out that

"It is by the analogy that one art bears to another, that many things are ascertained, which either were but faintly seen, or, perhaps, would not have been discovered at all, if the inventor had not received the first hints from the practices of a sister art on a similar occasion." 2

By the eighteenth century, the parallel between painting and poetry had become not merely a commonplace, but a canonical means of judging a work



of art. It has been shown that a passage from *Ars Foetica*, beginning "*Ut Pictura Poesis; erit quæ*", was at different times differently punctuated in order to make prescriptive that which had, in the original sense, only been permissible.<sup>3</sup> Horace had suggested that a poem could be like a painting, either exact in numerous details or depending for its true effect on a view of the whole. As later theorists would have it, altering the text accordingly, "a poem *will* be like a picture", and, it was understood, *vice versa*.

Occasionally to compare the particularly vivid descriptions of a poet to the scenes of a painter was by no means a new idea, but never had the identification been so relentless or automatic. The poetry of Milton was, at least by British writers, thought almost as "pictorial" as that of Homer. Addison commended the "strong and lively colours" with which Milton painted his scenes, Jonathan Richardson selected forty-five "pictures", in most cases also "painted", from *Paradise Lost*, and even Edmund Burke sufficiently relaxed his guard to remark upon the "uncertainty of strokes and colouring" with which the blind poet finished a portrait.<sup>4</sup> Similarly, Richardson could also write that "*Painting relates the Histories of Past, and Present times*", Dryden envied Kneller's ability, or at least that of his paint-brush, to "speak the tongue of every land", Reynolds throughout his *Discourses on Art* referred approvingly to artists who treated their subjects "poetically", and, in more homely vein, Walpole in commending Hogarth's "great and original genius" considered him "rather as a writer of comedy with a pencil than as a painter".<sup>5</sup> It was, nevertheless, generally poets who were described as painters, as those of taste and cultivation, in paying homage to the skill of a poet in setting his scene and deploying his imagery, indirectly revealed how keen were their own imaginations, how great their capacity for visualising word-pictures and responding to effects. It is little wonder that topographical poetry then enjoyed such a vogue.

Comparisons of works themselves were also reciprocal. Reynolds told how Thomas Gray, in describing the "indignant Welch Bard", had "warmed his imagination" with the memory of a painting of Moses by Parmeggiano, the poet himself having already given a fuller account of his inspiration, and an alternative, or rather an additional source.<sup>6</sup> When Reynolds referred, more generally, to paintings and sculpture by Michelangelo, he asked "any man qualified to judge of such works . . . whether the same sensations are not excited by those works, as what he may remember to have felt from the most sublime passages of Homer?".<sup>7</sup> Here is no question simply of vivid or powerful description realised, but rather of



analogous experiences arising from quite different sources, when these were apprehended by a particular kind of sensibility.

It was not only because viewers and readers were particularly willing to visualise descriptions, or because they brought numerous shared assumptions and associations to painting and poetry alike, that the parallel between these Sister Arts was so keenly perceived. In what is perhaps the most comprehensive yet concise expression of this perception, James Barry stated,

"The principal merit of Painting as well as of Poetry, is its address to the mind; here it is that those Arts are sisters, the fable or subject, both of the one and the other, being but a vehicle in which are conveyed those sentiments by which the mind is elevated, the understanding improved, and the heart softened"<sup>8</sup>

Painting being seen as "a sort of Writing", it was inevitable that terms of Rhetoric should be thought appropriate to pictorial expression, just as the Passions were identified as the visible language of the Soul.<sup>9</sup> Reynolds regarded the first degree of proficiency in painting as equivalent to "what grammar is in literature", and saw style in painting as "the same as in writing, a power over materials, whether words or colours, by which conceptions or sentiments are conveyed".<sup>10</sup> Their means of expression may have been different, but in that each art had a language, albeit peculiar to itself, for the Imitation of action and the transmission of ideas, they might be considered identical.

So too might their purpose in this address to the mind. Their having a moral intent was, of course, a long-standing justification for the arts. Sir Philip Sidney, confident of the authority of both Aristotle and Horace, had termed Poesy an

"art of imitation . . . with this end, to teach and delight . . . [the poet] doth not only show the way, but giveth so sweet a prospect into the way, as will entice any man to enter into it,"<sup>11</sup>

Dryden recognised that the chief end of an Epic poem was, by instructing delightfully, to "form the Mind to Heroick virtue by Example", and confirmed the rational foundation of the arts in the elegant observation,

"if nature is to be imitated, then there is a rule for imitating nature rightly; otherwise there may be an end, and no means conducing to it,"<sup>12</sup>

Thus painting was readily assimilated to the hierarchy already established for literature, with Historical Composition assigned the most elevated place, the counterpart of Epic. Ideal figures in the one were reflected by sublime diction in the other, characters and subject-matter often being the same in each. "Common-place figures", it was observed, "are as inadmissible in the grand style of painting as common-place characters or sentiments in poetry".<sup>13</sup> The province of such low



characters was Genre, at the opposite remove from History. Yet a necessary counterbalance to the endless, and often, it can appear, unthinking affirmations of the dignity of History is to be found in Fielding's well-known appreciation of "the ingenious Hogarth" and his Genre scenes. Fielding, in distinguishing true comic writing, such as his own works, from mere burlesque, such as his own, earlier works, drew an analogy with the difference apparent between pictures made by a "comic history-painter", who copies from nature, and the exaggerations of *caricatura* in which "monsters, not men" are exhibited.<sup>14</sup> While admitting that burlesque and caricature may contribute more to "exquisite mirth and laughter" than comic writing and painting, Fielding stated that a "more rational and useful pleasure arises" from these latter pieces, in which are expressed "the affections of men on canvas", and thus published an encomium of Hogarth's "pictur'd Morals" similar to the artist's own justification of his works.<sup>15</sup> In a passage even more famous than Fielding's, and one certainly more contentious, Hogarth argued that "those subjects that will both entertain and improve the mind bid fair to be of the greatest public utility and must, therefore, be entitled to rank in the highest class".<sup>16</sup>

Hogarth's zeal led him to see his "modern moral subjects" in a false perspective. That a work was made with didactic intention is not in itself enough to raise it to the highest ranks of the art. There are many more satires, sermons, prose *Characters* and works like *The Acts and Monuments* than there are Epic poems, and, just as these attacks, instructions, histories, "modern instances" and exemplars are not fairly to be judged by criteria appropriate to Epic, neither are Hogarth's "pictur'd Morals" to be tried by the same test as Historical compositions. The attempt to do so only suggests itself if the didactic purpose of any work of art is considered independently of its proper subject-matter, the means employed, and the full effect thus made upon the viewer.<sup>17</sup> However assured Hogarth's argument seems, however persuasive his parenthesised "therefore" and his appeal to the public good, the attempt is a mistaken one. As is to be discussed at greater length, a true estimate of any painting is only possible when all these facets are appreciated together, and is not to be made by considering each in isolation.

What may immediately be seen is that two quite different addresses to the mind could be made by painters, though the desired effect upon their viewers was in each case ameliorative. Art may ultimately be the means of bestowing upon whole nations refinement of taste, by initially raising the thoughts of those who view Historical compositions. A general sense





Proverbs Ch. XII. Ver. 4.  
The Industrious Woman is a  
Crown to her Husband.

Designed and Engraved by W. Hogarth. Plate 6. Published according to the Act of Parliament, 1734.

28. WILLIAM HOGARTH: "The Industrious Prentice out of his Time & Married to his Master's Daughter", 1747 (*Industry and Idleness* 6), Engraving 10 1/4 x 13 1/2.

The IDLE 'PRENTICE Executed at Tyburn.



Proverbs Chap. I. Ver. 27, 28.  
Who perisheth in destruction, and their  
destruction cometh as a whirlwind, when a  
disturbance cometh upon them, then they shall  
call upon God, but he will not answer.

Designed and Engraved by W. Hogarth. Plate II. Published according to the Act of Parliament, 1734.

29. WILLIAM HOGARTH: "The Idle Prentice executed at Tyburn", 1747 (*Industry and Idleness* 11). Engraving 10 1/4 x 13 1/2.



of virtue arises from the contemplation of numerous individual virtuous acts, these particular instances being found in the lives of worthy persons or the events of great literature, and presented in a form governed by canons of ideal beauty. It is a rather vaguely defined but pervasive effect, the origin, progress and results of which may conveniently be followed in the long paragraph which concludes Reynolds' short ninth Discourse. To raise a population among images only of good and truth would doubtless meet with as much approval in the philosophy of Plato - notwithstanding the mass expulsion of poets and painters from his ideal *Republic* - as it would in the epistemology of John Locke.

In contemporary British, indeed European society, there were of course innumerable instances of evil, corruption and affectation from which the developing mind, unencumbered by all but the most basic innate ideas, would amass a store of unfavourable impressions. Here the second didactic use of the arts comes into its own.<sup>18</sup> This address, while it might employ paragons of virtue, did not depend upon depictions of ideal beauty. It was specific where the other was general, its subjects being drawn from real life, or at least being ostensibly set there. The main subject of a picture was not some ancient or literary precedent held up as an ideal model, but either some real vice castigated or ridiculed, or some real and accessible virtue rewarded. The reward of virtue and the punishment of vice make a natural and contrasting pair, and viewers could see an industrious apprentice rise to be Lord Mayor, his idle fellow eventually turned off on the Tyburn Tree. These qualities were both particular to the former apprentices, and generally applicable to the contemporary world. Hogarth entitled this series "The Effects of Industry and Idleness, exemplified in the Conduct of two Fellow-Prentices, in twelve prints". To be idle was by implication to be vicious. Reynolds, after all, was to warn, in that same ninth Discourse,

"Let him remember also, that he deserves just so much encouragement in the state as he makes himself a member of it virtuously useful, and contributes in his sphere to the general purpose and perfection of society." <sup>19</sup>

Hogarth's modern moral subjects were the great exemplars in the more worldly address, but no artist could later match his several series. Northcote's ten paintings illustrating the varying fortunes of "The modest girl and wanton fellow servant in a gentleman's house", for instance, are a very pale reflection indeed, although some skill is required sufficiently to explain and distinguish "The modest girl rejects the illicit addresses of her master" and "The modest girl receives the honourable addresses of her master", even with the assistance of

Figure 28

Figure 29



allegorical paintings in the backgrounds.<sup>20</sup> Among painters of his own day, Hogarth was in this respect isolated. The domain of such instructive tales was the novel. *Pamela* was carefully described by Samuel Richardson as a history of "Virtue Rewarded". It is significant that Fielding - who was, incidentally, less sanguine about the obtaining of just deserts than either Hogarth or Richardson - should give the advantage to a writer in comic styles, to a painter only in burlesque. It was a perceptive observation. One style depends upon precision, the other upon instantaneous recognition. A great strength of Hogarth's was his ability to express in the pictorial form of certain characters the particular affectation or vice which he was at that moment lashing.<sup>21</sup> His observation was at once acute and comprehensive. He held the mirror up not only to human nature in general, in depicting the actions of characters affected, virtuous or vicious, but to the society of which he was part. In short, while the traditional didactic approach in the arts had been to instil virtue by making reference to ideal, unchanging principles and notable ancient deeds, Hogarth's was to correct existing failings and evils among his contemporaries by the necessarily more direct means of satire. It is clear why Swift wished he and Mister Hogarth were acquainted.<sup>22</sup>

The subjects of Historical paintings had for long been derived from texts. Ancient fable and history, and the Scriptures, provided a rich source of material. The sources of patronage, likewise, were long established, being courtly, aristocratic, and, in certain countries, ecclesiastical. Representations, often allegorical, of princes and nobles, the conduct of festivals held in their honour, and - to some extent - the decoration of their palaces conformed to patterns established in Antiquity, restored and elaborated during the Renaissance, and employing a vocabulary familiar to the attendant courtiers, one preserved in such works as Ripa's *Iconologia*. Scriptural subject-matter, too, had its particular attributes and emblems.

In the second decade of the eighteenth century, guiding the painter in the exercise of "Invention", Jonathan Richardson wrote,

"The Figures representing any Virtue, Vice, or other Quality, should have such *Insignia* as are authoriz'd by Antiquity, and Custom; or if any be necessarily of his Own Invention, his Meaning should be apparent."<sup>23</sup>

It was not simply that custom required the artists' *Insignia* to be legible. However tacitly, he was expected to communicate a meaning itself



derived from a similarly "authorised" group of subjects. Full appreciation of a History painting depended upon a knowledge of its subject.

Historical compositions based upon Scripture were accessible to the many, those upon the Classics restricted, both in meaning and possession, to the few. Biblical stories and characters, such as churchgoers could see on painted altarpieces, or occasionally as architectural sculpture, were familiar from passages read, or, more likely, sermons heard, and thus both subject and significance were apparent to all. Paintings derived from Classical sources were equally recognisable as images, but were arcane to all but those acquainted with such sources; that is, the cultured minority. This knowledge was seen as a particular endowment of polished and elegant viewers, as was the ability to appreciate the higher reaches of art.<sup>24</sup> Burke, discussing one aspect of the *paragone* of Painting and Poetry, wrote in his *Philosophical Enquiry*:

"Among the common sort of people, I never could perceive that painting had much influence on their passions. It is true that the best sorts of painting, as well as the best sorts of poetry, are not much understood in that sphere. But it is most certain, that their passions are very strongly roused by a fanatic preacher, or by the ballads of Chevy-chase, or the children in the wood, and by other little popular poems and tales that are current in that rank of life, I do not know of any paintings, bad or good, that produce the same effect." <sup>25</sup>

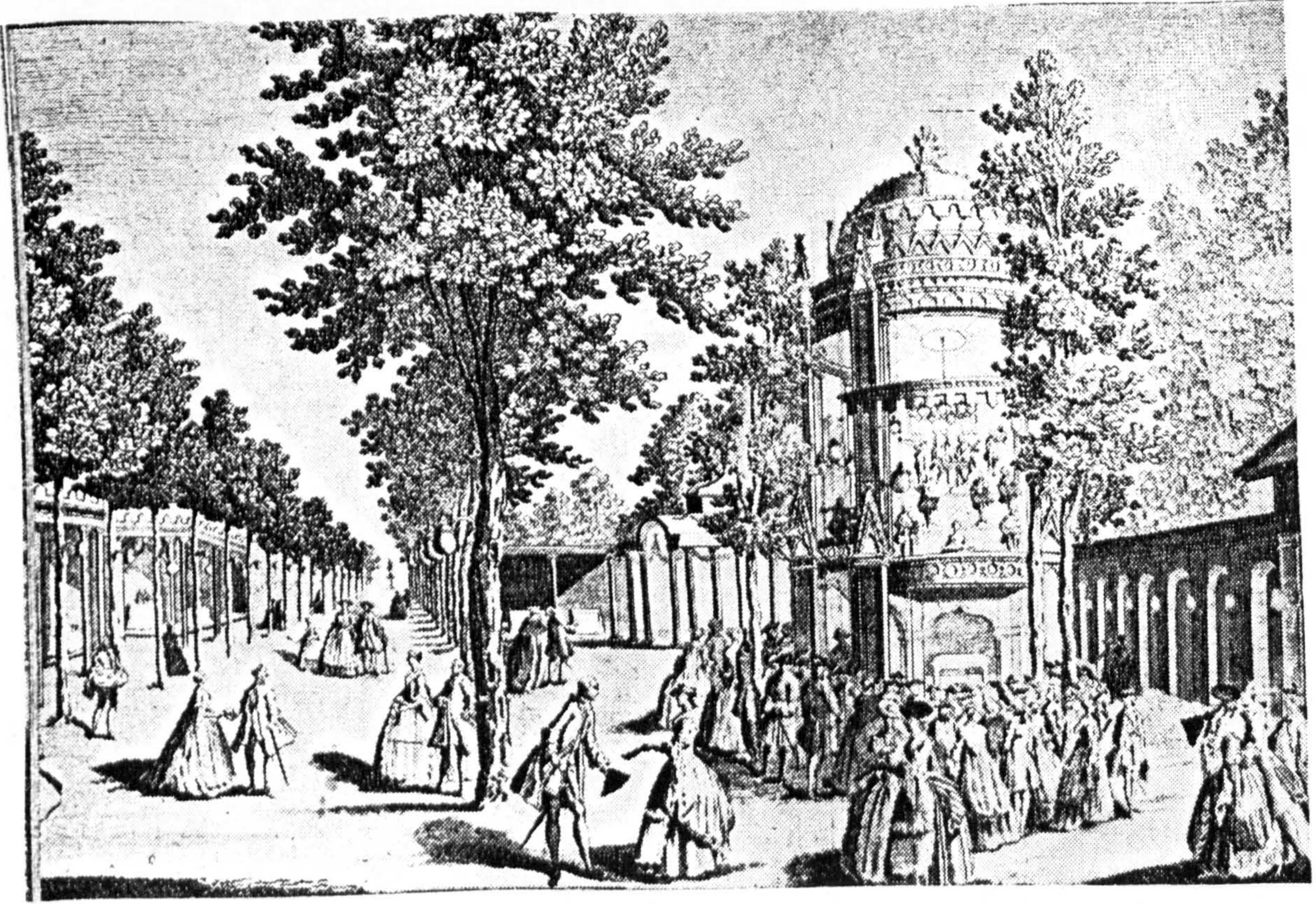
An identification of some kinds of painting with a particular class or, still more, with particular interests, is of some importance in tracing the development of existing genres and the establishment of new.

The prestige accorded by precedent ensured the survival of Historical themes in narrative paintings, from the decorative schemes commissioned at the beginning of the century to the speculative exhibitions mounted towards its close. There was another influence upon subject-matter, however, one which grew in importance as the century progressed. Coleridge was to write, in 1818,

"After the Revolution, the spirit of the nation became much more commercial than it had been before; a learned body, or clerisy, as such, gradually disappeared, and literature in general began to be addressed to the common miscellaneous public." <sup>26</sup>

This common miscellaneous public developed a taste for visual art too. The new demand for narrative paintings was closely associated with taste in literature. It is significant that even Historical paintings, regularly exhibited in later years, should more often than not be derived from texts then available in translation, and that this should hold true of subjects chosen from the writings of such foreign authors as Tasso, Ariosto and Cervantes, and from the contemporary Sentimental works of Gessner and Marmontel. Nor should the importance of book illustration be





30, ANON: [ The Pleasure Gardens at Vauxhall ].  
Engraving published in *The Gentleman's Magazine*, August, 1765; from G. M. Trevelyan,  
*Illustrated English Social History*, Vol. III,  
London, 1951, Plate 40.



overlooked, often the genre in which the most vigorous realisation of Historical subject-matter is to be found. As early as 1697 Tonson, one of the London booksellers to profit most spectacularly from the so-called "emancipation of the Press" some twenty years previously, had suggested to Dryden that he translate the works of Virgil, and had made to subscribers the shrewd offer of editions embellished with engravings.<sup>27</sup>

Narrative paintings were not solely derived from the Classics, the Bible, or the works of foreign writers then in translation. The "common miscellaneous public" was also served the fare provided in the pages of novels in English, not a new genre but one which was growing in maturity and importance. From these works too illustrations and independent paintings were drawn, again with the familiar justification of their didactic potential. Defoe, for example, claimed, and claimed repeatedly, that the "abundance of delightful incidents" in *Moll Flanders* was applied to "virtuous and religious uses", and noted pointedly that similar claims had been made for the stage in all ages.

The resort of this new "commercial" public, at least in London, was the pleasure garden at Vauxhall.<sup>28</sup> Even more reminiscent of the rooms of a house than the typical formal garden, its arbours and pavilions were decorated with what at first sight are certainly easel paintings, these having some similarity to illustrations in popular novels. They may also, however, be seen as part of a decorative scheme.

Paintings necessarily must be considered, at least in part, as decoration, a term not invariably frivolous. Reynolds could speak both of the painter having "but the humble province of furnishing our apartments with elegance", when art is a "mere matter of ornament", and of seeing walls "decorated with thought" when it is "addressed to the noblest faculties" of the mind.<sup>29</sup> Quite apart from certain plans and paintings specifically intended for certain locations, it seems, from the evidence of contemporary catalogues, very likely that many artists had an eye to the market so fittingly served by Zucchi and Kauffmann. Chevalier Andrea Casali, for instance, was particularly given to delivering paired paintings of Classical subjects, and among various "imitations of alto-relievo" his offering of 1765 is most suggestive:

"Angelica and Medorus; half length, Bacchus and Ariadne; its companion.

Angelica and Medorus; smaller, Bacchus and Ariadne; its companion," <sup>30</sup>

The adaptable Casali could, it seems, provide elegance for houses of any size. Significant decoration, on the other hand, was of necessity the preserve of larger scales, and the natural object of courtly and ecclesiastical patronage. For eighteenth-century British artists like



William Kent, who painted a Feast of the Gods at Burlington House, and James Thornhill, whose large Historical schemes include the allegorical Painted Hall at Greenwich and the series of eight grisaille stories from the life of St. Paul in Wren's cathedral, the prototypes were Renaissance works like Raphael's stanze and Baroque examples like Rubens' *Marie de Medici* cycle or his paintings on the ceiling of the Banqueting House.<sup>31</sup> Because he recognised that the "arbitrary compacts" of emblematical painting did not always bear a rational or logical resemblance to the quality supposedly represented, James Barry was later to warn of the necessity for the utmost discretion in the use of such a technique, fulminating against Ripa's "offal of the imagination" and, slightly histrionically, lecturing his students,

"from the confusion occasioned by ill-directed flattery, and the jargon of far-fetched and over-refined allegory, the ceiling at Whitehall does absolutely present no subject to the mind of the spectator. Associations of mere local, temporary notions are too mutable and evanescent to serve as a durable basis for the sustaining of symbols and allegorical personages."<sup>32</sup>

Local and temporary notions were to beset Thornhill as he prepared his work at Greenwich. It has been several times pointed out that he deliberated, fortunately in a sketch with annotations, on the relative advantages of an accurate or an allegorical representation of the landing of George I.<sup>33</sup> In addition to practical difficulties encountered when aiming for accuracy ("it was Night, w<sup>ch</sup> to represent would be hard and ungracefull in Picture"), and æsthetic dilemmas which were to surface again in later years ("The King's own dress then not gracefull, nor enough worthy of him to be transmitted to Posterity"), there was the particular problem of how the picture could be made comprehensive without its also being thought treasonable, or at least offensive; some of the nobles in favour when the landing took place were "out" when it came to be commemorated.<sup>34</sup> Suffice it to say that Thornhill first decided to paint both people and events not as they had, but as they ought to have been, and eventually rejected this altogether, in favour of a conventionally allegorical presentation.

A realistic depiction of near-contemporary events was chosen for a series of wall-paintings, and later for a suite of tapestries, commemorating the campaigns of the Duke of Marlborough.<sup>35</sup> Commissioned by the Churchill family, Laguerre's designs advance the claims of Marlborough against those already made, in similar artistic mode, by Louis XIV, who had commanded Lebrun to prepare a cycle of "The Triumphs of Alexander" reflecting glory upon the achievements of the Sun King



himself. Later, for good measure, Louis commissioned a second series referring explicitly to these achievements.<sup>36</sup>

Captains and kings were not the only subjects of allegorical decorative schemes. David Allan experimented with several versions of a secular plan for the decoration of an entire house, in a written account made during his years in Italy.<sup>37</sup> In addition to noting such classical subjects as Hercules and Omphale, Bacchus and Ariadne, the Judgement of Paris and the Choice of Hercules, a dozen subjects from Homer and a Feast of the Gods, this last being appropriately intended for a Dining Room, Allan organised the *dramatis personæ* of scenes like that intended for an ante-chamber:

"Peace setting fire to different trophies of war, with one hand, & with the other crowning Plenty and industry while in the back ground Minerva is introducing the Arts, the four lesser circles are emblematicale representations of wisdom, fortitude, prudence & liberality with their attributes".

A number of scenes are, predictably enough, of a kind whose meaning would be particularly dear to an artist:

"for a Study Minerva introducing the Arts to Munificence, the small circles are Painting Sculptur & Architectur & Musick,

Library

Truth dictating to Clio, the Muse of History while Time is destroying monuments of Antiquity"

The last scene, with obvious implication, appears to be a personal blend of a number of themes both pictorial and literary. In cases where Allan was probably envisaging an ideal rather than planning with any thought of a possible location, he could be more ambitious in assigning stories to a setting. Leaving aside a Breakfasting Room decorated with "a representation of Aurora, or the morning", there is

"for an Exhibition Room the different Geni of the polite arts, Apollo reward Merits, & punishing ignorance, Alex<sup>er</sup> giving his Mistress to Apelles, Pygmalion falling in love with his statue Venus at his intreaty send Cupid to inspire it with life, Minerva instructing Theseus about the building of Athens, Orpheus playing the lyre, the Geni in the six small circles represent different Emblems of honour, Fame, Peace & plenty &c."

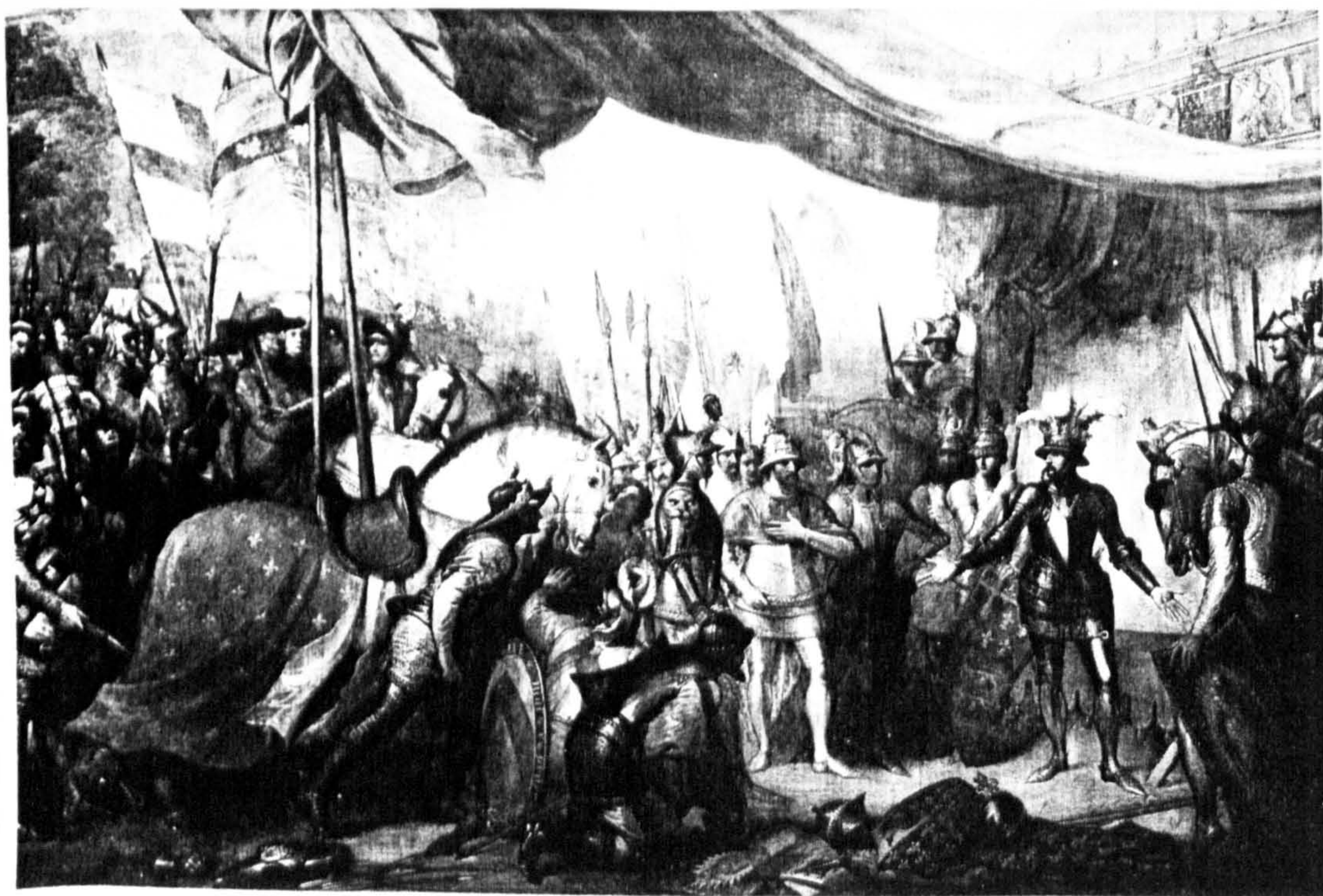
Well-known anecdotes have to a great extent here supplanted emblems, representing at first sight and most superficially painting, sculpture, architecture and music, but also, and more subtly, forming part of a carefully chosen scheme involving patronage and "improvement", the imitative and affective powers of art, the necessity for both reason and inspiration, and, in a return to convention, the benefits of the arts which Allan need only partially list. Although he could hardly have known of this scheme, James Barry would have approved of Allan's approach, since these stories were part of every polite education and, he





31. ALEXANDER RUNCIMAN: [The finding of Conbancárgla by Fingal, Cath-Loda, Duanl.], 1772/74. Etching 5¼ x 9¼ after his own painting, Hall of Ossian, Penicuik House,

32. HENRY FUSELI; [Sketch for part of a cycle of frescoes based on the works of Shakespeare; *King Lear*], c. 1777/78, Pen and brown wash 10¼ x 7¼, British Museum, Print Room, 1885-3-14-258,



33. BENJAMIN WEST; "Edward the Black Prince receiving John, King of France, prisoner, after the battle of Poitiers. Painted for His Majesty's Audience Chamber in Windsor Castle", exh. Royal Academy, 1794. Oil on canvas 113 x 177. Royal Collection,



thought, were "long likely so to continue; as the Greek and Roman literature is in no danger of losing its credit".<sup>38</sup>

Towards the end of the century, other subjects were thought suitable for large decorative schemes allied to particular architectural settings. Scottish history and verse were depicted by Alexander Runciman at Penicuik House, Gavin Hamilton executed eight canvases "representing the story of Paris and Helen" for the Villa Borghese, and Fuseli dreamt of a fusion of Shakespeare and Michelangelo in a group of drawings each combining scenes and characters from a different play with a structure reminiscent of the Sistine Chapel.<sup>39</sup> Shakespeare was later to be consecrated in the ventures of Boydell and Woodmason, by which time Fuseli had created his own Milton Gallery and the Galleries of Macklin and Bowyer had enshrined a *corpus* of subjects which were eventually to supplant those drawn from the Classics.<sup>40</sup>

Figure 31

Figure 32

A concentration upon national subject-matter is also seen in Benjamin West's monumental series of canvases devoted to the life of Edward III, painted between 1787 and 1789 for the Audience Room at Windsor. Grandiose and spectacular rather than possessed of any emotional or intellectual depth, they clearly cost him "many a patient hour" of antiquarian research in what Fuseli contemptuously dismissed as "the lumber room of heraldry".<sup>41</sup> As a cycle it is episodic rather than narrative, on the scale of the Rubens *Marie de Medici* cycle but without either the allegorical machinery or the *élan*.

Figure 33

The Edward III cycle, and the various public galleries of paintings around a theme, were composed of large paintings in particular settings. The works themselves, or others upon the same subjects, could easily be imagined in quite different places. They represent a middle ground between the wall-painting as part of a specific decorative plan, such as Hogarth's Biblical scenes of healing and succour at St. Bartholemew's Hospital, and the easel-painting as a picture intended for a kind of public rather than for an individual building. The very word "Gallery" meant not only the rooms in which these collections of paintings were housed but the collections of engravings made after them, bound together in volumes and sold to the "common miscellaneous public".<sup>42</sup> This is not to deny that West's cycle gains significantly from its setting, not only from the size but also from the associations of the Castle.

One other scheme of this time was even more surely conceived as part of a building with very specific associations. Its origins lay in two worthy plans to provide a number of Historical compositions, commissioned from the most noted artists of the day, for St. Paul's



Cathedral and for the Great Room of the Adelphi, home of the Society of Arts, each of these plans being soon abandoned.<sup>43</sup> After having been thus doubly frustrated, James Barry, one of six artists to be involved with both projects, offered not only to take on the whole of the latter but to do so for no more than the cost of his materials and some other necessary expenses. He made sure he was at least allowed the choice of subject. It was an appropriate one, given Barry's leanings, and was perhaps inevitable. Early in 1777 he had determined to "ground the whole work upon one idea, viz. Human Culture".<sup>44</sup>

In the event, it was to be more than a decade before Barry considered the work finished, or as near completion as would ever be possible, though he was sufficiently satisfied by 1783 to permit a public exhibition.<sup>45</sup> After years of labouring on what he saw as the "only means of establishing a solid, manly taste for real art" in Britain, he was justifiably incensed at the attention paid to the Handel Commemoration or to John Singleton Copley's colossal sideshows, although the verdict of capable judges upon his work was favourable.<sup>46</sup> Because this cycle at the Adelphi was indeed what Barry intended it to be, the summit of achievement in the Grand Style, and because the competition from the popular presentations of Copley, de Loutherbourg and the like is a paradigm of the changing balance in public taste, it is more fitting to consider *A Series of Pictures, in the Great Room of the Society of Arts* in the context of British painting as a whole rather than the more limited genre of decorative painting. Accordingly, it is necessary to trace the development of several kinds of easel-painting practised in the eighteenth century, from the works hung at Vauxhall from around 1730 to those exhibited at the Royal Academy and elsewhere half a century later.

With the re-opening of Vauxhall in 1728, then, began a series of exhibitions for the public at large, beyond the intimate circle of a patron's friends or the ceremonial one of the court. To judge by the titles and descriptions of pictures to be seen there, of which rather more than half may still be identified, a change in emphasis becomes apparent towards the middle of the century.<sup>47</sup> The earlier works, largely by Hayman and his assistants and in style often reminiscent of contemporary book illustrations, decorated the supper boxes and pavilions with scenes of boisterous amusement - "The play of leap-frog", "The play of blindman's buff", and "sliding on the ice" - and subjects drawn from the more sedate recreations offered by the theatre, songs, and novels, including *Famela*, Gay's ballad of "Black-ey'd Susan", and two incidents





34, FRANCIS HAYMAN; [Play scene from *Hamlet*], 1740s, Oil on canvas 25 x 30, formerly at Vauxhall,



35.  
FRANCIS HAYMAN: [The Finding of Moses], 1746. Oil on canvas 68¼ x 80½, The Thomas Coram Foundation for Children, London,



36, WILLIAM HOGARTH: [Moses brought to Pharaoh's Daughter], 1746. Oil on Canvas 63 x 82. Coram Foundation, London,



involving Falstaff, one of which was later engraved by Gravelot for Hanmer's edition of 1744. That is, the subjects chosen were pitched at a popular market. By the mid-1740s, Shakespearean subjects had been "translated", and the Prince's Pavilion was adorned with scenes derived from the Bard's "historical plays".<sup>48</sup> By 1760, two earlier paintings of British naval victories were joined by four more depicting "the glorious transactions of the late war", when the ingenious Mr. Hayman and his masterly pencil were employed yet again to satisfy popular demand. In the growing interest in Shakespeare, and in these scenes of triumph, may be detected the origins of two tendencies, connected though distinct, in British subject-pictures. One was to lead to the Boydell and Macklin Galleries and a host of nineteenth-century costume pieces and military paintings. From the other grew the debate around Benjamin West's "The Death of General Wolfe" and the success of Copley's "Defeat of the Floating Batteries at Gibraltar". It was the first move, however modest, towards linking national achievements and ambitions - global expansion, naval power and military victories - with the public display of easel-paintings in celebration.

The Vauxhall paintings could be seen by anyone who paid the entrance fee. From the mid-1740s any visitor to the Foundling Hospital could, "upon proper application" and free of charge, see those presented by, among others, Hayman, Highmore, Ramsay, James Wills and Samuel Wale, these artists following the generous example of Hogarth. The Hospital became "a place of immense attraction, general resort and rendezvous, for people of all classes", who could admire examples of Historical composition by British artists, or possibly commission a portrait on the strength of the samples astutely provided by Ramsay and Thomas Hudson.<sup>49</sup> The appropriate theme of children, and in particular abandoned children, from the Bible was taken up in Highmore's "Hagar and Ishmael", Wills's illustration of the text "Suffer little children", and paintings by both Hayman and Hogarth of the discovery of Moses. With the introduction of an obelisk, step pyramid and what he imagined was Egyptian statuary to his rather voluptuous "Finding of Moses", Hayman made some attempt at topographical and antiquarian accuracy, in the manner of Poussin but without the rigour. Hogarth's richly coloured "Moses brought before Pharaoh's daughter" conveys the import of the story partly by gesture and partly by the forms and structure of the painting. The infant hesitates before crossing the gulf which separates his true people, barefoot and simply garbed, from the world of ease and plenty represented by the sumptuous fabrics and rich *objets* around the princess. Historical the

Figure 34

Figure 35

Figure 36



subject-matter may be, but the child's expression might have been studied from one of Coram's foundlings, while the princess' gesture is appropriated from the world of the Conversation Piece. Those "people of all classes" who made the Hospital their rendezvous would have found paintings as accessible of meaning to them as were those at Vauxhall, and for similar reasons. The Historical subjects were hardly the stuff of ordinary life, but no text was more familiar than the Bible.

Vauxhall may be considered the first permanent public exhibition of contemporary painting in Britain. In 1760 opened the first temporary exhibition of this kind in London, one which was to become an annual event. Around the same time in Glasgow, the Foulis brothers organised open-air exhibitions at their Academy, at which were displayed copies of Old Master paintings made by its students and examples of their own original work, all hung around the quadrangle of the Old College.<sup>50</sup>

The London exhibition was held under the auspices of the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures and Commerce, which hoped to promote Historical painting by offering premiums for the best works in this genre. Significantly, two such prizes were also offered for paintings based on national history, that is, on the kind of subjects to be found in Hume's *History of England*, the six volumes of which had commenced publication in 1754, or in *The History of Scotland during the reign of Queen Mary* by Hume's friend and fellow Scot Dr. William Robertson. The first premium was awarded to Robert Pine for "The Surrender of Calais to Edward III", a scene of royal magnanimity also depicted by West at Windsor and by several other artists in later years.<sup>51</sup>

The exhibition of 1760 was a great and literally popular success, as were those held in future. While free admission meant that some visitors were discommoded by "the intrusion of persons whose stations and educations disqualified them from judging of statuary or painting, and who were made idle and tumultuous by the opportunity of attending a show", the principle of regular exhibitions for the work of British artists was at last established.<sup>52</sup> When the Royal Academy was founded in 1768, there were already three other bodies in London alone engaged in the encouragement of the arts, the two most recently formed of which were also engaged in holding exhibitions. The Free Society had seceded from the more prestigious of these, the Society of Artists, itself a body disaffected from the original Society of Arts.

With George III as "patron, protector and supporter", the Academy was dedicated primarily to the creation and instruction of a school of Historical painters. In an ostensible concern to promote only art of the



most prestigious kind, even engravers were excluded from full membership, but at least an opportunity to exhibit was denied the swarm of Paper Cutters, Hair Workers and, incredibly, Shell Arrangers who thronged the other Societies in the 1770s. From the first Presidential address, delivered by Reynolds and later published, there was inculcated in students the doctrine of a hierarchy in the art of painting. Among contemporary artists, Gainsborough noted, as he could hardly fail to note, just how tenaciously Reynolds held to this principle in his speeches. He could also not fail to note the great chasm between the President's ideal and the contemporary reality, not simply in the fact that Reynolds chose Portraiture as a course more suited to his own abilities and the taste of the times, but in the widespread lack of public enthusiasm for Historical painting of which this apostasy was indicative. Upon reading the Fourth Discourse, Gainsborough had observed, "Sir Joshua either forgets, or does not chuse to see that his Instruction is all adapted to form the History Painter, which he must know there is no call for in this country".<sup>53</sup> Fuseli's deprecation of the practical cast of mind typical of his adopted country is well known, the artist sadly concluding that there was

"little hope of the *Poetical* painting finding encouragement in England. The people are not prepared for it. Portrait with them is everything. Their taste and feelings all goes in realities." <sup>54</sup>

Fuseli's last *staccato* sentence may well be instructive not only in accounting for the constant demand for portraits, but for the success of Hogarth's "modern moral subjects" and of pictures recording notable contemporary events, to say nothing of its relevance to the works of Defoe, Fielding, Richardson and Austen.

There was also, it appears, little hope of "*Poetical*" painting finding a home in Scotland. Not long after taking first place in the *Concorso Balestra*, Allan lamented his having been obliged to neglect such Invention in order simply to survive as a painter.<sup>†</sup> With the optimism to be expected of a *protégé* of the Foulis brothers, he correlated the existence of an academy, established with the object of teaching Historical painting, with the diffusion of true taste among the populace at large:

"It is deplorable to think that great Britain in Generall has not sooner begun to incourage her young ones in the Study of History the nobles[t] part of painting. S<sup>r</sup> Joshua Rynolds aims with with his pamphlets or academick discourses to corect their tast, this is praiseworthy but a dificult task", <sup>55</sup>

A correction in taste was long overdue. Half a century had passed since Hogarth had deplored the picture dealers' trade of "continually importing

† Appendix III.





37. SIR JOSHUA REYNOLDS: [Portrait of Dr. Samuel Johnson], c. 1770, Oil on canvas 29 $\frac{1}{2}$  x 24 $\frac{1}{2}$ , Harvard University.



shiploads of dead Christs, holy families, Madonnas, and other dismal dark subjects".<sup>56</sup> Being supplied with paintings from this quarter, British *connoisseurs* had little regard for the work of native artists other than in Portraiture, or in the specialist genres of marine and sporting pictures. They might enjoy the charming *décor* of Vauxhall and appreciate the various paintings in the Foundling Hospital, but few would consider having such stuff in their homes. The portraitist and writer Jonathan Richardson had, it is true, explained how a portrait, by reminding viewers of the deeds of sitters virtuous or vicious, could inspire them to emulate or to shun the examples thus set.<sup>57</sup> Notwithstanding this ingenious attempt to raise the standing of Portraiture in enlightened estimation, for most artists a face-painting depended too much upon faithful copying of the particular and mortal, too little upon an approach to a *general* idea, for it to "rank in the highest class". Fuseli can always be relied on for a memorable phrase, and - after having specifically excluded "characteristic" figures like Reynolds' well-known personification of Comedy, and moving works like the image of "mental and corporeal strife" in one of his portraits of Dr. Johnson - he delivered a choice barrage in condemnation of portraits in general. These he saw as "the remembrancers of insignificance, mere human resemblance, in attitude without action, feature without meaning, dress without drapery, and situation without propriety".<sup>58</sup>

Not surprisingly, patrons were unconvinced by the argument that mere resemblances of their own features were without significance, and the native painter was virtually forced to work in this genre unless he could imitate the classical landscapes of Claude Lorrain and Gaspard Poussin, as Richard Wilson and John Woollet did, or turn his thoughts to "a still more novel mode", as Hogarth did to escape the drudgery of producing Conversation Pieces. His "pictur'd Morals" suited the prevailing taste better than his ill-fated "Sigismunda". Historical paintings which were admired when first tried by an impartial test of their merits could still be dismissed once the so-called *cognoscenti*, with small fatigue, carried out a second from which there was no appeal. Northcote relates how an English milord rebuked his son for suggesting that he might actually buy West's "Pylades and Orestes", of which he had just spoken in high terms:

"You surely would not have me hang up a modern English picture in my house, unless it were a portrait?" <sup>59</sup>

There was without doubt some snobbery in such an attitude, or at least a concern to do the correct thing on all occasions. Hogarth, in the "Tailpiece" he designed in 1761 for the Society of Arts catalogue, had



accurately taken the measure of those who came to exhibitions with the object of helping one another to "despise the wretched English daubs".<sup>60</sup>

To observe that this practice was injurious to the livelihood of British artists and stultifying to their ambitions is accurate but short-sighted. James Barry viewed the contemporary situation in a perspective which extended beyond the present. Writing to Edmund Burke, his friend and patron, from Rome, he declared that the cramming of foreign art, much of it of indifferent quality, into England might "hold up an appearance of art" there for fifty or sixty years longer. Barry was never one for half measures, and he continued:

"If the legislature was to consider, that the vast number of pictures, &c, which we have of the Italians, French, & Flemings, are sufficient to prove what *they* could do in art, it may be now time, (before every crevice is filled) that the trials of our *own* people should be countenanced, which cannot be the case, if importation of art goes on much further." <sup>61</sup>

Barry's idealism and high-minded concern for the true ends of art cannot be doubted, nor can the importance of the efforts he made on its behalf be denied. When earlier in the same letter he is to be found writing of "an old picture which they christen in the name of this or that master, and which has no other merit but that, as nothing is visible, so nothing can be objected to", the dry wit only makes more poignant the depth of his feelings.

In undertaking to write upon Historical painting of the later eighteenth century, the critic would do well to heed the advice of Reynolds on actually painting History, and not enter too much into detail lest an appraisal of the whole be lost in admiration of its many parts. Nevertheless, by the same authority, some "circumstances of minuteness", in that they will enliven the account and contribute subsidiary interest and local colour, cannot wholly be rejected.<sup>62</sup> As it is for Historical painting, so it is for narrative painting in general.

Firstly, then, from a survey of all artists to exhibit works, or known to have painted, at this time, it is possible to distribute their existent and recorded pictures into groups each having a particular feature. Since most of the works then exhibited have left only their titles behind, such an arrangement is of necessity based on the broadest distinctions. Its principal use is to show the proportion, and hence popularity, of each genre in relation to the whole *corpus*, and then, within each genre, to allow the most frequently recurring subjects or, more significantly, types of subjects to be identified. Following from this, and giving due weight to the works of major artists, some typical paintings and important



characteristics of the most relevant genres can be selected for closer consideration.

Of paintings exhibited at the Royal Academy and at the two Societies, the great majority can initially be assigned to one of four genres. In one or other of these categories pictures exhibited elsewhere, never publicly exhibited, or painted earlier in the century, may also find a place. Portraiture, by far the largest single grouping, would appear by definition to be excluded from a discussion of narrative painting, as would Landscape. Yet there are occasions when a painting belonging primarily to either of these genres may also be seen as partly belonging to another, and some note must be taken of such cases in order to present as accurate a survey as possible.

The two other great divisions might be termed, however crudely, "history" painting and Genre, each of which clearly demands some form of narrative. The latter might usefully be further divided, should occasion demand, according to subject-matter and intent. A Genre painting of peasants may be amusing, sentimental, decorative, instructive or indeed documentary. With the introduction of pictorial accounts of contemporary events, a concern for precision of feature and location is encountered which is not essential to the more typical Genre piece and fancy-picture, while portraiture and topographical painting may then even encroach upon History.

To admit of such a possibility may not have occurred to an artist of the time. In fact, to class as "historical" subjects as diverse as scenes from the Classics, the Bible, British history, national literature and contemporary events is anachronistic, as will be seen from further investigation of this period. Suffice it to say that while appropriate treatment of some of these subjects will approach the Grand Style, it is essential to make a distinction between true Historical Composition and what has come to be uncritically accepted as "historical" painting.

For ease of making this distinction, one might appropriate the definition of "a story" made by Reynolds in the Fourth Discourse, a subject "commonly supplied by the Poet or Historian", while bearing in mind that to do so is to use his words out of context and with no regard to his full argument.<sup>63</sup> Such a process of selection and manipulation is normally reprehensible, but may for the moment be defensible in that it allows a definition of History closer to the contemporary view to be reached. Traditionally, the subjects of *istoria* had been drawn from "Greek and Roman fable and history" and from the Bible, and so Scripture and the Classics were the sources of a significant proportion of paintings



exhibited in the eighteenth century. Only about one in ten Historical paintings was derived from ancient history. To these established sources contemporary interests, reflected in some of the premiums offered by the Society of Artists, added British history and literature. The process of compromise thus introduced was to have far-reaching effects. Further developed by those contemporary interests, exploited by certain influential painters, it would eventually result in a confusion of historical with Historical subject-matter and, what is worse, of the function of true History painting with that of lesser genres. It is a confusion which leads critics so to misunderstand this purpose that an opinion that a Conversation Piece, "whenever it is heightened by a solemn pathos or an exotic setting, passes almost unnoticeably from portraiture to 'history painting'", can pass unchallenged.<sup>64</sup>

The total number of painters who had exhibited at one or more of the three major venues by 1800 was in excess of a thousand. The total number of paintings hung can be imagined. Artists who exhibited works of at least some narrative content number around four hundred; the total of all their pictures of this kind stands at about one thousand, six hundred.<sup>65</sup>

There were exhibited slightly more than six hundred paintings which drew upon Scripture or the Classics for their subjects. That is, well over a third of all narrative pictures may for the moment be described as Historical. Two hundred and forty of these were of Biblical or sacred subjects, half as many again were of Classical. While annual statistics are easy, if time-consuming, to obtain, it is difficult to draw any but the broadest conclusions from them. Thus a fivefold increase in the number of both Biblical and Classical pictures from those shown in the 1760s to those shown in the 1790s reflects an increase in the number of exhibitors rather than a growth of interest in History.<sup>†</sup> Whereas the forty or so Historical paintings shown at the Societies in the 1760s account for almost a half of all narrative pictures then seen, the two hundred shown at the Academy in the latter period represent only around a quarter. The high point of the popularity of Historical subject-matter

<sup>†</sup> Figures for Biblical and sacred paintings are distorted by the contributions of Benjamin West, who in the thirty years from the first Royal Academy exhibitions to the turn of the century exhibited seventy such paintings, "vast batches of figure-concoctions", as Fuseli put it, largely destined for his work at Windsor. In the 1790s alone West accounted for a third of all Biblical pictures exhibited, his thirty-four titles representing two-thirds of those by the better-known names. The equally prolific Angelica Kauffmann had a similar effect on statistics for Classical subjects, of which she exhibited nearly forty, mainly between 1769 and 1781. In the 1770s she and West together actually accounted for a quarter of all paintings with Historical subject-matter.



actually occurred during the first decade of the Royal Academy's existence, with two hundred paintings then forming nearly two-thirds of all narrative paintings shown. During the following decade, when the Free Society stopped holding exhibitions and the Society of Artists was more often than not "withdrawn from public notice", in a field of four hundred narrative pictures less than a third were of Historical subjects.

It is not sufficient to point to this relative decrease in the number of such works, such paintings of Biblical and Classical material, as proof of the lack of encouragement for History cited earlier in the words of Gainsborough, Allan and Fuseli. After all, Gainsborough's observation that there was no call for the History painter was made at exactly the time that pictures with Historical subject-matter were enjoying a particular *vogue*. The conscientious commentator is faced, sooner or later, with the problem of accounting for this apparent contradiction. The independent judgements of a number of artists are clearly at odds with the impartial evidence of the catalogues. It is true that portraits dominate their pages as they do Ramberg's well-known engravings of the Royal Academy exhibitions, but to account for the persistence of several hundred Historical subjects a critic must postulate either a remarkably swift conversion on the part of the public, or a commendable devotion to principle on the part of many artists. The survival of these subjects, indeed their predominance among narrative paintings until well into the 1790s, suggests the former, and it appears that "a considerable number of the huge quantity of history paintings produced during these thirty years did in fact find private purchasers".<sup>66</sup>

Thus these painters were encouraged to continue with Historical subject-matter. The disappointment expressed by Allan and Fuseli may therefore initially seem to be groundless, given that modern British paintings, whether portraits or no, could at last be seen on British walls. That it was a justified grievance will be apparent, once a more searching survey of the kind of paintings actually exhibited has been undertaken.

It is, in fact, easier to understand why these artists should hold this view than it is to account precisely for the change in public attitude since the 1760s. Among the visitors to exhibitions there must have been many who wished to follow fashion, or to demonstrate their *virtu*, by owning a History painting, and yet could not afford a smoky foreign import. Perhaps demand for these simply outstripped supply, an expression familiar in commercial contexts. Royal patronage of Benjamin West may also have had an indirect effect, and Poussin-sized Histories may in any case have been found suitable for furnishing rooms with elegance, and





38. WILLIAM HOGARTH; [ Portrait of David Garrick in *King Richard III* ], c. 1745; Oil on canvas 75 x 98½. The Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool.



39. JOHANN ZOFFANY; [ Scene from *Love in a Village* ], 1767. Oil on canvas 40 x 50. Institute of Arts, Detroit.



more congenial to the average painter than the canvases demanded by the life-sized figures of Gavin Hamilton.

There is a great difference between innumerable representations of Flora, Hebe or Venus and a painting such as "Andromache weeping over the dead body of Hector", the first of Hamilton's Homeric subjects to be exhibited in London, as early as 1762. Quite apart from the style and emotional content of particular paintings, the narrative in such depictions of deities or immortals is often of the slightest, while that in Hamilton's painting is of major importance. It was enough that a pretty youth in modest drapery be shown holding an antique cup for a general identification with Hebe or Ganymede to be made, but Decorum demanded that each individual in a scene from the *Iliad* be represented, in appearance, action and expression, "*as one should suppose they Would, or Ought to be*".<sup>67</sup>

It is but a short step from ostensibly Historical subjects like these conventional personifications to paintings reflecting the contemporary *vogue* for portraits of a sitter "in the character of" some such deity or Classical figure, a mode with respectable artistic precedents and some ingenious justifications. No doubt some of these guises were appropriate - one thinks immediately of Reynolds' "Kitty Fisher as Cleopatra", and may be indulgent towards amateur musicians who wished to be remembered as so many Saint Cæcilias - but most seem to have been no more than a fashionable dressing-up, comparable to the practice of having a portrait painted in Van Dyck costume or in the even more exotic, indeed outlandish garb of a Hungarian hussar. The instruction "*vide. l. Aneid of Virgil*" appended to "A lady in the character of Venus" by Beechey is not convincing in its presumptuous yoking of the ideal and timeless to the personal and mortal. Similarly, Cosway's "Wisdom, Prudence and Valour arming St. George", the Prince of Wales taking the part of the saint, drew from Walpole the ambiguous comment "very unlike".<sup>68</sup> Identical in kind but not so presumptuous in their claims are the myriad portraits identifying sitters with characters from popular novels, which with a host of theatrical portraits may briefly be noted here. About fifty painters of the eighteenth century, including Hogarth and Reynolds, practised the latter genre at one time or another, frequently depicting players as though actually in performance. The most prolific of all was Samuel de Wilde, but Zoffany's, with a number of portraits of Garrick, is the name chiefly associated with theatrical paintings.

Figure 38

Figure 39

The less prevalent *vogue* of "historical landscapes" offers an interesting parallel with "fancy portraits" of supposedly Classical



subjects. Reynolds' strictures upon Richard Wilson's "Large landskip with the story of Niobe" are well known, and centre on the observation that the setting was "by no means prepared" to receive ideal beings. According to Reynolds, Wilson's "landskips were in reality too near common nature to admit supernatural objects".<sup>69</sup> It might be pertinently urged that even when Reynolds' own sitters play the parts of Diana, Euphrosyne, Saint Cæcilia or Cleopatra their features and attitudes are more suggestive of polite society in contemporary Bath or London than of an ideal conception of Mount Olympos or the ancient world. Nevertheless, patrons were by all means prepared to receive such identities. They may also have been prepared to buy examples of "historical landscape" as a means of slightly observing the priority of History while enjoying possession of more popular modes. Wilson himself painted several other landscapes with Historical figures and stories, which proved popular as prints.<sup>70</sup> Sandby, Hodges, Cozens and even "Athenian" Stuart all made excursions into this genre, while among minor artists Jared Leigh and John Bond adapted their usual sea studies and landscapes by introducing Biblical episodes, the stories of the Good Samaritan and Samson and the lion. British literature was soon found to answer equally well, and the landscapist J. C. Nattes made an interesting appeal to its associations in his Royal Academy exhibit of 1788, a "View from Nature of the Brook of Valombrosa, immortalised by Milton in his Paradise Lost".<sup>71</sup>

Of a kind with the tame and domestic classicism generally offered by "historical portraits" or delicate deities, and by landscapes in which History plays a very subordinate rôle, are those blends of classical and pastoral in which appear swarms of Cupids and bacchantes, or bevvies of nymphs reposing, bathing or adjusting their draperies and sandals, though in one memorable instance a nymph evades a satyr with the slightly suspect assistance of yet another Cupid.<sup>72</sup> Among paintings of more truly narrative content, one last distinction, and a major distinction, must be introduced. Again, it is possible to do this by relying initially upon subject-matter alone.

As Reynolds distinguished two styles in History painting, the Grand and the splendid or ornamental, so paintings which are of classical subjects and feature narrative may be considered either decorative or didactic.<sup>73</sup> Rigaud's exhibit of 1773, for example, "Cupid sharpening his arrows, and Psyche sleeping at some distance", suggests the elegance of a *boudoir*, as does "Calypso receiving Telemachus and Mentor in the Grotto", at least when the artist is known to be William Hamilton.<sup>74</sup> Hamilton's other classical subject of 1791, "Æneas communicating to Dido the necessity of





40, JOHN DOWNMAN: "The Return of Orestes *vide*  
Electra of Sophocles", exh, Royal Academy  
1782, Oil on panel 19½ x 25,



his departure from Carthage", though worthy of treatment in a grand manner, is again capable of that sentimental approach so congenial to this artist and to the public at large. The popularity of a subject such as Cornelia the Roman mother displaying her children as her only jewels suggests that it struck a particularly responsive chord among viewers' sensibilities.<sup>75</sup> In short, these and other stories could - like "historical landscapes" - comfortably be adapted to the decoration of a house, settling in as charmingly as the latest family portraits in the characters of Hebe, of Cupid and Psyche, of Isaac and Rebecca, or even of a Madonna and Child.<sup>76</sup>

In contrast to these sentimental adaptations, some subjects demanding treatment more heroic, or offering instruction somehow less cloying, were chosen. "Seneca going to the bath" is worth any amount of splashing nymphs.<sup>77</sup> It is not hard to imagine the dramatic and didactic possibilities of stories such as "Hector challenging the Greeks to single combat", "The Continnence of Scipio", "The Landing of Agrippina with the ashes of Germanicus", or "The retreat of the Greeks with the body of Patroclus".<sup>78</sup> The austerity of Diogenes proved popular in the 1770s, four artists then depicting him either throwing his cup from him or rebuffing Alexander.<sup>79</sup>

Yet caution must be urged in equating a subject's potential with an artist's performance. Titles can be misleading. Downman's Royal Academy exhibit of 1782 seems promising, but "The return of Orestes vide Electra of Sophocles" turns out to be no more than a theatrical group portrait accurately recording the gestures and very mortal visages of the cast, and reflecting the contemporary interest in suitable, if hardly exact costume and setting.<sup>80</sup> Horace Walpole found a picture of "Andromache sacrificing to the memory of Hector" to be "very pretty", a response by both painter and critic only slightly less incongruous than using such subjects as designs for fans, as did both Bartolozzi and West.<sup>81</sup> In such a climate the delightfully ambiguous "Apollo fleaing Marcius", in reality a castigation of would-be artists pretending to capabilities beyond them, was at least partly appropriate in its implicit defence of correct standards.<sup>82</sup> Most painters simply did not aspire to the Grand Style at all, the Classics for them representing no more than a convenient and inexhaustible store of fanciful situations and fabulous characters, to be captured in "cabinet" pictures, to fill a space in a landscape, to have their greatness travestied in a "fancy portrait" or, by half a dozen amateurs, to be "worked" in human hair. A subject worthy of Jacques-Louis David, "Leonidas leaving his family, going to Thermopylæ to oppose





41, GAVIN HAMILTON: [The Parting of Hector and Andromache], c. 1775. Oil on canvas 126 x 160  
University of Glasgow.



42, DOMENICO CUNEGO after Gavin Hamilton: [Achilles lamenting the death of Patroclus], 1764, Engraving 15½ x 24.



Xerxes", which ought to convey the heroic resolve and altruism of the king buying time for Greece by stemming invasion, could more probably degenerate into a sentimental leave-taking reminiscent of a cottage scene by George Morland.<sup>93</sup> The repetitive charm and facility of Kauffmann in particular offers an unassuming and nostalgic imagining of things past, a vision which was part of the fashion of her times but which had nothing to do with the *métier* of Historical painter.

Here then lies the reason for Gainsborough's acute perception that there was no call for this kind of painter. It is not enough that artists follow in well-worn Classical paths, perhaps with calculating eyes on the decorative market, for them to be considered History painters. Reynolds had stressed the necessity of captivating the imagination rather than gratifying the senses, of endeavouring to improve Mankind by the grandeur of ideas expressed in works of art.<sup>94</sup> A rigorous definition of what truly constitutes a Historical painting would exclude all but a handful of the apparently Historical canvases seen in the eighteenth century.

It may be observed that Fuseli spoke not of Historical, but of "*Poetical*" painting. Whatever may be urged against too close an identification of the Sister Arts, it must be allowed that his description is both expressive and economical. It might be advantageous to adopt it, and thus always be conscious of the importance of an elevating address to the mind, rather than have continually to insist on a differentiation of true Historical painting from the mere illustration of scenes mythological, Classical, Biblical or historical. This distinction must be made in order fully to evaluate contemporary developments in such painting, and is a distinction forced upon the critic by the effects of those same developments.

Before turning to other genres, which may be more summarily scanned than History, and having decided the kind of paintings which cannot legitimately be classed as Historical, it remains briefly to record that some paintings then exhibited and still known may indeed be considered *Poetical*.<sup>95</sup> They deal with subjects and themes of general significance in a manner consciously elevated. The "usual course of reading" made the *Iliad* generally familiar to those of culture throughout Europe, and Gavin Hamilton's Homeric paintings became as widely known through the distribution of prints.<sup>96</sup> The full series of six huge canvases peopled by figures of heroic dimensions presents a drama of the cause and results of the anger of Achilles. In contrast to the frequent brutality of the epic text, Hamilton's interpretation is one of Neoclassical restraint, with the crucial exception of the scene of Achilles wreaking





43, DOMENICO CUNEGO after Gavin Hamilton "Achilles vents his rage on Hector", 1766, Engraving 15½ x 24,



44, JAMES BARRY: "The education of Achilles", exh. Royal Academy, 1772. Oil on canvas 40½ x 50½, Yale Center, New Haven,



Figure 43

vengeance upon Hector. Three scenes from the series were exhibited between 1762 and 1770.<sup>87</sup>

In 1788 Reynolds exhibited his "The Infant Hercules strangling the serpents", a subject chosen by himself for a commission given by Catherine the Great.<sup>88</sup> It was much admired for its conception, colouring and design and, although the huge canvas is rather crowded with distracting incidentals such as Reynolds himself theoretically disparaged, it is his most significant venture into the sublime of History. According to his own account, the "*valeur d'Hercules encore enfant*" suggested the future might of the burgeoning Russian empire.<sup>89</sup>

Figure 67

Colossal size alone was not a prerequisite of a History painting, worthy "exertion of mind" being the only circumstance that truly ennobled art. With his Royal Academy exhibit of 1779, "The Vestals attending the Sacred Fire", restrained in appearance and muted in colour, David Allan depicted an unusual subject with the intention of making allusion to his own times. On a smaller scale than these works by Reynolds and Hamilton, it lacks the power of the one or the Baroque splendour of the other, but depends for its explication upon pictorial form rather than, as was more usual, literary allusions.<sup>90</sup>

Figure 44

James Barry's "The Education of Achilles", of a more modest size than is typical of the artist's work, equally demonstrates that hyperbole is not necessary to the Grand Style. Even without a knowledge of mythology, a viewer could grasp the essence of the situation, and respond to the aura of complete stillness perfectly captured. Thus the youthful Achilles, presented in classical profile and attending to the words of Chiron, is reminded of his javelin as he stills the chords of his lyre, silence falling on the little sunlit glade. The arts of war and peace are held in momentary balance, the shadow of the centaur's pointing hand falling across the inscription on a herm and indicating the golden-haired hero. Upon closer inspection, and with a knowledge of "fable and history", subsidiary details are picked out and contribute to the meaning. The infant Hercules appears on Achilles' shield, like that described in the *Iliad* also "the work and present of celestial hands", and a geometrical design has been scratched in the ground, with the lyre a reminder of Greek education as Hercules is of precocious heroism. With this greater knowledge, these details gradually coalesce in a richly woven web of allusion. The shield, for example, does not only recall one of Chiron's many former disciples, but warns of the jealousy of the gods. Hercules successfully strangled serpents sent by Hera, but Achilles was laid low at the Scæan Gate when Apollo aided Paris. Thus the shadow of Chiron's



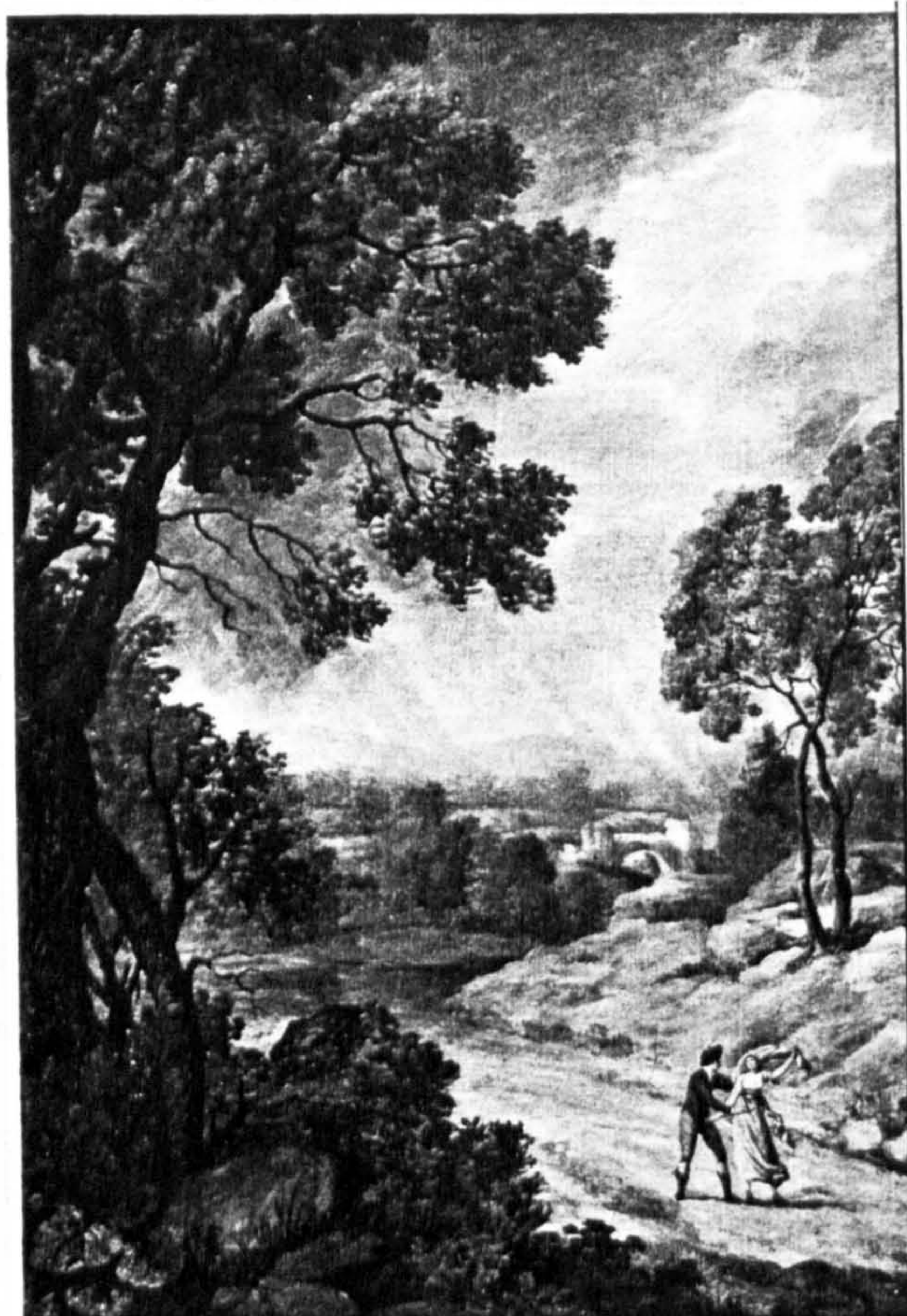
pointing finger - the natural consequence of his having indicated the javelin - presages his pupil's early and violent death. The "haunting, dream-like quality" of the painting does not only sensitively evoke the world of Greek gods and heroes, it combines with this and other reminders in creating that sense of inevitability, of destiny, which informs the greatest tragedies.<sup>91</sup> None of these details, of course, detracts from the grander conception of the picture. Nor does the means by which Achilles' one physical weakness is subtly emphasised, as the fateful heel is protectively shielded from sight. Thus learned allusion, emotion, sympathy, and the portrayal of ideal beauty are harmoniously combined in Barry's truly poetic painting.

As ancient literature had been the traditional source of *istoria*, so modern was to become the source of much painting in later years. The works of Shakespeare had early suggested material for paintings as well as book illustrations, and in the last forty years of the century some two hundred pictures based upon his plays were exhibited, the work of almost a hundred artists who most often chose their subjects from *Macbeth* and from the "Histories".<sup>92</sup> The Boydell venture brought another ten artists to this total, and doubled the number of paintings. These additions, for obvious reasons, were more evenly distributed throughout the canon.

Paintings, excluding theatrical and other literary portraits, based upon all other British literature number almost two hundred and fifty, with Milton, Thomson, Dryden, Spenser and, naturally, "Ossian" accounting for more than half.<sup>93</sup> *Paradise Lost* was clearly seen as the rightful source of the Sublime - Burke had more often than not selected Miltonic passages for the illustration of points in his *Enquiry* - and titles like "Satan rising from the regions of Chaos", "Fall of the Angels", and "Satan awaking in the burning lake" are representative, although Adam and Eve were painted on a number of occasions and John Paxton, late of the Foulis Academy, and perhaps bearing witness to that fondness for religious debate typical of his countrymen, exhibited two scenes from *Samson Agonistes*, in 1766 and 1772.<sup>94</sup> Hogarth had based a striking painting upon *Paradise Lost* earlier in the century, and both Fuseli and Barry were ambitious of seeing Galleries devoted to Milton by its end.<sup>95</sup> The first of Barry's paintings to be exhibited in Britain was the "The temptation of Adam" which figures prominently in Brandoin's print of the Royal Academy exhibition of 1771.

With Shakespeare, Milton is an appropriate source for *Poetical* painting which does not depend upon the traditional subjects of *istoria*. That only





45, JOHN HOWES; [Celadon and Amelia; from *The Seasons*], signed and dated 1795, Oil on canvas 20 $\frac{1}{4}$  x 15 $\frac{1}{2}$ .



these Historical subjects are worthy of treatment in the Grand Manner is a heresy which none would be foolish enough to propose. A work truly great, at least according to contemporary theory, is so for all ages. Caution is therefore required in deciding the real merit of a contemporary work of art, whether of literature or of painting, when its success may lie in its appeal to the fashion of the day rather than in its address to the taste of all time, a taste which was thought to discern those "certain and regular causes by which the imagination and passions of men are affected".<sup>96</sup> The real substance of taste being "fixed and established in the nature of things", then "what has pleased, and continues to please, is likely to please again".<sup>97</sup> Macpherson's studied reworkings of ancient Gaelic verses, for example, were enormously popular in their day, with the blind Irish harper being ranked with Homer, but the fashion, though not short-lived, did not last for ever.

The gentler works of James Thomson could nevertheless occasionally provide violent subject-matter, as in the terrific description of a pack of ravenous wolves in *Winter*, or the incident from the storm in *Summer* when Amelia is struck dead by lightning whilst standing beside Celadon. Thomson asks rhetorically,

"But who can paint the lover, as he stood  
Pierced by severe amazement",

Several artists thought they might try, among them David Allan, John Downman and William Williams, whose version of 1778 devotes more attention to the scenery and storm than to the passions, as does a small oil painted by John Howes some twenty years later.<sup>98</sup> More pastoral episodes were generally chosen from Thomson's most famous work, that involving Musidora being a particular favourite. She, Diana-like, is seen by Damon as she goes to bathe in a hoarse-murmuring and refreshing stream. Upon learning of his presence, although the "discreet" youth has fled,

"As if to marble struck, devoid of sense,  
A stupid moment motionless she stood;  
So stands the Statue that enchants the world;  
So, bending, tries to veil the matchless boast,  
The mingled beauties of exulting Greece."

Musidora is less a modern Susanna or Artemis than a naturalised Venus de Medicis.<sup>99</sup>

The works of Thomson, Milton, Spenser and Shakespeare apart, British literature, to judge largely from the annual catalogues, was chosen almost exclusively by minor artists, and a truly astonishing variety of authors was covered. All the major names of the eighteenth century, including Johnson, offered some attractions, as did such ephemerally popular





47, HENRY WALTON: "The Market Girl", exh. Royal Academy, 1777. Oil on canvas 49 1/4 x 39 1/4.



46, VENDRAMINI after Francis Wheatley: "Strawberries Scarlet Strawberries" 1795, Stipple engraving 16 1/4 x 13.



48, WILLIAM REDMORE BIGG: "A Cottage Girl shelling peas", exh. Royal Academy, 1782 (signed and dated 1782), Oil on canvas 30 x 25. Plymouth Museum and Art Gallery.



writers as Mr. Fosbrook, Miss More and one Joe Thomson. Less quickly forgotten, but clearly more highly regarded in their own times than in later, were authors like Shenstone, Malloch, Mason and Henry Mackenzie.

British history, although its depiction was encouraged by the offer of Premiums from the Society of Arts, was far less frequently chosen by artists than History, British literature or Genre. Despite the great contemporary interest in written accounts and antiquarian research, the steadily increasing number of pictures of this kind exhibited, often, it is true, by major artists, had still barely passed one hundred by the end of the century. To this total may be added thirty or so canvases derived from Shakespeare's "Histories", in that they reflect the same interests and often draw upon the same sources.<sup>100</sup>

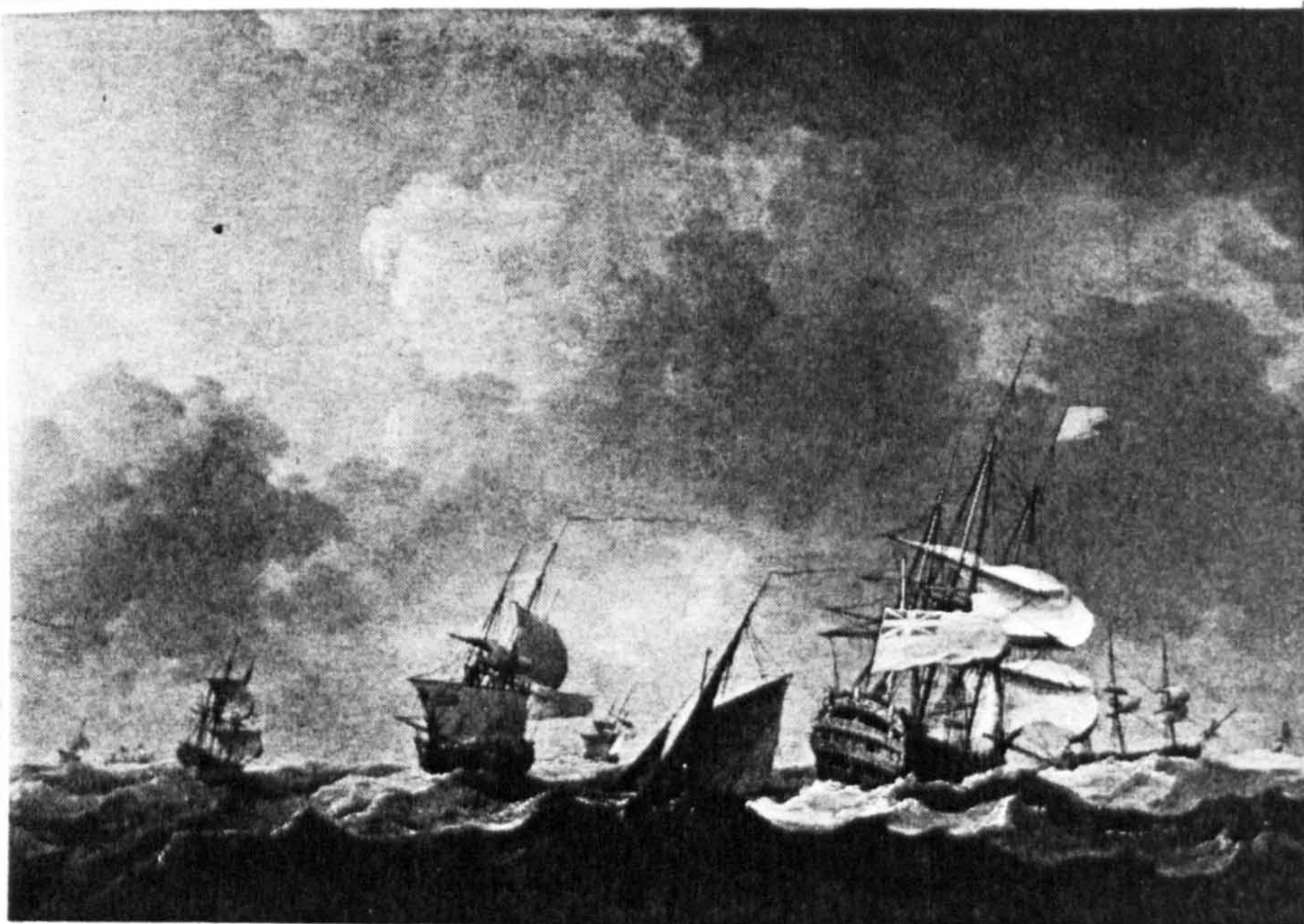
The huge increase in the quantity of Genre pieces shown from the late 1780s onwards can partly be attributed to the larger number of exhibitors, partly to certain artists who specialised in this field. Wheatley sent a dozen such pictures in the 1780s, and more than twenty in the following decade, accompanied by *The Itinerant Trades of London*, in thirteen engravings. Westall, Northcote and George Morland among them contributed about fifty Genre pieces during the same period. Of the host of more minor painters, William Bigg exhibited nothing else but Genre at the Royal Academy, though he sent a classical work to the Free Society in 1782. His works range from the innocent and conventional to the maudlin, from "A cottage girl shelling peas" to "Favourite chickens going to market", but he could choose more emotive subjects such as "A stormy night, the wife waiting the return of her husband".

Some artists specialised in a particular area of Genre, if sporting and naval pictures may be considered of this class. The latter, with its precision of detail, predilection for high drama and frequent choice of contemporary incident anticipated, and anticipated from the previous century, some significant developments in the later painting of notable events.<sup>101</sup> Since many of those who bought these paintings were formerly of the sea - and at least one practitioner, a Lieutenant Yates, was both artist and sailor - they were as desirous of accuracy in the depiction of things they knew as were the *cognoscenti* for successful, or at least conventional Imitation of human action and delineation of character. According to a *Liber Nauticus* of 1805, written by two naval painters of the previous century, not only should the artist be familiar with the external appearance of hull, masts, yards and sails, "he should likewise be acquainted with Seamanship".<sup>102</sup> No departure from vulgar and strict truth was allowed, it seems, for one painting, though excellent in parts,

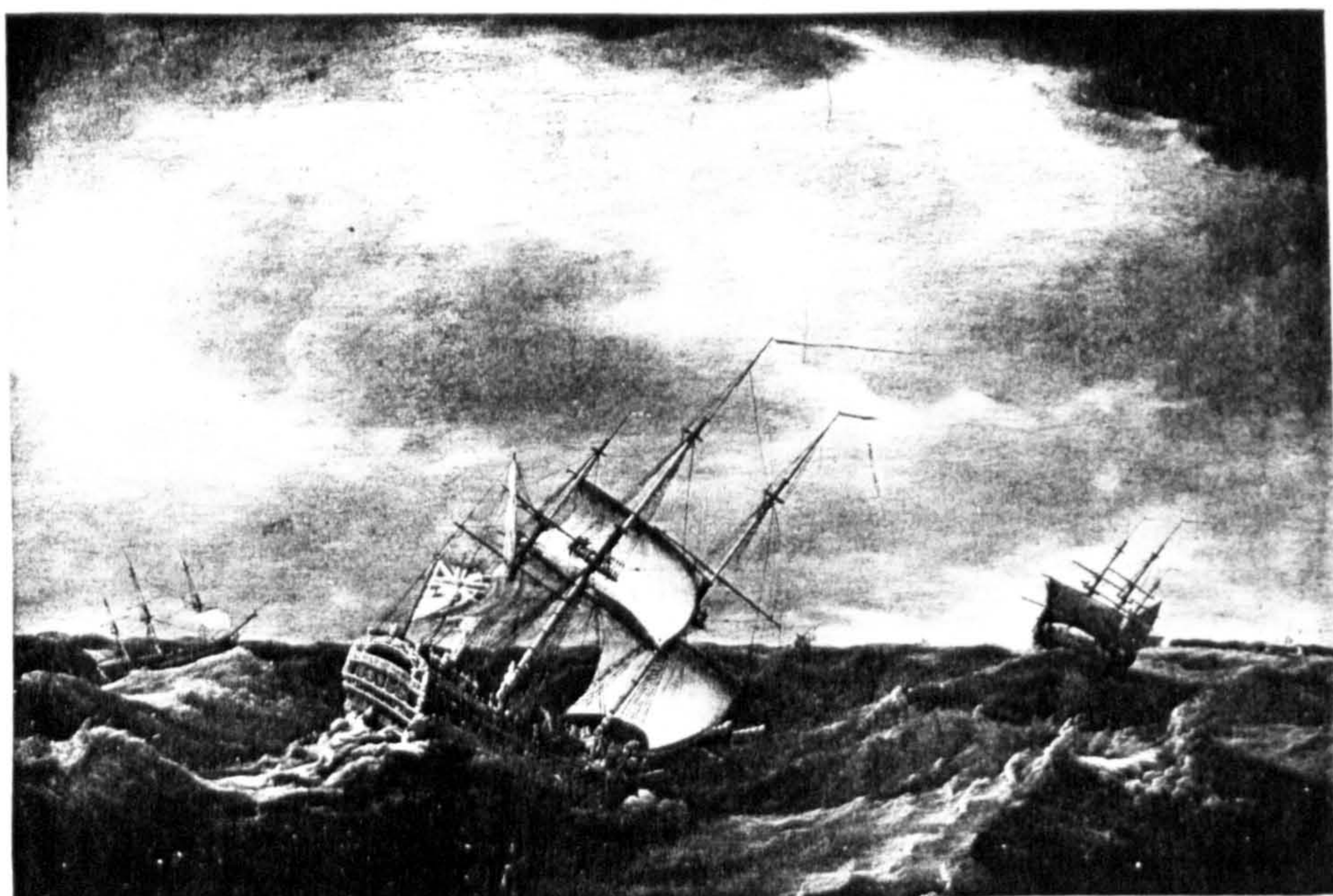
Figure 46  
Figure 47

Figure 48





49, CHARLES BROOKING; "Shipping in a breeze",  
c. 1750, Oil on canvas 19 $\frac{1}{4}$  x 29 $\frac{1}{4}$ .



50, FRANCIS HOLMAN; "British men-o'-war in a  
rough sea", signed and dated 1778, Oil on  
canvas 23 $\frac{1}{2}$  x 34 $\frac{1}{2}$ .



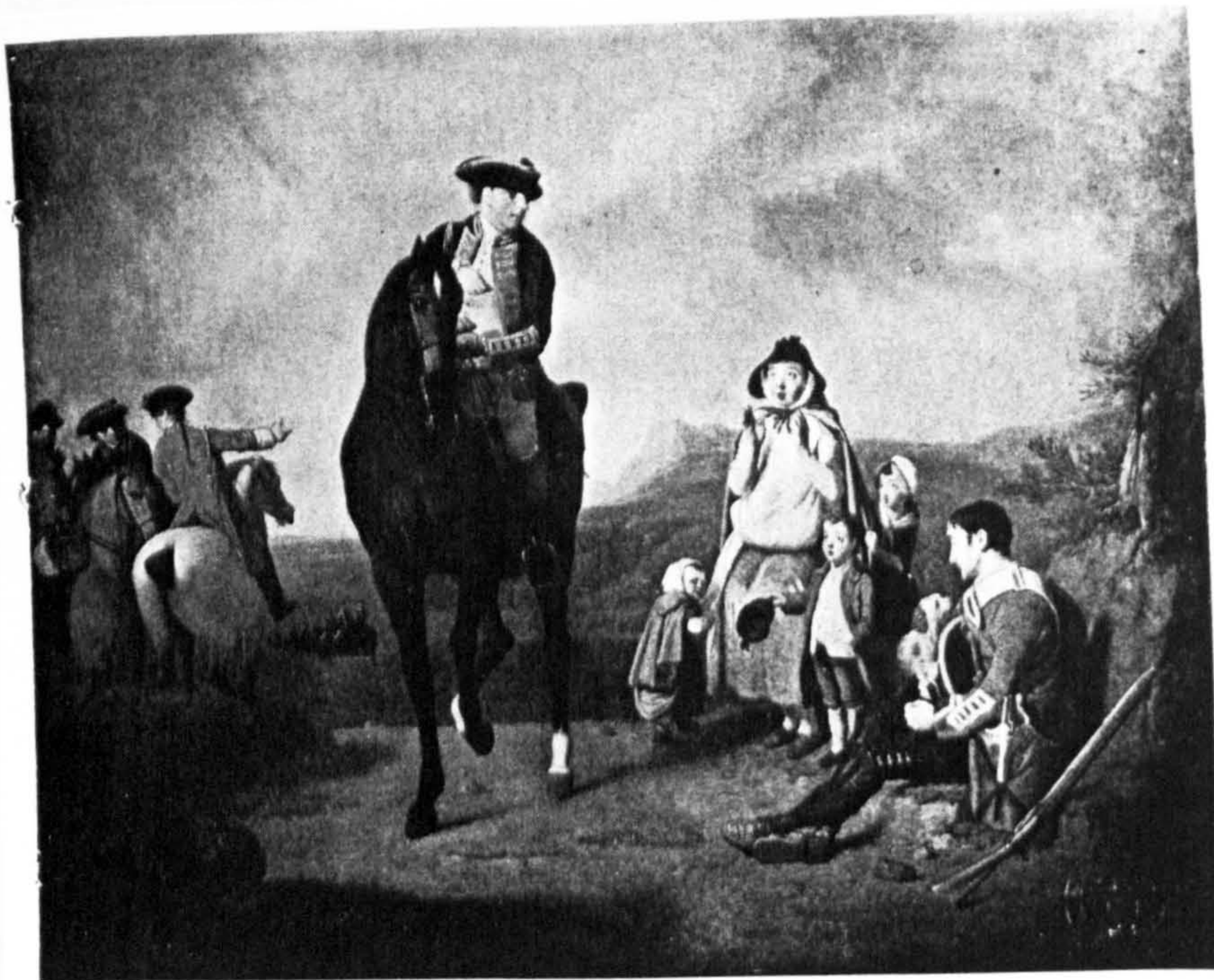
was not pronounced perfect until certain sea-changes had been made; "the jib should be eased a third on the jib boom — it will look more shipshape in blowing weather".<sup>103</sup> The drama of "blowing weather", heavy seas and shipwreck was a recurrent theme, its being so consistently popular hardly as "unaccountable" as has been thought.<sup>104</sup> Although Burke refuted the assumption that personal immunity from danger perceived or represented was in itself sufficient to cause "delight", few of his contemporaries were so analytical, and most would have accepted Addison's view:

"When we look on such hideous objects, we are not a little pleased to think we are in no danger of them. We consider them at the same time dreadful and harmless; so that the more frightful appearance they make, the greater is the pleasure we receive from the sense of our own safety." <sup>105</sup>

Especially when considered in relation to the theme of shipwreck, the passage echoes the famous opening lines from the second book of *De Rerum Natura*, and may be taken as a description of one certain cause "by which the imagination and passions of men are affected", if hardly the sort of cause Reynolds had in mind.<sup>106</sup>

The variety of subjects exhibited by Bigg can be matched in the work of other Genre painters of the time, the unduly piteous strain of his unfortunate "chickens" being sounded again in Richard Livesay's "Cottage girls finding their favourite lamb killed by lightning". The cottage, indeed the country as a whole, as depicted in typical Genre scenes, offered a vicarious retreat into more pleasant surroundings for the mercantile classes of the rapidly growing industrial towns. Titles such as "The pensive shepherd", "Cottage felicity", "The Sentimental Shepherd" and "Rural Innocence" are revealing. If rural poverty — such as was occasioned by the realities of enclosure and the introduction of new machinery — ever does obtrude, it is in the world of these pictures instantly "relieved". Among Bigg's first exhibits was "A lady and her children relieving a distressed cottager". Members of the gentry — never averse to "fancy portraits" — were particularly fond of being represented as thus bountiful, in paintings like Beechey's "Portrait of children relieving a beggar boy — Sir J. Ford's children", or Bigg's later "The benevolent heir restoring an old cottager, confined for debt, to his family". In 1789, significantly enough, was exhibited "A nobleman relieving poor, with a view of Portland Road Turnpike", a scene combining the themes of charity and "Improvement". Wheatley's "Mr. Howard offering relief to prisoners" remains a well-known reflection of a widespread humanitarian interest, and Penny's "The Marquis of Granby relieving a distressed soldier and his family" also enjoyed great popularity in its day.<sup>107</sup> The kind of Genre particularly approved by Diderot and practised by Greuze clearly had





51. EDWARD PENNY; "The Marquis of Granby relieving a distressed soldier and his family", signed and dated 1764, *exh.* Society of Artists, 1765, Oil on canvas 40 x 50, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.



52. BENJAMIN WEST; *The Death of General Wolfe*, *exh.* Royal Academy, 1771. Oil on canvas 59½ x 84, National Gallery of Canada.



its adherents across the English Channel, though whether the object were didactic or self-congratulatory is debateable.

The view given of distant climes and their inhabitants was often equally tailored to contemporary expectations. Certain artists - John Webber RA, who accompanied Cook on his last voyage, Arthur Devis the younger, and one William Parker - did paint scenes of largely unknown lands primarily with documentary intent, while Hodges romantically evoked a tropical idyll, but others chose to emphasise the dangers consequent upon exploration, Henry Singleton's "A settler in the interior of America attacked by the natives" sufficiently indicating the tone.<sup>108</sup> The violent death of Cook himself presented artists with an event calculated to satisfy popular demand for pictorial drama, one with the added advantage of the victim's being a British naval hero, and Hodges, who had himself previously sailed with Cook, painted a version soon after the attack in "O-why-hee". George Carter showed a spirited but ungainly account, on a large scale, in 1781, two more artists followed suit in 1784, and Zoffany worked on a canvas, replete with *motifs* drawn from classical statuary, several years later.<sup>109</sup> That a demand for such exciting scenes was in itself long established can be substantiated by, for example, the evidence of all those scenes of sea battles and shipwreck, or of broadsheets recording in moralising words and crude illustrations the deeds of criminals.<sup>110</sup> That Benjamin West's picture of "The death of General Wolfe" played a major part in establishing a new means of satisfying it has never been disputed.

West's "Death of Wolfe" has attracted much comment and a number of influential opinions.<sup>111</sup> The main points of his intentions and the painting's history and effect are sufficiently well known to require no more than the barest account, but some assumptions seem to demand deeper questioning. Both the painting, exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1771, and the engraving after it enjoyed much contemporary fame, this depiction of an officer's death in the field being specifically recognised as standard for at least twenty years, its influence being felt throughout the following century.<sup>112</sup> Galt's full and fulsome account of how Reynolds admitted West's "historical picture" would "occasion a revolution in the art" is suspect, given that Reynolds held that a History painting should be of a subject "familiar and interesting . . . without being degraded by the vulgarism of ordinary life in any country", and should be executed in a manner which does not call attention from a central idea towards "minute peculiarities of dress, furniture, or scene of action".<sup>113</sup> In this same



Discourse, the fourth, actually delivered at the end of 1771, he also pointed out that clothes which were familiar were accompanied by "ideas of meanness".<sup>114</sup> West, for his part, specifically stressed his own concern for historical accuracy in such matters. Reynolds may well, on the other hand, have foreseen that "this picture [would] not only become one of the most popular, but occasion a revolution in the art", an art not that of the *History* painter. As has been pointed out, for Reynolds and others to consider a painting, play or novel "popular" was qualified praise indeed.<sup>115</sup> Being so successful in gauging aristocratic taste in his own profession of portraitist, he could equally well recognise the popular demand which West aimed at satisfying. He ended the Fourth Discourse with a warning that the applause of contemporary "fashion" might be bought at the expense of neglect by enduring taste, and was even more specific in the following year. In his fifth presidential address, he again warned artists to choose carefully the type of viewer whom they endeavoured to please, and concluded:

"I mention this, because our Exhibitions, while they produce such admirable effects by nourishing emulation and calling out genius, have also a mischievous tendency, by seducing the Painter to an ambition of pleasing indiscriminately the mixed multitude of people who resort to them." <sup>116</sup>

It has been suggested that West, anticipating academic opposition to his having represented a scene of heroism, an uncommon occurrence, in familiar dress, deliberately emphasised the exotic associations of distant lands, presumably as a means of transferring from the setting to the subject that sense of the extraordinary which ought to be inherent in the whole of an epic work:

"In West's picture this sense of the marvellous is preserved. The figure of an American Indian is prominently placed opposite the dying hero. He fulfils the function of a '*repoussoir*,' and by leading the imagination into a distant land, effectively offsets the shock of seeing the hero die in a modern uniform." <sup>117</sup>

It is at least questionable if there were any such shock inherent in the depiction of a corpse in contemporary uniform, since viewers had long been accustomed to seeing battle-pictures in which the participants, naturally enough, wore correct dress.<sup>118</sup> The various exhibitions had themselves witnessed a number of such scenes. In 1762 "Blarney" Thompson sent "A wounded officer supported from the field of battle at Minden; half length", and about the same time Wootton, who never exhibited, painted a picture showing George II at Dettingen. As was common with such commemorative paintings, and as had been painted on the walls at Marlborough House, the king, mounted like Marcus Aurelius on a fine grey charger and attended by his *aides*, gazes from the canvas with an air of stern resolve, while in the middle ground a French advance founders



before the volleys delivered by steady ranks of redcoats supported by the massed British artillery.<sup>119</sup>

The death of Wolfe at the taking of Quebec had already inspired paintings by Romney and Edward Penny, exhibited in 1763 and 1764 respectively. In fact, the general "notoriety" of the event would seem logically to negate any "offsetting" effect the presence of the Cherokee chieftain might have had. Since a knowledge of the event itself was, as Reynolds observed though in a different context, "sufficiently general" for it to strike powerfully upon "the publick sympathy", then, to a contemporary audience, the setting was surely already known, an essential part of that knowledge.<sup>120</sup> West was not hoping thus to distance the scene - a battle at Quebec is as real as one at Minden - but simply to add more local colour to his convincing band of mourners, an assembly apparently comprehensive but actually imaginary.<sup>121</sup> Were it not for his primitive stoicism, Necha might be described as a "weeper".

Nevertheless, the argument is advanced that by including this Red Man West was, seemingly "instinctively", employing the device by which Racine had justified his having dramatised a near-contemporary event. In his preface to *Bajazet*, it is shown, the French playwright had written:

"Tragic personages should be regarded in a different light from that in which we regard those whom we have seen close at hand . . . Distance of country compensates in some sort for nearness of time; for people do not distinguish between that which is, if I may venture to say so, a thousand years, and that which is a thousand miles away from them." <sup>122</sup>

So much is certainly so. Racine, however, continues with his reasoning for four more sentences, sentences essential to the argument he intended to advance. Because his own French audience had so little contact with princes and others of the *serail*, persons of *mores* and customs quite different from their own, these characters could for all artistic purposes be regarded as actually belonging to a different time. The crucial sentence is not that pointing out mere physical or geographical distance, but that emphasising cultural; "*on les regarde de bonne heure comme anciens*". <sup>123</sup> A great part of the popular success of West's picture, a success depending little upon recognition of his calculated introduction of Lebrun's *Passions* and allusion to Deposition types, surely lay in the knowledge that the hero, however distant the setting, was an English officer. It is little wonder that Woollet's print was so profitable in a market which, in pictures as in stories, demonstrated again and again its preference for reminders of its own present, its own society, and what it regarded as its own military successes.

It was this fact and what it implied, rather than the perennial distractions of contemporary uniform versus classical drapery, and



accurate recounting as opposed to a sentimental group portrait, that would have caused Reynolds's dismay. For the popular market, the "capital subjects" of *istoria* held little attraction when compared to exciting events from national history and, especially with the advent of the French Revolutionary Wars, contemporary feats of arms. There could be no objection to honouring modern heroes as well as ancient - West himself suggested Epaminondas as a suitable pendant to Wolfe, and the commemoration of Revolutionary heroes and martyrs produced, in France, some of the most enduring images of the time - but the danger inherent in such pictures, at such a time, was twofold. Firstly, the ostensible desire to honour could, instead of a concern to praise the famous of all ages, become a convenient justification for innumerable and repetitive pageants of spectacular and stirring historical events. Secondly, and building upon this justification, lesser artists desirous of immediate popular fame could arrogate for their purposes pictorial devices from History painting.

The vocabulary of gesture, expression and even composition which properly belonged to the Invention of Historical subjects would certainly make the pictorial effect of these modern scenes more striking. Reynolds had been doing the same thing in his own so-called "Historical portraits", aimed at a rather different class of patron but, for all his protestations about raising and improving each of these subjects by "approaching it to a general idea", seldom with any truly moral justification, as opposed to pictorial or decorative reasons.<sup>124</sup> Mere effect ought not to be all. The pictorial language of the Grand Style was worthy of its themes and equal to their expression. While the "simplicity of the antique air and attitude" may well be ridiculous when joined to a figure in modern dress, the eloquence of the Grand Manner is certainly so when brought to a scene which is not part of a literary, fabulous, or dramatic contrivance.<sup>125</sup> These scenes, scenes of artifice rather than of reality and thus aesthetically distanced from the mundane, are truly prepared to receive this elevated style, are, in fact, its proper *locus*.

West's innovation, the yoking of the Grand Manner to the avowedly contemporary, is essentially vulgar. It is significant that he thought the "only reason for adopting the Greek and Roman dresses, is the picturesque forms of which the drapery is susceptible", and clearly never once considered how incongruous and presumptuous was his passing off as History what was in concept either a battle-picture or a Conversation Piece, whether or no it were "heightened by a solemn pathos or an exotic setting".<sup>126</sup> Leaving aside any detailed account of the disparity between his





The VOLUNTEERS of the CITY and COUNTY of DUBLIN.

*The Volunteers of the City and County of Dublin, as they met on College Green, 1779. Engraved by J. Collyer, after Francis Wheatley. Published by J. Collyer, at the Theatre Royal, Dublin.*

53, J. COLLYER after Francis Wheatley; "The Volunteers of the City and County of Dublin as they met on College Green...1779", 1784, Engraving 194 x 264.



54, JOHN TRUMBULL: "The Death of General Warren at the Battle of Bunker's Hill, 1775", 1786. Oil on canvas 24 x 36.



pious devotion to "all the truth and propriety of the subject" with regard to clothing, and his cavalier attitude to Decorum when he included a roll-call of senior officers who were not then present, as he must have known had he, like James Barry, actually made himself master of the facts "as delivered by Historians, or otherwise", it remains still to deprecate the fact that West's influential position was crucial in showing how an opportunist painter, accurately predicting or diligently following popular demand, and perhaps equally superficial, could offer inappropriately "elevated" depictions of widely accessible themes and subjects, generally with no real purpose but that of gratifying the sight and attracting buyers.<sup>127</sup> West's picture "The Death of General Wolfe", at the same time as it purported to be an accurate depiction of a real event, used the Poetic devices of that Grand Style the means of supplanting which it provided.

Not that this "revolution in the art" was as rapid as has often been assumed. There was no sudden "proliferation of scenes from contemporary history".<sup>128</sup> Only a handful of scenes based on events of the day which were both "dramatic" or spectacular and of much significance can be counted in the thirty years or so after the exhibition of West's painting, that is, until the end of the century. There were Wheatley's "Riot in Broad Street" and a couple of his Irish scenes, the various paintings of the death of Captain Cook, Trumbull's American set pieces, several vast scenes of military carnage by Philippe de Loutherbourg, and even "The Sacking of the King's cellar at Paris" and a picture of a skirmish between British Light Dragoons and French *sans culottes* painted by Zoffany and Sir Francis Bourgeois respectively, and most of these have prototypes in the Genre scenes, battle-pieces and naval paintings already shown to antedate West's "Death of General Wolfe".<sup>129</sup> Three British artists did paint scenes of officers killed in battle. The shooting of General Fraser at Saratoga was the subject of a picture by Samuel Woodford RA, who also included in it portraits of a few officers.<sup>130</sup> John Graham's version of this general's burial, to judge from an engraving, clearly shows the influence of antique *sarcophagi*, and was exhibited in 1791 with a poignant companion, "A commanding officer contemplating his dead friend after a battle".<sup>131</sup> Less restrained is Robert Home's "Death of Colonel Moorhouse at the Pettah Gate, Bangalore", which was commissioned in India by fellow officers who, subscribing for an engraving after it, suggested that the painting should be "the size and manner of General Wolfe".<sup>132</sup> The central group in this picture is markedly indebted to West, as was presumably required, but Home, as if to demonstrate his knowledge of the artistic tradition upon which the American had built, included in



the mid-ground another wounded officer being borne off by three sepoys, a *vignette* closer in appearance to typical *Depositions* and *Entombments*. Meanwhile, herald of many nineteenth-century pictures, three impossibly elegant and immaculate riflemen in the foreground pick off distant natives who are darting spears and hurling rocks from the battlements of Bangalore into the musket smoke below.

It was, however, West's fellow American John Singleton Copley who most successfully exploited the *vogue* of pictorial sensation, and who was, incidentally, equally fortunate in securing commissions and Royal favour. His first major British success was achieved in 1778, with a famous picture the full title of which reveals its kinship with less violently dramatic *Genre* pieces: "A boy attacked by a shark, and rescued by some seamen in a boat; founded on a fact which happened in the harbour of the Havannah". Although he did paint a number of Historical subjects, Copley's most notable pictures were all similarly founded on fact, their dimensions seeming to increase with the national significance of the events they depicted. His version of the collapse of the elder Pitt was enormously popular and financially rewarding both as the exhibit at a private show and as an engraving by Bartolozzi.<sup>133</sup> Most influential of all was his "The death of Major Pierson", painted in 1783 and admittedly a very fine picture of its kind. The central group around yet another dying officer is not static, as in paintings of General Wolfe by Penny, West, and Barry. Instead, the note is of urgency and confusion, Pierson seeming to slide limply from the supporting arms of his comrades. This drama is part of the wider action, the whole painting being dynamically unified around the billowing Colours, themselves a contrast to the funereally drooping banner in West's "Death of Wolfe". The movement of a section of grenadiers, doubling in on the left flank to drive the French from the far end of the village, is balanced by the fleeing mother and child at right. So too the greater military action is contrasted with this more personal human drama.

Man in general is the subject of the most impressive part of Copley's "The defeat of the floating batteries at Gibraltar", this relief being a favourite subject for "spectacles" of the time.<sup>134</sup> The sea-battle is the scene of an elemental drama, a realisation of one "powerful cause of the sublime", the idea of danger. Edmund Burke had observed that "the ocean is an object of no small terror", and thus both these associations and the depiction of actual terror are combined before viewers' eyes in the ambitiously arranged *mélange*, Copley dwelling remorselessly upon the reality of the doomed sailors, tiny distant individuals, struggling vainly





55, JOHN SINGLETON COPLEY; *The Defeat of the floating batteries off Gibraltar*, September 1782, 1783-91, Oil on canvas 52 x 74 (the Guildhall painting 214 x 297),



in the water.'<sup>35</sup> The implied viewpoint from the ramparts of a shore battery, where the scale is that of life, allows viewers to share vicariously in the action.

Yet, for all the power of the scene and the intensity with which it is depicted, it is no more than a background to the group of officers, in their own carefully choreographed poses, so reminiscent of a Conversation Piece, which forces itself upon the viewer's attention. The general idea is again that to which all other considerations are ruthlessly subordinated. By this idea the true sublimity is compromised, to this commemoration it is sacrificed. Both West and Copley had skill in composition, but could see no more in an event than its picturesque possibilities, nor, apparently, could they penetrate the often striking appearance of their modern pictures to the full meaning and implication actually conveyed to the discerning viewer.'<sup>36</sup> It was precisely because of their successful and undemanding appeal to emotion, rather than any disciplined address to reason, that such paintings - exhibited in tents with an entrance fee of a shilling - were eventually to be of such seminal importance. They and their progeny were perfectly suited to serve the demands of the "common miscellaneous public", the only realistic source of patronage for most artists. They are Genre scenes, Conversations, and Portraiture writ large.

The exhibition of Copley's pictures in this extraordinary way is perhaps the most memorable aspect of their history, but like the attractions of other one-man shows, and West's "Death of General Wolfe", the main financial return was to be from the sale of prints.'<sup>37</sup> This was also the case with several Galleries of pictures each based upon a particular theme; Bowyer's Historical Gallery, Macklin's Biblical paintings and Poets' Gallery, and Boydell's illustrated Shakespeare.'<sup>38</sup> In each project the intention was similar. Illustrated editions of many works had proved popular. The desire to provide illustrations worthy of these individual themes was coupled with financial support, based on the realisation - following Hogarth's pioneering example - that the sale of prints after the original paintings could make the ventures commercially sound. Needless to say, a didactic purpose was stressed, as was the beneficial effect on British art of this form of patronage. Many of the most noted names of the day, and most of the best artists, worked on one or more of these schemes. Boydell's was the most ambitious of the corporate undertakings, and one major characteristic of all four, the fact that anecdotal, picturesque and merely illustrative requirements were

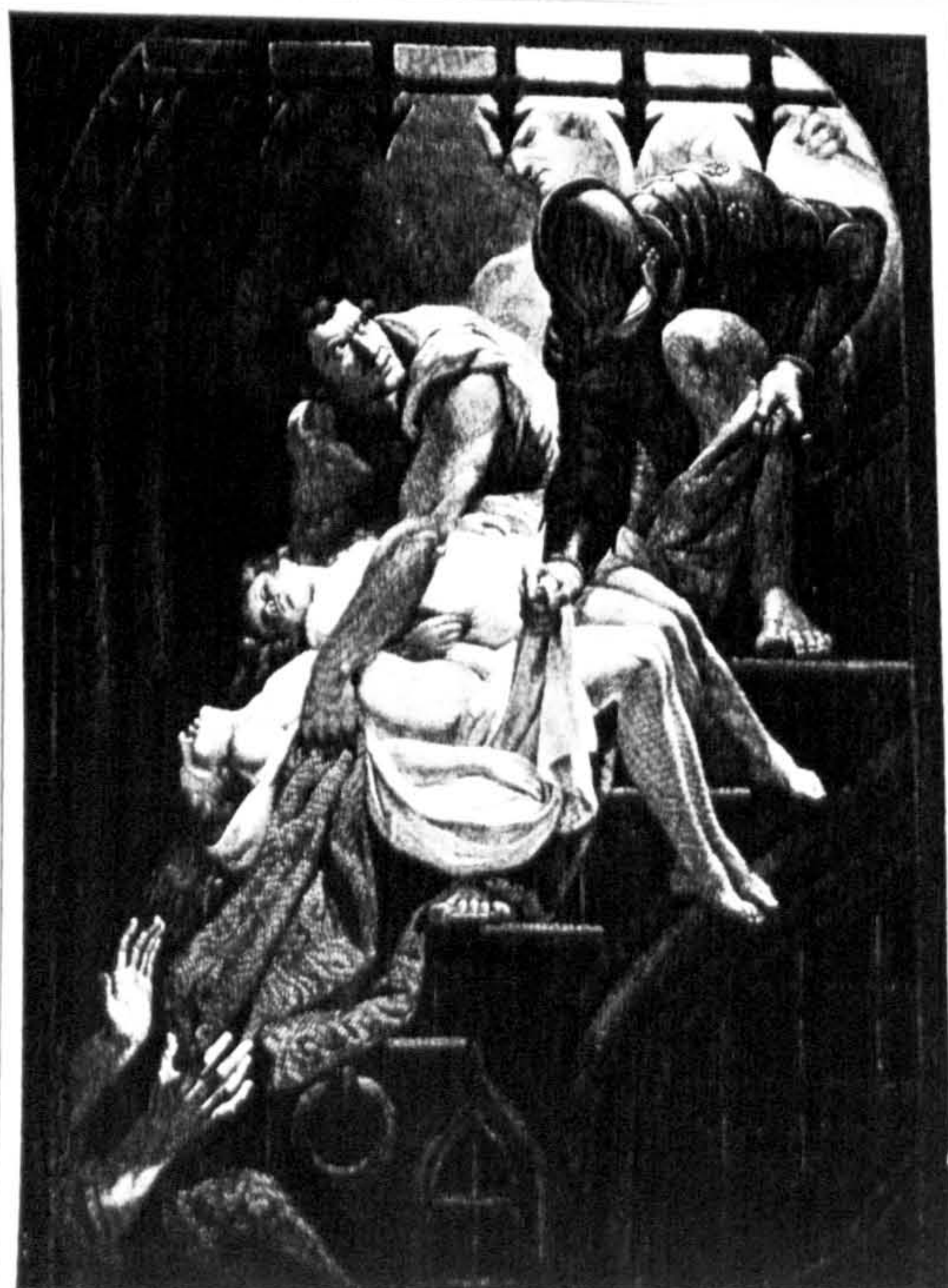




56, J. PARKER after Henry Fuseli; [Puck, from *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, Act II, sc. i]. For the Boydell Gallery.



57, HENRY FUSELI [Falstaff and Doll, from *King Henry IV*, Part II, Act II, sc. iv]. Inscribed "Roma 71". Pen and wash 10 1/4 x 8 1/4. Zurich, Kunsthau, 1940/51.



58, W. SKELTON after James Northcote; "Burying the Royal Children" (*Richard III*). For the Boydell Gallery.



better served than Historical, may be sufficiently traced in the engravings and surviving paintings from his Gallery.

Boydell believed it would be readily admitted "that no subjects seem so proper to form an English School of Historical Painting, as the scenes of the immortal Shakespeare", and in fact the final appearance of the Gallery has much in common with what was passed off as History painting at the time.<sup>139</sup> This is hardly surprising, since few of the artists involved actually altered their usual mode of painting, although some amplified the scale, exaggerated gesture and expression, or borrowed heavily and rather too enthusiastically from venerable, and occasionally appropriate sources. In some cases their consistency was justified, even if the results were not always *Poetic*. Gavin Hamilton sent what was essentially a Historical painting of Roman history, the appeal of Volumnia to Coriolanus, an exercise in restrained emotion approached only by Barry's scene from *King Lear*. Fuseli, whose pictures for Boydell represent but one facet of his involvement with the works of Shakespeare, generally appeared in dæmonic guise, with his scenes from *Macbeth* and *Hamlet*, or the hurtling Puck from *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, though he could also be typically disturbing, as in the "fairy pictures" from the latter play.<sup>140</sup> Less idiosyncratic is his scene of Falstaff and Doll from *Henry IV*, itself based on a sketch he made in Rome some twenty years previously.<sup>141</sup>

The episode of Falstaff choosing his troops, such as they are, had already inspired paintings by Hogarth and Hayman, and a stained drawing by Samuel Grimm, but unfortunately the version prepared for Boydell, to judge from the print in the Gallery, is one of the worst in the entire collection.<sup>142</sup> Presented with such a subject, an artist is also faced with a problem if any grandeur is expected of his "Historical" painting. The text simply does not admit of any. In the case of the more comic Falstaffian episodes, it was the lighter artists who came into their own. The Reverend Peters was appropriately jovial in these and other scenes, while Robert Smirke's realisation of Falstaff is both humorous and touching, the definitive "creature of bombast" expostulating in the Boar's Head tavern. Smirke, Westall and William Hamilton together contributed almost seventy works to the Gallery, their generally lightweight pictures reflecting its prevailing tone.

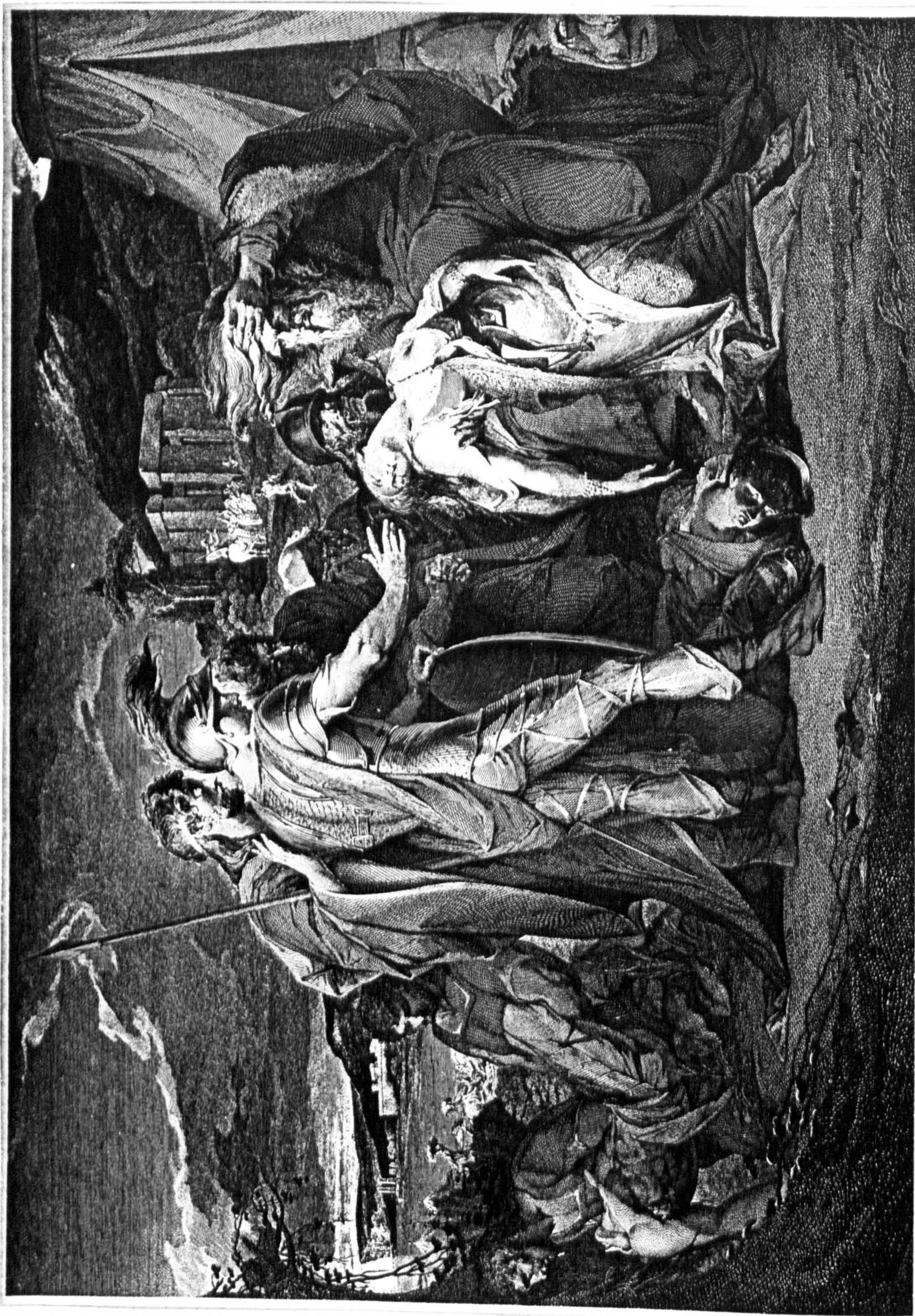
Some artists did rise to the challenge of Shakespeare, Northcote for one surpassing himself with a scene of the burial of the Princes in the Tower. In Benjamin West's storm scene from *King Lear*, the figures, large in scale and few in number, dominate the canvas more than is usual in his paintings. More often, however, the results of such ambition are

Figure 59

Figure 56  
Figure 57

Figure 58  
Figure 60





59. F. LEGAT after James Barry: "Lear, with Cordelia dead; Edgar, Albany and Kent, Regan, Goneril, and Edmund, dead". For the Boydell Gallery.





60. W. SHARPE after Benjamin West: "Lear, Kent, Fool, Edgar, disguised as a Madman, and Gloster, with a Torch", For the Boydell Gallery.





61. A. SMITH after William Hamilton; [Miranda and Ferdinand, from *The Tempest*,] For the Boydell Gallery.



62. J. NEAGLE after Francis Wheatley [The shipwreck of Emilia from *The Comedy of Errors*] For the Boydell Gallery.



Figures 61-62 disappointing or incongruous. In what must have been an attempt to impart greater elegance, William Hamilton made his figures impossibly attenuated, and Wheatley, seeking the heroic incident even in *The Comedy of Errors*, peopled his depiction of a shipwreck with echoes of Raphael and Poussin. His error of judgement must have appeared the more unfortunate when the inevitable comparisons were made with Romney's strange, visionary scene from *The Tempest*.

Romney, in addition to allegorical pictures of the infant Shakespeare attended by Comedy and Tragedy, and by Nature and the Passions, also produced the anticipated painting of Lady Hamilton performing. She was shown raving, most calmly, as Cassandra, a single figure bright against a gloomy background, possibly intended to complement Westall's similarly theatrical Lady Macbeth. Like Romney, other artists thought their usual practice quite as adaptable to the Gallery as their usual style, Hodges and Wright of Derby continuing the tradition of the "historical landscape", and Angelica Kauffmann reducing everything to a frigidly elegant pattern.

Like Shakespeare's works, but for entirely different reasons, the Gallery was full of quotations. Reynolds had recommended the adaptation by an artist of "hints" taken from earlier works, and the "transplanting" of "a particular thought, an action, attitude, or figure" from such a work into a new.<sup>143</sup> He had added that the latter kind of borrowing would

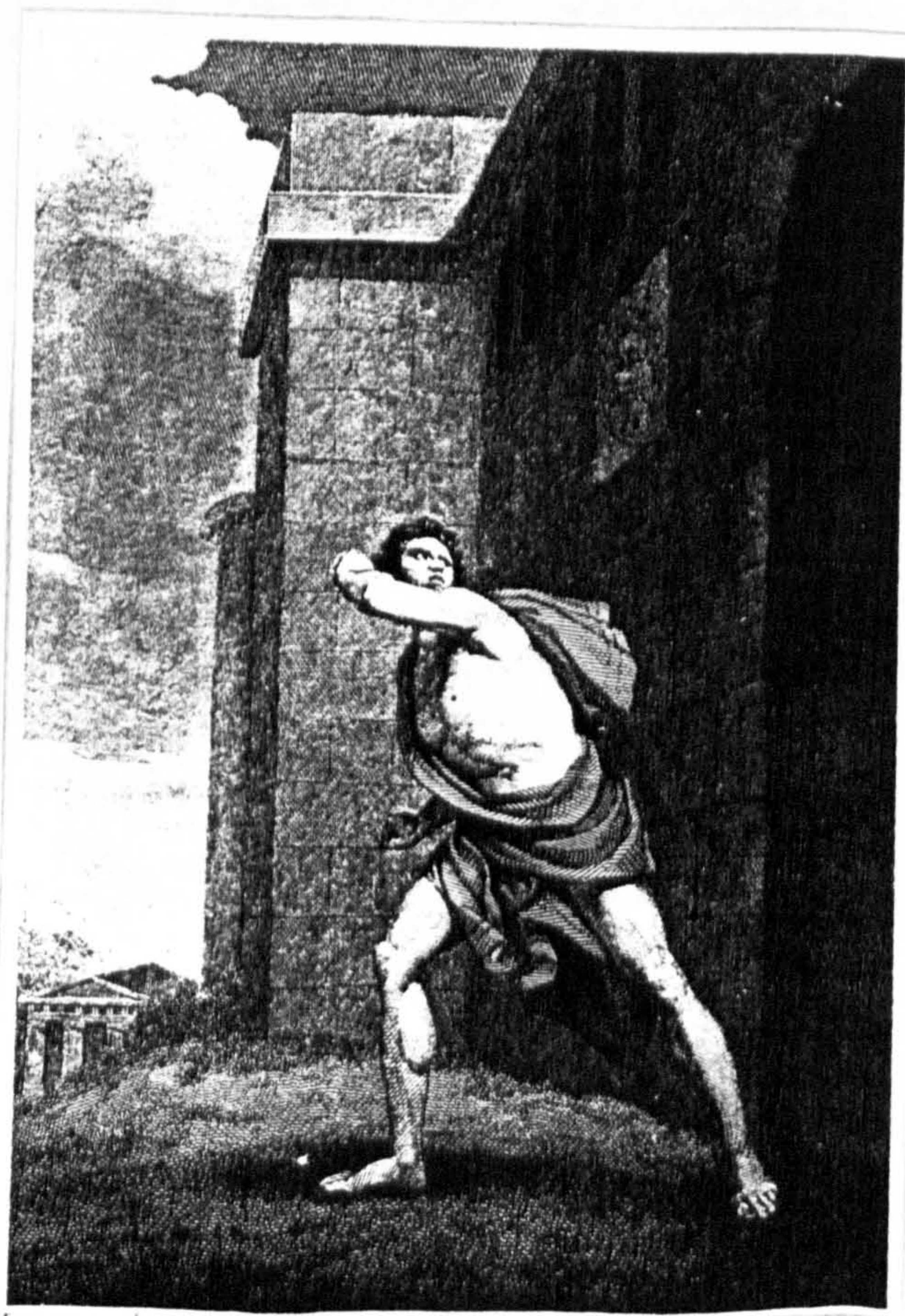
"either come under the charge of plagiarism, or be warrantable, and deserve commendation, according to the address with which it is performed".<sup>144</sup>

An artist's skill in assimilating these borrowings to his own work was of major importance, a skill palpably lacking in many of Boydell's artists. Seldom was there a reference as apposite as Fuseli's to a "Leda", or Northcote's to Van Dyck's equestrian portrait of Charles I, or to a similar figure. Too often a *motif* from Renaissance painting or Antique sculpture is introduced to a scene with premeditation rather than propriety. Flaxman had been making plaster casts of the Laocöon group, Castor and Pollux, Cupid and Psyche, and the Apollo Belvedere - "the cream of the finest things in Rome" - for Romney to use as models in his work for Boydell, but Raphael and Emma's "attitudes" seem ultimately to have been more congenial.<sup>145</sup> Both Joseph Wright and William Hamilton made unimaginative use of the Apollo, while Fuseli, better used to adaptation, more easily incorporated its stance, reversed, into a scene from *Henry V*.<sup>146</sup> At first sight, John Graham's rather youthful Othello is aptly modelled on the Borghese Gladiator, his expression equally clearly deriving from Lebrun's *Passions*, but the vigorous action of this figure actually owes more to contemporary stage practice than to a sensitive interpretation of the final scene. Taken all in all, more





63. JAMES GILLRAY; "Shakespeare Sacrificed;—  
or— The Offering to Avarice" 1789, Etch-  
ing and aquatint 20¼ x 15¼.



64. I. TAYLOR after Henry Howard; [Timon quits  
Athens; *Timon of Athens*, Act IV, sc. i]. For  
the Boydell Gallery.



Figure 63

ingenuity is displayed in Gillray's notorious print with, for instance, West's Fool metamorphosed into an imp with bellows, than in most of the hints and borrowings in the Gallery itself. The copying of Henry VIII from Holbein was inevitable, Howard's reference to the Ludovisi Gaul is imaginative but not altogether successful, and Stothard's adaptation of a Dionysos and acolyte is perplexing.<sup>147</sup> Reynolds himself was not immune to such lapses. His translation of Poussin's "Death of Germanicus" is one of his most glaring and least imaginative "conjurings".

Figure 64

Reynolds' largest painting for the Gallery, one of the largest there, his scene of Macbeth and the witches, was by contemporaries considered "one of his most capital works".<sup>148</sup> In the painting itself, now at Petworth House and in a ruinously decayed condition, it is still possible to discern Reynolds' poetic invention of a throne constructed of bones, and to appreciate the jagged shadows suggesting a dance of demons in the background, but all finer detail is necessarily obliterated, and thus the unhappy effect of Macbeth's astonished stance, arms outflung but feet static, is less obtrusive than in the engraved plate from the Gallery. Even granting that the original work might have benefited from the exclusion of some "minute circumstantial parts" which, like the hedge-pig and toad in the foreground, add little to the grandeur of the design, it would be wilful to prefer the effect of a painting now ruined to that of a print which accurately records the composition and details, if not the colour, of the original. Yet it is precisely in its mystery that the murky painting approaches more closely the Sublime than the careful reproduction of Reynolds' visualisation of the apparitions. As Fuseli said, when considering the scenery of subject-paintings,

"It is not by the accumulation of infernal or magic machinery, distinctly seen, by the introduction of Hecate and a chorus of female demons and witches, by surrounding him with successive apparitions at once, and a range of shadows moving above or before him, that Macbeth can be made an object of terror,— to render him so you must place him on a ridge, his down-dashed eye absorbed by the murky abyss; surround the horrid vision with darkness, exclude its limits, and shear its light to glimpses." <sup>149</sup>

The gloomy cavern now presented by Reynolds' canvas supplies, in place of such an abyss, the means of losing Macbeth's own vision in obscurity, and ironically, allows the picture more powerfully to address the imagination than when it was crowded with all too literal apparitions, "a very elaborate and well-arranged inventory of dreadful objects".<sup>150</sup>

The greatest evocation of the Sublime in the art of the eighteenth century formed but one part of the culmination of James Barry's epic work at the Adelphi. During all the years that Boydell and West were enjoying the





65. JAMES BARRY "Orpheus Instructing a Savage  
 People in Theology & the Arts of Social Life"  
 1792. Etching and engraving 16 $\frac{1}{2}$  x 19 $\frac{1}{4}$ , after  
 his own painting in the Great Room of the  
 Society of Arts, London.



returns from Woollet's print of "The Death of General Wolfe", while Copley was organising one colossal scene from contemporary events after another and de Louthembourg's *Eidophusikon* shows of novel illusion were nightly crowded, Barry was living laborious days in fulfilment of one grand design.<sup>151</sup> A desire for fame, both in his own time and in future, was no doubt partly that which spurred him on, but overriding all other concerns was the impulse to prove to the world "the capability of British art, by some production of his own".<sup>152</sup>

Ironically, it was at least in part due to the print market that Barry was enabled to survive at all during the prosecution of this task, by working at night on prints of his own design and after his own paintings.<sup>153</sup> As has already been stated, in taking on a commission originally intended for ten artists he had asked only for the price of the materials he would have to use and the models he would have to employ, and had stipulated that he be allowed the choice of subject. The vast cycle was founded upon the idea of the progress of Human Culture, illustrating in six scenes

"One great maxim of moral truth, viz. that the obtaining of happiness, as well individual as public, depends upon cultivating the human faculties. We begin with man in a savage state, full of inconvenience, imperfection and misery; and we follow him through several gradations of culture and happiness, which, after our probationary state here, are finally attended with beatitude or misery." <sup>154</sup>

Figure 65

The first painting is a poetical dawn scene, with "Orpheus reclaiming mankind from a savage state" by the power of music, the second a depiction of a Grecian harvest festival. Music and dance have long been symbolic of social harmony, and with them Barry suggests the very earliest gradations of culture, rude forest-dwellers being made conscious of art, and the youth of an ancient community, rich in the simple worship of a day. The zenith of culture in the Ancient World, it was recognised, had occurred in fifth-century Athens, and the third picture of the cycle, intended, like the sixth, to fill the entire length of the Great Room, combines the several perfections of art, philosophy, and athleticism in a scene recalling the Panathenaic procession of the Parthenon frieze, and dominated by a distant view of the Acropolis itself. Barry was to write, in his first lecture as Professor of Painting at the Royal Academy,

"From the time of Pericles to the end of the age of Alexander, which comprehends a space of about two hundred years, the arts in Greece have generally been considered as at their highest point of excellence. Under Pericles, Phidias and his contemporary Parrhasius, with others, were the introducers of the extraordinary style, where the art was raised to the contemplation and imitation of aggregate, instead of individual, nature." <sup>155</sup>

In the background of the second canvas, Barry included a pair of wrestlers, partly to prepare for the scene of the Victors at Olympos, largely



to introduce the importance of eternal struggle and endeavour.<sup>156</sup> Neither the individual nor Mankind itself can properly rest at any stage in this ascent; *non progredi est regredi*, and for Barry there was no standing still. The reward of achievement, be it applause for excellence at these Olympic games, the veneration of posterity for great artists, or indeed the celebration of and profit from contemporary agriculture and manufacture, in that it encourages greater efforts, is a central feature of Barry's treatment of his theme in this canvas and those which follow.

In the first of these, one of a pair of smaller paintings each of which measures some twelve feet by fifteen, is combined a traditional depiction of the "Triumph" of a River God, in this case the Thames, with Barry's record of examples of British seamanship and commercial manufacture. While it would be ridiculous to condemn as prosaic the inclusion of useful inventions and contemporary articles of trade - the wheel itself was once a modern invention - the decision to cast recognisable historical characters like Drake and Cook "in the character of Tritons" was swayed too much by Barry's insatiable desire to load every scene with meaning, too little by caution, by the realisation that this could be misunderstood by those less poetic than he, viewers unable to recognise the artistic part played by every detail which the creator, or "inventor", decided was appropriate. To include in the previous canvas a likeness of Pitt as Pericles did little violence to propriety, the portrait forming a small but significant part of the whole. Pitt like Pericles was a statesman, Barry like Timanthes an artist, and Cook, by analogy, could have taken the helm of Themistocles. As it is, he is shown as a mythological sea-creature, and endures the ordeal with suitable grimness.

Barry's penultimate canvas is at first sight a group portrait of selected members of the Society of Arts at the distribution of premiums for arts, agriculture, manufacture and commerce, watched by a number of eminent visitors. Far from being a modern School of Athens, in Barry's conception of eternal striving towards perfection it represents a contemporary manifestation of this endeavour, another stage in the way. It is not, as it might have been in the hands and mind of a lesser artist, merely a flattering commemoration of the perfection which British culture, artistic and commercial, had by then attained. It emphasises the need for continual support and encouragement of all the arts in a never-ending progress of human achievement. One of the buildings in the background is St. Paul's Cathedral, where Barry hoped the original scheme of Historical paintings might yet be realised.<sup>157</sup>

The "Distribution of Premiums" indicates the historical date of the cycle and the possibilities yet before the arts. All the ages of human



learning and endeavour are collected in the span of the final vast canvas, "Elisium and Tartarus or the State of Final Retribution". In his *Account* of the cycle Barry wrote,

"In this concluding picture . . . it was my wish to bring together in Elisium, those great and good men of all ages and nations; who were cultivators and benefactors of mankind; it forms a kind of apotheosis, or more properly a beatification of those useful qualities which were pursued through the whole work"<sup>158</sup>

The concentration upon the human form and human achievement, implicit in most Western art, is in Barry's major work explicit. It is those "almost divine faculties of the mind", as exemplified through the centuries, which are the true and constant focus of the cycle.<sup>159</sup> Though people are many their humanity is one, the essence of which Barry saw as an eternal will to perfection transcending the particular individual, race, or era. Painting had an essential part to play, since

"our art has the glory of being a *moral art*, with extensive means, peculiarly universal, and applicable to all ages and nations, to the improvement and deepest interests of society."<sup>160</sup>

Barry saw his work not only as a celebration of human achievement and aspiration, but as a contemporary manifesto, an appeal of genius to the power of enlightened patronage. In the final scene are included several groups of benefactors of Mankind in general, one of these being composed of patrons like Lorenzo the Magnificent, Louis XIV, Francis I, and "the illustrious Lord Arundel". As Barry very pointedly wrote, they had been

"intentionally the instruments of great good to their several countries, which they have immortalised by their munificence, and the encouragement they gave to arts and letters, by wisely employing the greatest characters that came within their reach."<sup>161</sup>

That hostility to the preference granted Benjamin West by George III and dismay at the rank and honour accorded certain portrait painters were certainly in Barry's mind as he wrote these words should not blind the reader to their essential truth.

The concluding canvas itself is actually divided between Elysium, with its host of beatified artists, scientists, legislators and patrons, and Tartarus, with its legions of damned "precipitating into the infernal regions".<sup>162</sup> Colossal "Angelic Guards" with

"Celestial Armourie, Shields, Helms and Spears"

occupy the rocky bounds of heaven, and gaze impassively at the yawning abyss or at the assembled contemporary audience.<sup>163</sup> Greatness of dimension and majesty of appearance combine in an awesome manifestation of the Sublime, contrasting with that evoked by the terror and obscurity of Tartarus. One angel holds a pair of golden scales, poised approximately



over the heads of all who enter the Great Room, symbol evocative and clear. Barry, perhaps uncharacteristically, relies on understatement:

"The most advanced figure is the angelic minister of divine justice weighing *good* and *evil*, and with her hand raised and face turned away, appearing shocked at the preponderancy of evil, co-operating with the expression of the inferior angel on the side of the light scale, who may be supposed the disappointed guardian; whilst the tip of a fiend's wing appearing on the side of the heavy scale, gives sufficient indications how the matter terminates." <sup>164</sup>

More typically, Barry could not rest until he had crammed as many illustrious spirits into Elysium as all forty-two feet of the canvas could hold. His encyclopædic approach, coupled with some spatial ambiguities in the middle distance, does tend to result in an impression of a throng of faces all too reminiscent of the portraits he was obliged to copy, especially when, as has been well observed, the sources are "so familiar that they prove impossible to incorporate into the main body. Figures such as Sir Thomas More, Hogarth and Raphael simply recall the originals, and their new context hardly justifies the effort of transcribing them".<sup>165</sup> A critic could also most pertinently cite Laurence Sterne, there condemned to spend eternity with his forefinger pressed to his temple, in the attitude of Reynolds' portrait. Yet without this labour, the work would be intellectually incomplete, and to regret the numerous particulars is to lose sight of the comprehensive nature of the whole. It is best to experience the overwhelming effect of this culminating picture, to be aware of the broad outlines of its meaning without dissipating energy and attention in picking out individuals. It is the only possible conclusion to the cycle, and any precise reasoning may later be gleaned from Barry's *Account*, or supported by it.<sup>†</sup>

Barry had naturally foreseen the difficulties attendant upon large Historical cycles, and specifically compared one aspect of the pictorial epic to the literary. Michelangelo had enjoyed the advantages of locations like the Sistine Chapel, but Milton in publishing *Paradise Lost* "required neither palace nor prince":

"A great effort of historical painting, which requires a church or a palace to place it in, and can have but a single proprietor, upon whom the whole expense must fall, is likely to meet with many obstructions, to which poems and other literary productions of easy purchase are not liable." <sup>166</sup>

For once, Barry's view may have been confined to the single instance, to the difficulty of attracting public or private patronage for

<sup>†</sup> Incidentally, care must be taken in quoting Dr. Johnson's famous evaluation of the cycle: "whatever the hand may have done, the mind has done its part, There is a grasp of mind there which you will find no where else." The implicit qualification does not reflect any slight upon the pictorial power of Barry's cycle. Johnson's weak eyesight must have precluded his judging honestly of the paintings, his approval therefore being reserved for the intellectual scheme.



such worthy schemes as his. Understandably, he overlooked the full implication of the practical point he had made, in his enthusiasm to proceed with his ideal cycle.

However ironically appropriate may seem the opposition of *The Progress of Human Culture* to contemporaneous spectacles, expositions and the like, there was no longer in Britain any real competition from *istoria*, given the dependence of most artists upon public demand, a demand for pleasant Genre pieces, grandiose scenes of contemporary incident, and the inevitable portraits. It was a demand satisfied not only by paintings often modest in size and in pretension, but by the reproductive print, literally a "production of easy purchase". In espousing the Grand Manner, in dedicating himself to vindicating and supporting "the dignity of that great line of art, which has ever been the peculiar delight of all cultivated people", and in hoping for beneficial effects to accrue or be recognised as a result of his endeavour and perseverance, Barry was in truth defending a salient which had already been passed by the progress of British taste.<sup>167</sup>

Various features of Historical Composition have already emerged from a survey of narrative painting. Like Epic, and employing similar subjects and heroic characters, it was delightfully and in an elevated style to offer instruction relevant to all ages, with the purpose of benefiting individuals and the society to which they belonged with the grandeur of the ideas thus expressed. It has also been hinted that these Historical paintings were tacitly expected to be of subjects familiar to the intended audience, subjects "commonly supplied by the Poet or Historian".<sup>168</sup> As poetry had been, painting could be defined as "an imitation chiefly of men and manners", these subjects properly being addressed to the mind through the senses, that they might "instruct by pleasing".<sup>169</sup>

One requirement of a Historical painting is of particular relevance to a discussion of narrative technique. That is the necessity, variously expressed by a number of writers, that "it should be reducible to one subject or action, and to one individual instant of time in this action".<sup>170</sup> Since a painter had "but one sentence to utter, but one moment to exhibit", it is clear that his pictures could not, in fact, relate "the Histories of Past, and Present Times, the Fables of the Poets, the Allegories of Moralists, and the good Things of Religion", as Jonathan Richardson had written.<sup>171</sup> His statement is more than a momentary lapse, more even than a poetic comparison of the Sister Arts. It is indicative of a consistent way of thinking about this parallel, and



especially about the address of a picture to the mind, typical of the eighteenth century.

It is not enough simply to recognise that a Historical painting could not truly be termed a narrative work. Because of contemporary circumstances, it did not need to relate its subject. Reynolds, as is well known, sanctioned one means of compensating the natural deficiencies of painting, in advocating that artists deviate from vulgar and strict historical truth in depicting saints and heroes in an idealised form. This permissible licence allowed them to present in pictorial form the qualities thought to be truly inherent in these characters. The painter could not,

"like the poet or historian, expatiate, and impress the mind with great veneration for the character of the hero or saint he represents, though he lets us know at the same time, that the saint was deformed, or the hero lame," <sup>172</sup>

When a painter represented events historical, literary or mythological, the deficiency of having only one moment to exhibit was likewise compensated, though Reynolds did not choose to remark the fact, by those subjects being "sufficiently general" for contemporary purposes.

It is true that a painting's instantaneous effect, or its representing a single moment, was occasionally adduced as evidence of its superiority to cumulative written accounts or descriptions. A single historical event could consist of several simultaneous actions, so

"Where the principal incidents are crowded into a moment, and are, as it were, instantaneous, there is room for the display of the painter's skill . . . such a story is better and more emphatically told than in words, because the circumstances that happen at the same time must, in narration, be successive."<sup>173</sup>

The writer, in approaching his subject, must describe sequentially a scene the various parts of which would appear all at once, an undertaking which is at first sight indeed attended with difficulties. In the case of a landscape described in words or captured in colours, for instance, the advantage clearly lies with the painter. Dr. Johnson passed balanced judgement on Thomson's *Seasons*:

"The great defect of the *Seasons* is want of method; but for this I know not that there was any remedy. Of many appearances subsisting all at once, no rule can be given why one should be mentioned before another; yet the memory wants the help of order, and the curiosity is not excited by suspense or expectation," <sup>174</sup>

Of many incidents happening not "all at once" but successively, the idea of causality, while it may not govern the order in which they are mentioned, is that by which they appear to be related. In contemplating a History painting, any curiosity a viewer might feel about how or why the characters came to be in the situation depicted could hardly be adequately satisfied by reference to the picture alone. Even without



requiring the painting to impress the mind *all at once* with its one grand idea, even admitting that it should both "please at first sight and appear to invite the spectator's attention", a critic must recognise that the progress of circumstances necessary to any significant event is generally too complex to be fully elucidated by the image alone.<sup>175</sup> As will be seen, the curiosity was differently satisfied, the memory requiring another kind of help.

Narrative is properly a sequence of events. The individual History painting, therefore, leaving aside Historical cycles, is precluded from the category of narrative pictures, as is, by the same logic, the individual *Genre* piece, examples of which will be considered in due course.<sup>176</sup> Yet the History painting was more than a static image; its subject implied a context. Any past occurrence, any future consequence, was to be deduced by a viewer.

In the case of a painting illustrative of a sufficiently well-known story, this requirement need occasion the artist little anxiety, though he might exercise much Invention in choosing the most telling moment and most appropriate expression, and expend a great deal of ingenuity in organising all the essential elements and details. Any educated viewer, any member of the *cognoscenti* to whom such a picture would be addressed, could immediately recall the entire story on which it was based, from causation to aftermath, from the meeting of Leda and Zeus, or the judgement of Paris, to

"The broken wall, the burning roof and tower  
And Agamemnon dead,"<sup>177</sup>

This viewer could experience the correct sentiments from the subject whether from the text itself or from a reminder of it.

To confine the argument, for the moment, to subject-matter alone, it appears that any narrative or instructive qualities a Historical painting might have were fundamentally and inevitably textual. A picture of Socrates drinking the cup of hemlock, for example, might induce the viewer to admire the man once he knows the account, but it is no substitute for the *Apologia*, the *Crito* or the *Phædo* in leading him to become any wiser, in "instructing delightfully" in the manner of making choices or decisions more or less important in his own day. The same might be said of any of the paintings of Seneca, Agrippina or Caius Gracchus which appeared during the century. A painting might be thought eloquent, but in how different a way from a text. The one is suited to expound, develop, and reason; the other to heighten effect, to interpret and to illustrate. Barry advised his students to avoid subjects which



depended largely upon words for their clear exposition, and counselled them to employ their ingenuity

"upon such moments only as may sustain themselves, independent of words, and carry all their elucidation and energy in their exterior appearance, with a force and precision that is in vain attempted by any language of mere words . . . the painter's choice of this advantageous moment is of the most essential consideration, and must depend upon that thorough feeling of the whole of his subject, which is the ultimate result of whatever physical, ethical, poetical, or other knowledge he may happen to possess." 178

Barry's thoughts upon "exterior appearance" were to be further developed by Fuseli, while the necessity for a knowledge of and feeling for the whole of a subject is an indication of the time rather than the opinion of just one individual.

Since Invention was employed upon subjects widely known through the usual course of education, the vital aspect of a History painting, in reminding viewers of its text and thus exciting "proper Sentiments and Reflections", actually lay in the success of its interpretation.<sup>179</sup> Two kinds of account on which a History could be based must be distinguished. The difference between them is not that between charming scenes of nymphs and graceful deities and the heroic world of the *Iliad*, a distinction necessary when considering the æsthetic appeal or moral import of pictures. Nor is it the obvious one between historical facts and classical fictions, as embodied in the texts to which an artist would refer before beginning work. A description familiar and detailed, though fictional, can be seen as of equally canonical status with a well-known and detailed description based on fact. The true distinction is between a detailed description of any kind - Dante's Ugolino, the parting of Hector and Andromache, the distracted Maria from Sterne's *Tristram Shandy* and his *Sentimental Journey* - and a spare indication, such as the temptation of Adam and Eve, upon which a painter could construct his History, or a poet found his Epic. In the case of each kind of story, though with greater initial freedom in the latter, the artist was to

*"make himself Master of it as delivered by Historians, or otherwise; and then to consider how to Improve it, keeping within the Bounds of Probability. Thus the Ancient Sculptors imitated Nature; and thus the best Historians have related their Stories."* 180

In short, artists were expected to piece out imperfections with their thoughts, to render the crucial facts supported by likely subsidiary events, as the "best Historians" of ancient times had reconstructed entire speeches in accordance with probability and Decorum.

It is not surprising that artists should be attracted to powerful subjects, scenes from the *Iliad*, from *Paradise Lost* or *Macbeth*, nor that





66, JOSEPH HIGHMORE "Pamela shows Mr. Williams her hiding place for letters", c. 1745, Oil on canvas 23 $\frac{1}{2}$  x 29 $\frac{1}{2}$ , Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.



they, the reviewers, and the public, should imagine a painting actually told a story rather than illustrated it, offering one interpretation, the imitation of an imitation. While it may conform to a text, a Historical painting is seldom capable of sustaining it unambiguously.

An interesting parallel, though it is an analogy which ought not to be pursued too far, can be made with Theatrical paintings. Zoffany's picture of *The Farmer's Return* was, it seems,

"a most accurate representation on canvas of that scene as performed at Drury Lane. The painter absolutely transports us in imagination back again to the theatre. We see our favourite Garrick in the act of saying, 'for "yes", she knocked once — and for "no" she knocked twice' ", 181

In a similar manner, then, the painter could transport viewers back again to their libraries, or at least to the pages of a favourite book.

As has been stated earlier, in dealing with familiar subject-matter paintings did not have to be unambiguous, as long as they were precise in essential detail. It might be said that a painting did tell a story, if that story were already known. Highmore's illustrations to *Pamela* were among the earliest groups of pictures to be based on a text familiar both to the growing popular market and to the traditional sources of patronage, and one of these paintings may be selected as a convenient example of how textual fidelity may co-exist with pictorial ambiguity.

Figure 66

In novels largely composed of letters often secretly exchanged, the manner of conveying or concealing these letters assumes some importance. In one of his twelve paintings, Highmore depicted Richardson's heroine indicating to a clergyman, Mr. Williams, two tiles between which she will conceal her sheets of paper, the whole being covered with "mould" and the location marked by a sunflower plant. So much is derived from the prose account. From the painting, however, no such devious but necessary plan can be divined. Pamela is more obviously pointing out the fine quality of her sunflowers than indicating the hiding-place for her letters, an identification of the true subject of the painting depending entirely upon its title, and recognition of the full significance of the fallen tiles depending even more surely upon the text. Mr. Williams' gesture apparently confirms such a misinterpretation, as he seems to explain, with fingers as carefully poised as Pamela's own, the necessity for adequate sunshine and well-watered soil. A viewer, modern or contemporary, not acquainted with text or title but nevertheless familiar with the methods of eighteenth-century preachers — and Swift's *A Meditation upon a Broom-Stick*, like any worthwhile parody, makes clearer the features of the style it imitates — might pursue this view further, eventually deciding that the incident depicted is actually an allegorical



explanation of the need for spiritual sustenance and revealed religion for the improvement of the human soul.

It was, of course, never supposed that a painter should merely try to relay a text, however unambitiously many of the lesser practitioners were prepared to do so, for purchasers apparently equally content to accept such illustrations and not demand the fruits of more worthy exercise of Invention. As has been shown from Richardson's *Essay on the Theory of Painting*, the artist had to consider how to improve a story in his own depiction. At the very least, a representation was to be idealised, its characters, for instance, presenting the appearance expected of appropriate and beautiful types. Reynolds told those students who had attained some skill as artists that "a mere copier of nature can never produce anything great", and regarded that "mean conception" of art which confined it to mere imitation of appearances as only a "partial theory".<sup>182</sup> In fact, to judge from many examples, many lesser painters seem to have found it easy to comply with this demand of Invention, producing stereotyped images and situations, deluding themselves and their market that they were painting History. Fuseli saw that "Mediocrity is formed, and talent submits, to receive prescription", and decided that "he who submits to follow, is not made to precede".<sup>183</sup> His observations are equally damning to painters who merely copied the superficialities of Historical painting - countenances idealised, perhaps modelled on Lebrun's *Passions*, and gestures become conventional and automatic - or who arranged the requisite details of a well-known story in a pleasing fashion. Often the same painters did both.

More properly, an artist was to improve upon a literary or historical source in the way he imaginatively recreated that which was there described, no mean task to undertake when his cultured audience was so sensitive to suggestions thrown out by an author, so prepared to visualise a passage and imagine the likely responses of participants.<sup>184</sup> It is interesting to observe the views held by two Academicians on the merits peculiar to words and images in creating each their own effects. Reynolds feared that painters had "but very scanty means of exciting those powers over the imagination which make so very considerable and refined a part of poetry".<sup>185</sup> The art often used in poetry relied on this very receptivity and suggestibility of the educated reader, and Reynolds acknowledged as much:

"A great part of the beauty of the celebrated description of Eve in Milton's *Paradise Lost*, consists in using only general indistinct expressions, every reader making out the detail according to his own particular imagination . . . but a painter, when he represents Eve on canvas, is obliged to give a determined form, and his own idea of beauty distinctly expressed."



Barry's approach was somewhat different, and he expounded at greater length. Although he could, in his *Inquiry* of 1775, quote with approval "Simonides's excellent proverb, 'painting is silent poetry, and poetry is a speaking picture'", by the time he came to give his professorial lectures at the Royal Academy he probably felt the comparison was not sufficiently weighted in favour of painting:

"The pleasure which we receive from poetry is, as has been observed, limited by the language of each country; it is also still further limited in this degree even in the same country; because the words of the poet do not communicate the same ideas to men differently cultivated . . . The perfections of form in the painter's figures do not, like those of poetry, depend upon the narrow compass of the spectator's mind; the figure in painting and sculpture is actually produced, and in its highest and most cultivated degree of conception, and completed in all its parts. The natural inference from this consideration of completeness and actual existence (and which is wonderful, should have escaped the discernment of so many writers) authorizes me to affirm, that painting is not, as has been said, a silent poem, and poetry a speaking picture; but much more truly, that painting is poetry realised; and that full, complete, and perfect poetry, is indeed nothing more than an animated account or relation of the mere conception of a picture." <sup>186</sup>

Barry in his lecture went on to consider the Pheidias image of Zeus reputedly inspired by two lines of Homer, and such statues as the Apollo, Laocoön and others, wondering "what is there in poetry that could supply the loss of them", but he had already made a pointed reference to "the heavenly eye, graceful step, and gestures of dignity and love" of Milton's Eve. Reynolds' view had been expressed some five years previously. Barry's own remarks were not made simply in opposition to Reynolds', of course, but truly represented a "departure from traditional doctrine".<sup>187</sup>

Each argument, needless to acknowledge, has its merits. Reynolds was concerned with the inability of any artefact to achieve the idealism of an artist's conception, that "general and intellectual" beauty, that

"idea residing in the breast of [an] artist, which he is always labouring to impart, and which he dies at last without imparting; but which he is yet so far able to communicate, as to raise the thoughts, and extend the views of the spectator."<sup>188</sup>

Barry, on the other hand, perhaps less daunted by the prospect of such labour, regarded the finished painting or sculpture as actually embodying such perfection in a form visible to all, its aspect not varying from individual to individual as the effect of a verbal description necessarily would, since this would be governed by the varying sensibilities among an audience. He might, however, have conceded that different spectators would, likewise, be receptive in different degrees to the perfection of form thus presented.

Here the importance of, experience and education must be taken into account, in that it is they which to a great extent govern the response of a viewer to a painting, at least to one not of that "lowest style"



which, as Reynolds put it, "may be said, in the vulgar sense, to be naturally pleasing".<sup>189</sup> Here too the actual process by which a painting makes its full effect, in so far as this can be isolated and examined, is to be considered, as this was then understood.

In his Thirteenth Discourse Reynolds observed, "as a fundamental ground, common to all the Arts with which we have any concern in this discourse, that they address themselves only to two faculties of the mind, its imagination and its sensibility".<sup>190</sup> The artist must first "strike" the imagination, in order that the end of art itself - that is, instruction - might be achieved, the effect produced upon the imagination, and thus felt by the spectator, "being the test, and the only test, of the truth and efficacy of the means".<sup>191</sup>

Reynolds' discussion of emotional response and rational understanding, of immediate effect and ultimate purpose, is one more instance of his distinguishing "how much is to be given to enthusiasm, and how much to reason", and is complex and crucial.<sup>192</sup> He eventually made a compromise between their different demands. The "accumulated experience" of a viewer's whole life, according to Reynolds, results in his being able to judge of both real situations and Art not by "a slow process of deduction" but immediately, "by what appears a kind of intuition". Thus the first impression made by any cause upon the imagination is to be remembered and evaluated by the artist, since part of his own purpose is to appeal to this faculty. His object in doing so is ideally to address the mind through the eye, to reach the reason by appealing first to the senses and emotions, that is, familiar phrase, "to teach and delight". To please the audience is of major initial importance, and Reynolds acknowledged as much in writing that "Reason, without doubt, must ultimately determine every thing; at this minute it is required to inform us when that very reason is to give way to feeling".

Much of this "accumulated experience" was derived from literature, but a true appreciation of its importance goes far beyond a recognition of the frequent and mundane reliance upon a text for the explication of a painting, or the drawing of parallels between public taste in each of these arts. It could readily be pointed out, for instance, that the demand for Sentimental or romantic subjects in *novelles* was equally met by the gentle Genre of Wheatley et al, or, for those of stronger sensibilities, the sensationalism of Copley. As Hogarth is reflected in the pages of Fielding, so too these pictures are echoed in the Sentimental Novel or the tale of Gothick horror. More importantly, a painting was to have the



same, or a similarly elevating effect on the imagination as great literature would have, by an appeal made to the senses as a necessary condition of its successful, and more worthy, ultimate address to the mind. It is apposite to recall how Reynolds equated the sensations excited by the "most sublime passages of Homer" with those experienced upon seeing or recalling the greatest works of Michelangelo.<sup>193</sup> Poetry was not merely a superior amusement, nor was painting only a means of gratifying the sight. Fuseli spoke for all his contemporaries when he lectured on "that great principle, the necessity of a moral tendency useful to mankind in the whole of an epic performance".<sup>194</sup>

To ignore the all-pervasive influence of literature and literary associations upon artists and patrons, or, recognising it, to expect paintings to "work" solely by visual effect, is to view the art of the eighteenth century with eyes made unsympathetic by later theories. Fuseli, in writing of the importance of judging firstly of the whole of a work of art, and of judging an artist's work by what he called "the test of nature", composed an *Aphorism* which might pertinently be remembered:

"if . . . you judge him by your own packed notions, or arraign him at the tribunal of schools which he does not recognise,-- you degrade the dignity of art, and add another fool to the herd of Dilettanti,"<sup>195</sup>

It is in Fuseli's writings that thoughts on subjects which, as Barry had already expressed it, "carry all their elucidation and energy in their exterior appearance" are developed to the point where all literary associations are, apparently, discounted.<sup>196</sup> So much might have been expected from Fuseli, who, notwithstanding his own erudition, struck out with vehemence against any suggestion that Invention might mean "no more than the moment of any fact chosen by the artist", thus confining him to the "aims" of the poet or historian.<sup>197</sup> For him, Invention in painting was exactly the same as in writing, the "combination of the possible, the probable, or the known, in a mode that strikes with novelty".<sup>198</sup> This did not absolutely contradict anything said by Reynolds as President of the Royal Academy, but there can be no mistaking Fuseli's aim when he stated in his own lectures that it should be within the artist's province to "find or to combine a subject from himself, without having recourse to tradition or the stores of history and poetry".<sup>199</sup>

Fuseli's full discussion of the choice of "apt and advantageous" subjects is too long to be quoted or considered at sufficient length, but too important to be passed over hastily. Its outlines might briefly be sketched in his own words, "Subjects are positive, negative, repulsive".<sup>200</sup> One example of a positive subject, as defined by Fuseli, was the fate of



Laocoön. Barry had already selected the famous group for particular comment, concluding that the sculptor's chief aim had been

"to impress upon the mind of the spectator those emotions of terror and pity which must arise from that climax of distress exhibited in the unavailing efforts of an agonising father and his children, the children calling upon the father for assistance, and he upon heaven that has abandoned him to his fate"<sup>201</sup>

It may be noticed in passing that Barry made reference to information not, strictly speaking, available from the work itself, that is, the priest's appeal to the gods.

Fuseli commended this subject, and some others, as being among those which did "speak their meaning with equal evidences to the scholar and the unlettered man, and excite the sympathy due to the calls of terror and pity with equal energy in every breast".<sup>202</sup> This, in his estimation, was to be the "first demand on every work of art".<sup>203</sup> The

"essential part of its subject ought to be comprehended and understood without collateral assistance, without borrowing its commentary from the historian or the poet".

As a particularly telling example of a well-known subject the "essential part" of which was not thus evident, Fuseli cited "The Legacy of Eudamidas".<sup>†</sup> All the painter could do in this case was to show a few figures around a death-bed, and then rely on the title to make the particular subject clear to the educated viewer. It was to be understood that such a scene would be affecting in itself, but the true significance of the subject would certainly be lost were the story not known. The legacy of Eudamidas was in fact his wife and daughter, "bequeathed" to his friends in the knowledge that they would be maintained, the tale thus being an exemplar of confidence in the faithfulness of these friends. Fuseli was dismayed

"to see invention waste its powers, and execution its skill, to excite our feelings for an action or event that receives its real interest from a motive which cannot be rendered intuitive", <sup>204</sup>

In a subsequent lecture Fuseli, at first seemingly prepared to discuss paintings without reference to their sources, soon slipped easily and imperceptibly into the familiar habit of assuming a knowledge of these among his audience. He took three paintings, each of a different point in the story of the betrayal of Samson, and went on, "considering it as a drama, we may say that Julio forms the plot, Vandyke unravels it, and Rembrandt shews the extreme of the catastrophe".<sup>205</sup> Romano's painting, with grim soldiers in ambush as Samson is shorn, "keeps us in anxious suspense, we palpitate in breathless expectation; this is the plot". Van Dyck, showing Samson powerless before the armoured Philistines, is said

<sup>†</sup> Or "The Testament of Eudamidas".



to unfold the plot, and "what succeeds, too horrible for the sense, is left for fancy to brood upon, or drop it". It is, rather, left to the "gigantic but barbarous genius of Rembrandt" to execute a subject "which humanity, judgement and taste taught his rivals only to treat . . . such is the work whose magic of colour, tone, and chiaroscuro, irresistibly entrap the eye, whilst we detest the brutal choice of the moment".

It is possible to argue that Fuseli was considering each painting, and its effect, independently of the account. Thus, the first is ominous, the second violent, the last brutal. Yet it must be conceded that a knowledge of the Biblical story is implicit in his analysis, particularly of the *Romano*. In short, his sympathy was with Samson, beyond any "intuitive" response to danger, and his fancy was clearly brooding on the later captive, eyeless and among slaves in Gaza. Were a critic truly not attending to the story - were he in fact ignorant of it - he might conclude from the scene of capture that peace had been achieved once the giant, like Goliath or Holofernes, had been subdued.

So much is admittedly speculative. Fortunately, Fuseli's approach to Raphael's depiction of the punishment of Ananias is conclusive.<sup>206</sup> He began as might be anticipated:

"In the cartoon . . . even before we are made acquainted with the particulars of the subject, we become partners of the scene...".

Within a few sentences, referring to the bystanders, he was looking on the picture with eyes which had already seen the text:

"What preceded and what followed is equally implied in their occupation, and in the figure of a matron entering and absorbed in counting money, though she approaches the fatal centre, and whom we may suppose to be Sapphira, the accomplice and the wife of Ananias".

Fuseli clearly did not suppose all this without being made acquainted with the subject, or rather, without recalling it. Nor should he be expected to have done so. A knowledge of a text and the sight of a worthy picture would *combine*, the one enhancing the effect of the other, in a natural manner of thought and appreciation, not an artificially ordered one with each art anachronistically segregated and lacking communication between it and another. No stronger proof than Fuseli's treatment exists of how natural it was for artists and *connoisseurs*, in the nineteenth century as in the eighteenth, and even when they had recognised and analysed the contribution made by texts to the explication of "narrative" paintings, to think in this way. Nor is there any clearer description of this virtually synoptical view of painting and writing, of



literature and visual art, than Jonathan Richardson's elegant and comprehensive conclusion of around a century earlier:

*"Painting relates the Histories of Past, and Present Times, the Fables of the Poets, the Allegories of Moralists, and the good Things of Religion; and consequently a Picture, besides its being a pleasant Ornament, besides that 'tis useful to Improve and Instruct us, 'tis greatly instrumental to excite proper Sentiments and Reflections, as a History, a Poem, a Book of Ethicks, or Divinity is: The truth is, they mutually assist one another."*<sup>207</sup>

The meaning of a picture is not solely to be identified with its subject-matter, its supposed narrative. Narrative, all necessary allowances being made when this term is used of an image, and irrespective of whether or no that image depends upon an independent text, is concerned with story and situation. Meaning, on the other hand, involves other considerations as well, those of style, of appearances, and of the possible implications of the subject itself. Viewers may thus accumulate ideas from a group of separate impressions, related to but often distinct from the particular story being unfolded or recalled. The Dutch Genre pieces in the final scene of *Marriage à la mode*, for instance, reflect the "ugliness of taste and meanness of mind" of their owner, the inclusion of appropriate furnishings and incidentals being a device relentlessly used by Hogarth both in single paintings and in those forming part of his several series.<sup>208</sup> As need hardly be mentioned, since the fact, to a great extent obvious in itself, has become a critical commonplace, these furnishings may comment on the action or, in the case of the series, help to impel the narrative. More subtle is Hogarth's insistence on appropriate forms for characters whether comic or vicious, and equally effective his use of a precise "language" to govern particular actions and postures.<sup>209</sup> In that these devices all support a general meaning they may be termed expository or, perhaps more suitably, instructive. Just as a writer must expend some words in setting a scene, so too a painter will take some care in realising a literary description, creating an original scenario, or evoking a particular response in a contemporary audience.

There may be a specific intention embodied in the very subject chosen, that is, one in addition to the proper sentiments and reflections experienced by any educated viewer. As a statue is best seen in its intended setting, and a painting at its correct height, so these subjects are best seen in relation to their own time, when their resonance may be more clearly identified.

Reynolds considered his painting of the infant Hercules made appropriate reference to the growing might of the Russian empire, as has



already been shown.<sup>210</sup> Samuel Wale RA, among his numerous scenes from British history, exhibited in 1777 a "stained drawing" of "King Alfred making a code of laws, dividing the kingdom into Counties, and encouraging the arts and sciences". There can be little doubt that Wale thought Alfred would have made an ideal monarch of the Enlightenment, the subject at least providing an exemplar for contemporary Royal patronage.<sup>211</sup> No less apposite to the times, but rather less welcome, was Copley's painting of Charles I demanding the surrender of the five impeached members of Parliament, an unfortunate subject to choose not long after the American colonies had won their independence.<sup>212</sup>

Figure 168

Both subject and presentation in Barry's painting showing Ulysses escaping Polyphemus, when combined, surely hint at a particular meaning. The full title of the painting, exhibited in 1776, would, at first, seem incongruously to ally Barry with that host of lesser painters of fancy portraits: "Portraits in the character of Ulysses and his companions escaping from the cave of Polypheme. Homer's Odyssey". Clearly, though, this painting is of an altogether different kind. Perhaps most obviously, if an aspect which can too often be ignored in concentrating upon theoretical and intellectual matters, the choice of colour is striking, the richness of Ulysses' cloak contrasting with the cooler hues of the landscape, while the handling of paint itself, from the scumbled wool of the master ram to the rapid, curling brush-strokes of the cloak, is masterly. Unusually for a portrait "in the character of" some mythological figure, the subject demands, and repays, some attention. As Barry wrote at almost the same time, in his *An Inquiry into the Real and Imaginary Obstructions to the Acquisition of the Arts in England*, no aspect of the art of painting was

"trifling or mean in itself, it only becomes so when it gets into the hands of men of contracted powers, who debase those things by separating them from the noble qualities which should support and make them of consequence".<sup>213</sup>

It is fitting that the subject should be one involving terror, indeed "self-preservation", since Ulysses in this representation has the features of Edmund Burke, with whose *Philosophical Enquiry into . . . the Sublime and Beautiful* Barry, one of the "companions" in the painting, had long been familiar. The painting may well be a "statement on artistic theory", a "virtuoso display of how portraiture and history could be mixed without either losing its separate identity".<sup>214</sup> Yet the incident depicted is so specific - the wanderings of Odysseus witness any number of brushes with danger, and the episode in the land of the Cyclopes affords the artist a choice of affecting scenes - that the "autobiographical meanings"



which Barry's painting certainly does contain seem to be of paramount importance.

Some, it is true, are obvious. During Barry's years in Rome, when he was gradually discovering that everybody was out of step but himself, and making his views on the matter all too plain, Burke in his letters several times advised caution.<sup>215</sup> Thus, his earlier admonitions more than explain his gesture for silence in the painting. Other meanings are less apparent, and a viewer truly "cannot help speculating on the identity of the evil from which they are fleeing".<sup>216</sup> Bearing in mind Barry's dedication to the "great line of art", remembering that great paintings and great artists were to address both reason and imagination, and admitting that he did indeed live in constant apprehension of conspiracies against him, his blinded Polyphemus may be seen as a peculiarly apt symbol for those of no true artistic discrimination. It was, of course, against those whom he saw as thus ignorant or lacking in sensibility that Barry continually strove, on occasion restrained, and warned of possible dangers, by Burke himself. Lacking the ability to see, the Cyclops uses his sense of touch. Some spectators, and no doubt some lesser artists, lacking the ability to think and reason before a painting, to understand both appearance and implication, can only feel emotion or admire the superficial.

Just as a painting's subject may make allusion to contemporary events and interests, its appearance may imply a reference to *motifs* familiar to an artist's intended audience, or to beliefs held in common. The most obvious examples of such references are adaptations from earlier and well-known works, those individual "transplantings" which have been shown to have flourished so profusely in the Boydell Gallery. It is also worth observing how the general appearance of, for instance, Hamilton's series of canvases based on the *Iliad*, in their imposing size, their clarity, their "almost contemptuous disregard for subtleties of handling and colour", prepares responsive spectators for the kind of subject they will find treated in the series.<sup>217</sup> That is, the "known first effect" of each canvas, to some extent also conveyed by Cunego's prints, with heroic figures "above ordinary human stature" crowded up against the picture plane, immediately impresses the viewer with a sense of grandeur and invites his further attention.<sup>218</sup> It is an effect depending solely upon the appearance of these pictures and not at all upon recognition of their subjects or of any individual adaptations. Having adopted a style which does not care minutely to imitate real appearances, and having depicted



characters clearly not of the real world, Hamilton indicates that the events of which he treats are in the same proportion raised above "common nature", that there may therefore be a consonance of heightened presentation and epic subject-matter.

As a consequence of this harmony of theme and appearance, these works in the main evoke the noble simplicity and calm grandeur then held to be the classical ideal. Winckelmann himself found in the "Parting of Hector and Andromache" that "calm which the Ancients sought".<sup>219</sup> By the device, ultimately of the theatre, of depicting one of the heroes in Achilles' tent concealing his grief by shrouding his face in a cloak, Hamilton suggests more emotion in the penultimate scene of his cycle than could be conveyed by facial expression alone, if he were to preserve an appearance of stillness in the scene and perfect beauty in its characters.<sup>220</sup> It is fitting that a classical *motif* should be so used, and seemly that the moving episode of Priam's supplication should be the occasion. Homer's transition from battle and slaughter to the funeral rites held in honour of Hector is, for once, in accord with later notions of Grecian restraint. A modern viewer might find in the robustness of figures and broadness of handling - characteristic of Hamilton's work in general - an echo of the almost unrelenting brutality of the *Iliad*, a quality appropriate to a primitive epic and one which is allowed to burst out in the turbulent scene of Achilles exacting vengeance upon his dead adversary.

While the exercises in archæological accuracy in Hamilton's pictures from the *Iliad* are particularly indicative of contemporary concerns, the dependence of facial types in such History paintings upon classical sculpture was of earlier date. Specific references made in a picture to the Antique or to the Old Masters have their parts to play in establishing its full meaning. Not only did these sources provide students with models displaying that "idea of excellence which is the result of the accumulated experience of past ages", they afforded a repository of *motifs* which might with propriety be introduced into an original work, in much the same way as a learned author might adapt the thoughts of an ancient poet to his own day, incorporate a reference in his own writings, or prefix an article with an apposite quotation.<sup>221</sup>

By such references Reynolds, to take the most obvious example, could ennoble a portrait in the eyes of his patrons. The most effective uses of the technique, not surprisingly, are seen when the identity accorded the sitter is thoroughly appropriate. Thus when the flamboyant Colonel Tarleton rests his foot momentarily on a wrecked cannon, adjusting his kneebreeches as he glances round, with enviable coolness, into the chaos



of battle, he strikes a pose reminiscent of the "*Sandalbinder*", then thought to be a statue of Cincinnatus, called from the plough to command his legions.

As regular a borrower from such sources, if with rather different purposes, was Hogarth, who did not confine his "depredations" to Old Master paintings or Antique statuary. History, legends, stories, proverbs, even contemporary individuals were all brought to serve Hogarth's didactic ends, his means allusive, parodic, occasionally emblematic, his resources deployed amidst the furnishings of the *boudoirs* he created, on the signs before inns, among statuettes, broadsheets, and the actions of characters in the situations contrived for them. Because his greatest achievements in this respect are to be found in the series, where such allusive details, in addition to their referring to the dramatic incidents shown, also recall past and prefigure future events, weaving the sequences together into seemingly inevitable chains of causality, it is inadequate and unfair to treat of one such example in isolation, at the same time as it is disproportionate in a general survey to involve a whole series. Fortunately, the subject has received ample attention.<sup>222</sup> One example which is perhaps not so well-known as the famous allusions and puns in *The Rake's Progress* and *Marriage à la Mode* is the subscription ticket designed for the latter. Ranks of copied Old Master paintings - not so dismal and dark that their subjects cannot be identified - stand ready to do battle with Hogarth's own paintings. Skirmishing has already begun, a Feast of the Gods, a Saint in Meditation, a Mary Magdalene and a copy of the "Aldobrandini Wedding" flying across the picture to engage Hogarth's outnumbered works. While the idea may well have come from Swift's *The Battle of the Books*, the print does not represent a conflict of Ancients and Moderns, nor is it to be properly understood as simply symbolising William Hogarth at war with foreign artists and copyists. The relationship between each of his paintings shown in the plate and the copy which attacks it is at once apparent, but is of deeper significance than any mere similarity, or ironic contrast, in their subjects. The "Aldobrandini Wedding" attacks a scene from *Marriage à la Mode*, a Triumph of Dionysos the "Midnight Modern Conversation". The characters in one are not poetically charioted by Bacchus and his pards, while the *mariage de convenance* was never ideal at any time. The submissive Roman daughter offers the perfect foil to the scornful and selfish Countess. Similar ironies may be detected in having the repentant Magdalene pitted against her more earthly sister from Hogarth's times, or a meditative Saint Francis against the prudish old maid from *The Four Times of Day*.



In short, the ideal world of the paintings purveyed by dealers and appreciated by *connoisseurs* - safe inside their enclosed tower at one side, the building surmounted by a fickle weathercock - is pitted against the real world which Hogarth knew and depicted. His most recent work, one of the pictures from *Marriage à la Mode* stands, just completed, on an easel. Significantly, indeed ominously, the Ancients have not yet had occasion to call upon their reserve, a painting of Apollo flaying Marsyas. With this detail, Hogarth in effect promised a modern counterpart to the ancient fable of true Art exacting vengeance on imposture. For the moment, his revenge upon the dealers was more immediate. He sold his series by private auction.

That this auction was a failure was in a sense irrelevant, although naturally disappointing to Hogarth's ambitions. Few members of the public at large could afford to buy the whole series of paintings. Many more, however, could subscribe for the prints he made after them. As has been seen, the discovery was to be of major importance.

Those who subscribed ten shillings and sixpence for their print of "The March to Finchley", rather than later paying the market price of seven and six, were allowed a chance of winning the painting itself in a lottery, an ironic precedent for the Boydell Gallery. In the event, it went to the Foundling Hospital in 1750. The scene is one of the utmost dissipation and disorder, such as might have given heart to the Pretender hesitating at Derby, as the Hanoverian and mercenary forces move out to their positions north of London. Central to the composition, before the Colours and the sergeant getting to work with his spontoon, is a grotesque parody of the Choice of Hercules, a subject particularly familiar in England through the writings of Shaftesbury.<sup>223</sup> The woebegone grenadier is torn between the rival claims of two drab females who stand in place of Vice and Virtue without offering the charm of the one or the honour of the other. A contemporary account by a friend of the artist takes up the tale:

"It is easily discernible that the two females are of different parties. The ballade of 'God Save the King' and a print of 'The Duke of Cumberland' in the basket of the girl, and the cross upon the back of the wife . . . sufficiently denote the painter's intention; and what is truly beautiful, these incidents are applicable to the march", <sup>224</sup>

An important feature of such parody and allusion is that to be truly successful it must imply a reference beyond itself, beyond the momentary humour of recognition. While a portraitist, for example, can convey a general air of grandeur by playing upon a viewer's knowledge of certain statues and styles - Reynolds pointed out that some costumes could in themselves have a similar effect - a satirist does better to be



specific.<sup>225</sup> Not that Hogarth's humour is as sober and calculated as this might imply; the social and political circumstances which animate his various series no longer obtain, but any visitor to Sir John Soane's Museum can appreciate the human comedy there displayed, and recognise how much does endure.<sup>226</sup> Thus, the pictures round the walls of Hogarth's imaginary interiors both satirise the action appearing before them, prepare for scenes to follow, and comment upon each series as a whole. The scampering piglets in one scene of an election contribute to the general air of misrule which dominates the individual painting and the series of which it is part, but they are also a typically robust adaptation of a Biblical text to fit a contemporary event. Nor is the satire confined to a comparison of the conduct of the rival candidates' supporters, crazed with abundant drink, to the headlong rush of the Gadarene swine, maddened by demons. The reality of the *Election* series lies in the laughing faces watching from an upper window the "chairing" of the new member. Whether a Whig victory or a Tory, the people remain beasts of burden. Similarly, the grenadier's unenviable situation in "The March to Finchley" is itself truly "applicable to the march", or to the reasons for its being ordered. His choice is not only between vice and virtue, or duty and dalliance, but is symbolic - at the time it may even have been emblematical - of the disputed succession between two royal houses.

Since it has been shown that paintings of Historical subjects often depended heavily upon knowledge of texts among spectators, the province of true pictorial "narrative", so far as the term may be used, would seem to be among Genre paintings, "modern moral subjects", and original prints of a similar nature. Fuseli remarked, of artists and painting in general,

"Invention, strictly speaking, being confined to *one* moment, he invents best who in that moment combines the traces of the past, the energy of the present, and a glimpse of the future," <sup>227</sup>

A painter of Genre, having no text on which to rely, was compelled to invent thus, even if his project were seldom as ambitious as Fuseli in his *Aphorisms* would seem to expect. Among Genre pieces intended to tell a story rather than simply to create a mood by depicting, as so often, a pleasant rural incident or situation, this story is generally of the slightest, and is frequently of a humorous cast, although there was a steady flow of sentimental and tearful subjects. Only in a century which produced *The Man of Feeling* could one of William Craig's paintings be countenanced;

"A scene in harvest; a reaper having, inadvertently, killed with his sickle some young partridges lodged in the corn, they are found and lamented by his children"



It appears that artists would sometimes borrow "collateral assistance" from their titles, though Craig's lachrymose episode must have been sufficiently self-explanatory. Henry Morland in 1775 exhibited three Genre pieces each requiring a lengthy passage setting the scene, introducing the characters, describing the action, and even illuminating the motives and foretelling the consequences. In his eagerness to achieve precision, he destroys any possibility of speculation and discovery, at least until the "titles" are forgotten:

"A boy delivering a letter to a general post girl. The boy has lost the penny, is intreating the girl to take the letter without the money, expecting his master will correct him on his return if the letter is not delivered, she appears unwilling to deny his request to save him from the beating."

In fairness to Morland, it must be admitted that the broad lines of his little situations, if not their minor subtleties, do emerge satisfactorily from the pictures themselves, of which prints were made. In like manner, throughout Allan's scenes of the Roman Carnival, humorous incidents and satirical thrusts are almost always sufficiently explained by the pictures themselves, revealing Cunningham's disparagement of the descriptive passages accompanying the four prints published by Sandby to be an excessively harsh judgement. Taking into account the interest in costume typical of the time and comprehensively addressed by Allan himself, even the nice question of the two jockeys may have been resolved, for a contemporary audience, by their different clothes.<sup>228</sup>

Hogarth's Genre pieces may be regarded as perfect exemplars of pictures each with a subject which can be explored from anecdotal elements within the image itself, as the eye goes on a "wanton chace" of discovery. One example among many, with the virtue of not being as widely known and frequently cited as some in the canon, is his satirical engraving of preparations for a French invasion. It is small exaggeration to say that every detail makes a positive contribution to the meaning finally obtained, from the foreground figure of a Catholic friar, gleefully inspecting a collection of instruments of torture, to the tiny figures ploughing in the distance. The French recruiting officers have clearly scraped the bottom of the barrel, to judge partly from the gaunt scarecrows huddled in the foreground, watching an officer literally grilling frogs over a camp-fire, and partly from those distant labourers. Upon closer inspection it emerges that they are both female. All the men have been enlisted.

While Hogarth did rely on the astuteness of his spectators in their picking out of all the little clues in his "much more complicated kind of writing", he with equal certainty grounded the action of his implied



narratives in the traditional devices of gesture and expression. He saw his pictures sharing some of the characteristics of "representations on the stage":

"Subjects I consider'd as writers do my Picture was my Stage and men and women my actors who were by Mean[s] of certain Actions and express[i]ons] to Exhibit a dumb shew",<sup>229</sup>

Barry, for one, was impressed with the skill of Hogarth's "ocular demonstration", magnanimously bestowing high praise on the artifice involved while in the same breath distinguishing fine Expression from fine Invention:

"his little compositions considered as so many dramatic representations, abounding with humour, character, and extensive observations on the various incidents of low, faulty, and vicious life, are very ingeniously brought together, and frequently tell their own story with more facility than is often found in many of the elevated and more noble inventions of Raffael, and other great men",<sup>230</sup>

Of particular importance in a consideration of pictorial narrative is Hogarth's having made popular, whatever the exact genesis of the idea, printed series of related incidents from contemporary life, typified by his *The Rake's Progress* or the later *Marriage à la mode*. The pictures of a "progress" seem to capture significant moments in a succession of events, an extended process of cause and effect. As has already been pointed out, neither the individual Genre piece nor the individual History can properly be termed a narrative work.<sup>231</sup> Each is a single image, and some make additional reference to an independent text. A sequence is better suited to tell a story in pictures. As Fuseli later said,

"as the condition that each work of art should fully and essentially tell its own tale, undoubtedly narrows the quantity of admissible objects, singly taken, to remedy this, to enlarge the range of subjects, Invention has contrived by a Cyclus or series to tell the most important moments of a long story, its beginning, its middle, and its end; for though some of these may not, in themselves, admit of distinct discrimination, they may receive and impart light by connection,"<sup>232</sup>

It is the connections between the individual paintings, or prints, of a series which allow it to be considered narrative, as the pictures are seen either successively or together, ordered by the idea of causality or by their participating in a history.

Hogarth's statement that each of his progresses was "design'd in series . . . having something of that kind of connection which the pages of a book have" must be treated with some caution.<sup>233</sup> The connection is looser, the stories rather less readily legible than his words, scanned hastily, might suggest. While it is true that one picture follows another in unfolding a drama, this progression lacks the kind of continuity which in a typical novel of the time, and for another century, was taken for



granted. Hogarth's characters are simply seen acting in different settings, often in altered circumstances. Where the pages of a book would have been taken up with tracing the characters' paths or describing these transitions, the viewer must either infer, or speculate on, their various actions and motives and the reasons for their circumstances having changed during the time which has supposedly elapsed.

One of the earliest series, *The Rake's Progress*, is probably the most easily followed. The Rake's character is quickly established, and he simply conforms to type in the circumstances shown. As one account has it, the series represents

"in a language which the illiterate can read, and all nations can understand, the fatal and usual effects of vice — the natural consequences of an unrestrained course of profligacy." <sup>234</sup>

The progress of the Rake is steadily downwards, both socially and morally, each scene presenting a *tableau* of one more gradation of debt and debauchery. Hogarth displays great ingenuity in a context which is not otherwise distinguished by subtlety, in his elaborating on the simple fable by including much allusive detail, his almost Metaphysical wit finding in common objects and familiar references a world of satiric correspondence. Perhaps because this "Progress" is so reminiscent of a cautionary tale with an obvious moral, these ironies seem less integral to the plot, their identification being more of a super-added intellectual pursuit, than is the case in *Marriage à la Mode*. There, every detail, from a half-built and heavily mortgaged mansion to an unframed Genre picture, from a guttering candle or a theatre ticket to a broken sword or a child's teething coral, is necessary to the full meaning of the series, is an essential commentary rather than an additional gloss on a seemingly autonomous sequence.

To encounter *Marriage à la Mode* for the first time is to be faced with a complex history, one requiring some effort to perceive those connections between its constituent pictures which are necessary for it to have any logical continuity. The unity which a set of literary illustrations would have, or that which *The Rake's Progress* does have, is here compromised by the existence of the several plots and concerns which Hogarth suggests and sets in motion. A set of illustrations is accorded unity initially by its being associated with a text, at least when that text is known, while the first few scenes of *The Rake's Progress* involve what is recognisably the same weak young man, the last three, with the protagonist sadly changed, continuing the theme of decay earlier introduced. In addition to this thematic integrity, of course, the



eight prints of *The Rake's Progress* are perceived as a unity simply because they were published together in order to form a series. In both this case and in that of *Marriage à la Mode*, the buyer is impelled to discover the connections and motives which, Hogarth implies, must exist. After all, he who published these two series actually created their characters and set them on the path he determined in advance; in *Marriage à la Mode*, though the suggestion of choice, of free will, is more marked than in the headlong career of the Rake, it is no less illusory. As in *The Rake's Progress*, the recurrence, but not the continual presence, of certain major characters - the heir, his wife, the lawyer - does have a part to play. It is noteworthy that, though Hogarth was to employ "the best Masters in Paris" to engrave the series, the actors' heads, "for the better Preservation of the Characters and Expressions [were] to be done by the Author".<sup>235</sup>

Because the implied time scale in the longer series is generally so great, and the stories so complex, a good deal of necessary action must take place "off stage". Thus Counsellor Silvertongue, the lawyer, last seen escaping from the window of the *bagnio* after killing the young Earl, has in the following picture become the hero of a broadsheet relating his "last dying speech". Far from these lapses of time causing the sequence to appear disjointed, they encourage the viewer - who will have in mind Hogarth's insistence, or at least implication, that the pictures are causally connected - to construct the necessary intermediate events for himself, actually becoming more closely involved with the dramatic narrative than if everything were already presented. Viewers interpolate their own narratives between the six, or eight, moments depicted, narratives governed by preceding and guided by subsequent events, the pointers and targets provided by the artist.

Hogarth claimed to regard each scene of *Marriage à la Mode* as "an entire subject of itself", and each could indeed exist independently as a "narrative" picture, full of incident, explanation and implication.<sup>236</sup> Of course, some could sustain themselves more successfully than others, but none depends so strongly upon its context as does, for example, the first scene in *The Rake's Progress*, literally calling out for further development. As Johnson might have said, the curiosity is indeed excited by suspense and expectation. It is that curiosity, aroused and satisfied by the artist, which allows a fictional "cyclis" to cohere. Were the pictures which form *Marriage à la Mode* actually a set of illustrations for a novel of the 1740s, like Highmore's almost exactly contemporary paintings from *Pamela*, or, better still, were they actually a number of



incidents from a stage play, like Hogarth's own versions of the *finale* of *The Beggars' Opera*, then each might represent the crucial moment of a chapter or the climactic moment of an act.

Hogarth's description of his series as being like the pages of a book, though clearly not satisfactory on many grounds, is appropriate in one sense. The similarity may have occurred to him partly because these pictures - which are, after all, sheets of paper - were printed in "editions" which ran to several hundred copies. Like "literary productions of easy purchase", epic or otherwise, they were individually cheap but, by their being sold in large numbers, able to provide an artist with an adequate return for his labour.<sup>237</sup> Like an author independent of a patron, Hogarth made his appeal to that audience, or rather market, at which increasingly numerous and popular periodicals, *novelles*, and even books of sermons were directed. His "modern moral subjects" were, in essence,

"Dedicated to nobody But if for once we may suppose nobody to be every body, then is this work Dedicated to every body," <sup>238</sup>

Hogarth's moral tales were easily perceived by members of this audience to be relevant to their own times. They were set there. Dress, posture and surroundings all spoke as eloquently to a contemporary as did actions, expressions, "inscriptions", even words themselves, every detail thus contributing to the meaning of each picture and to the development or resolution of plot.

It has been suggested that, since Historical Compositions are in the main indissolubly wedded to texts, true pictorial narrative is more often to be found in Genre pictures and "modern moral subjects", these being frequently encountered as original prints. Some paintings, however, can both be considered truly "narrative" (within the limits necessarily imposed upon pictures), in that they do not make reference to a known and pre-existent text, and be seen as aspiring to the Grand Style. The effect they have on the imagination is instantaneous, they "invite the spectator's attention", and they repay such further study.<sup>239</sup> Furthermore, they should be possessed of "a moral tendency, or of some doctrine useful to mankind", expressed by the artist and discovered by the viewer.<sup>240</sup> It is possible to appreciate when such an approach is made or such an effect produced, but not easy to state comprehensively and conclusively how this may be done. Some things cannot fully be taught by rule.<sup>241</sup>

It should first, and always, be borne in mind that the essential power of a History painting is in no way compromised as an inevitable consequence of its having been based on a literary subject familiar to an



audience. Its independence from literature is not in itself any reason for commending a picture. Macbeth or Ugolino, to adopt examples selected by Fuseli, are "fit subjects for the pencil" whether or no they are "prepared by history and borrowed from Shakespeare and Dante".<sup>242</sup> The brooding intensity of Fuseli's own "Italian Count" is evident from the picture alone, unaided by history or literature. That is, the emotion can be rendered "intuitive". In this painting, Fuseli brought his Invention to bear on a subject of his own devising, though it seems that "Braccioferro" may have been derived from a real historical character:

"Ezzelin, Count of Ravenna, surnamed Braccioferro or Iron Arm, musing over the body of Meduna, slain by him for infidelity during his absence in the Holy Land," <sup>243</sup>

Although it would be unclear exactly how, why and by whom Meduna had been slain without "collateral assistance" from this title, the emotion itself is vividly and memorably expressed, since the subject is, in Fuseli's terminology, "positive". The painting is reminiscent of some of his own illustrations to Dante.

So too the grief of Achilles over the body of Patroclus is dominant in Hamilton's third painting of the group inspired by the *Iliad*, as is the sorrowful entreaty of Andromache in the second, though neither the crucial reason for the death of one character, nor the various emphases of the plea made by another, could be divined solely from the pictures themselves. Their immediate power lies in the image, further explication in the mind of the well-read viewer. These subjects all

"owe the sympathies which they call forth to their assimilating power, and not to the names they bear: without names, without reference to time and place, they would impress with equal energy, because they find their counterpart in every breast, and speak the language of mankind." <sup>244</sup>

Not all those paintings which aspired to the Grand Manner, or were later thought to have done so, were of Historical subjects. West's painting of General Wolfe, and several of Copley's compositions, have already been noted. Copley's first major success in London, "Brooke Watson and the shark", that amplified Genre piece "founded on a fact which happened in the harbour of the Havannah", certainly speaks the language of Mankind in depicting a human being in peril, and speaks with the accents of the Grand Style. For all that, the painting "has no grave historical import or moral lesson for mankind but [ is ] frankly exciting and romantic".<sup>245</sup> It is indeed the "exact antithesis" of the traditional History theoretically upheld by Reynolds or Barry.

There is little need for explication. The situation is seized at a glance. A youth has fallen overboard, or has been attacked while



swimming. Some sailors in a dinghy try to rescue him, one of their number attacking with a boathook the predatory shark. As in all Copley's later works, the composition is carefully judged, with the figures in the boat tightly arranged in a pyramid, its base formed by Watson and the shark, the whole dominated by the sailor about to lance the creature.<sup>246</sup> More striking than this conventional construction is the sense of movement implied throughout the scene, itself held together by an interplay of contrasting actions. Two sailors - their poses, perhaps inevitably, taken from Raphael's tapestry cartoons - stretch downwards to reach the frantic youth as he flounders towards the boat, and the boatswain, reminiscent of Saint Michael triumphing over the dragon, plunges the boathook towards the shark as it surges around the bows. Thus the painting is undoubtedly of an exciting subject, the depiction of a particular human being helpless before an elemental danger, and, regrettably, it proved both popular and influential. It could, in its way, be thought sublime, since

"whatever is fitted in any sort to excite the ideas of pain, and danger, that is to say, whatever is in any sort terrible, or is conversant about terrible objects, or operates in a manner analogous to terror, is a source of the *sublime*; that is, it is productive of the strongest emotion which the mind is capable of feeling." <sup>247</sup>

Copley certainly arouses strong emotions, but he does so with no other purpose (apart, presumably, from the making of a name for himself) than that of simply arousing them for the moment. Such terrible and painful ideas may be attended with the comfort of recognising personal safety from danger which "does not press too close", the "passions belonging to self-preservation" being the strongest passions of all.<sup>248</sup> There is no question of any address to Reason. Copley aims at the sublime by a direct assault on the emotions with the immediate depiction of terror, not by any ominous suggestion of danger, not by encouraging viewers to dwell imaginatively upon vast and awesome subjects, but by the stark presentation of actual pain and fear. The calculated control of the composition contrasts with the unpleasant sensationalism of subject and depiction. Burke, significantly enough, had written that "a true artist should put a generous deceit on the spectators, and effect the noblest designs by easy methods".<sup>249</sup> Copley left little to the imagination.

It is strange that Copley should have been thought to have introduced this note to British painting, when painters of actual shipwrecks had long been purveying the same kind of material for those with a taste for it. He focuses attention more closely upon the terror-stricken individual, arousing the emotions not by grandeur of conception, not even with associations of terror, but by stridency of interpretation. It cannot be denied that, in depicting the wild-eyed Watson literally face to face with



the monster, Copley heightened the apparent peril to a ludicrous extent. Had any shark actually approached in the position shown, the youth would never have escaped, as in fact he did, with no more than the loss of a leg. Copley, like West, while pretending to depict actual events, was quite prepared to depart from "strict historical truth" when it suited his commercial interests.

That the painting proved popular and a print after it profitable indicates a public taste greatly changed from that of only a decade or so earlier, when spectators affected "such nice feelings and so much sensibility, as not to be able to bear the sight of pictures where the action turns upon any circumstance of distress".<sup>250</sup> Perhaps the spectators themselves were of a different kind. Of greater concern than either affectation or sensation-seeking on the part of the public is the fact that any such paintings of distress, and of action both violent and contemporary, in their making pretensions to the Grand Manner, did so despite their heedlessly violating, or tainting with vulgarity, one of the necessary conditions of great dramatic art. Such paintings could never arouse in the viewer a deep sympathetic involvement with their characters, far less create the experience of *catharsis* in the "release" of the emotions aroused by Tragedy, an experience normally consequent upon the death of the protagonist.

In a dramatic production, a character involved in such action is made known to the audience in a few hours' "traffic of the stage", whereas Brooke Watson is presented as little more than a stranger, his particular and unusual situation nonetheless prompting a terror which finds its "counterpart in every breast". It is not enough to complain that a painting, having "but one moment to speak", is quite precluded from ever achieving *catharsis*, though in any case one art can never fully be "engrafted with success on another".<sup>251</sup> The traditional characters of History painting were already familiar to the cultured viewer, the sympathy due their situations being aroused for figures always known to exist only in the world of the imagination, or to have lived in the distant past. The artist, with greater or lesser success, offered an affecting interpretation of a familiar scene, for viewers sufficiently sensitive to appreciate it. Neither is there, in Copley's painting, any sense of an individual's being inevitably doomed by the gods. Watson's plight is not only unique, it is an accident, its being thought worthy of consideration beside History a historical aberration.

That this painting - like that of Major Pierson actually a fine example of its type - has been a pernicious influence on the appreciation of



"history painting" is not merely due to its having been based on an actual and contemporary event. Admittedly, there can be little doubt that some of its appeal to the public lay in the fact that its hero was not an ancient or mythological character, not even a contemporary figure of national standing, but rather the kind of person made notorious for a while by a broadside ballad of his last confession or, in a later age, by the popular press.<sup>252</sup> Of much greater importance than the distinction between the contemporary and the ancient - between Pitt and Pericles, or Wolfe and Epaminondas - is that between the avowedly factual and the recognisably fictional.

The depiction - the fitting depiction - of Odysseus evading Polyphemus, of Philoctetes, Dido, or Ariadne abandoned, of Laocoön succumbing to the serpents, or of Hector refusing Andromache's appeal, calls for a different kind of approach, on the parts of both artist and public, from that required by paintings like Copley's. The danger, the grief or the suffering is imaginatively seized as being real and present, though the Reason knows each to be fabulous and imitated, when, that is, the viewer is possessed of the necessary literary background and understanding. Furthermore, actual events and characters from history, real though they were, have, when sufficiently distant in time and different in costume, that same aura of remoteness from "this ignorant present" which the best artistic imitations, however lifelike and heartfelt, always have.<sup>253</sup> Thus Alexander, Cæsar, Edward III and Mary, Queen of Scots - or Bajazet, the foreign prince - are legitimate subjects of drama or History. Viewers or readers could regard them for the moment as dramatic characters, their situations as being artistically created for the exhibition or expression of emotion.<sup>254</sup> The viewer, in theatre or gallery, must be conscious of both artifice and Decorum, and be prepared to appreciate the artistically heightened - the *Poetic* - imitation of historical events with these characters as primary subjects, rather than the skilful reproduction of reality with unknown, and otherwise inconsequential individuals as chance objects involved in remarkable incidents.

Reynolds spoke of the style peculiar to Michelangelo as requiring a voluntary effort on the part of the viewer for its true appreciation:

"It must be remembered, that as this great style itself is artificial in the highest degree, it presupposes in the spectator, a cultivated and prepared artificial state of mind. It is an absurdity therefore to suppose that we are born with this taste, though we are with the seeds of it, which, by the heat and kindly influence of his genius, may be ripened in us." <sup>255</sup>

An appreciation of truly Historical painting depends no less surely on cultivation. Only the lower styles of any art were considered "in the



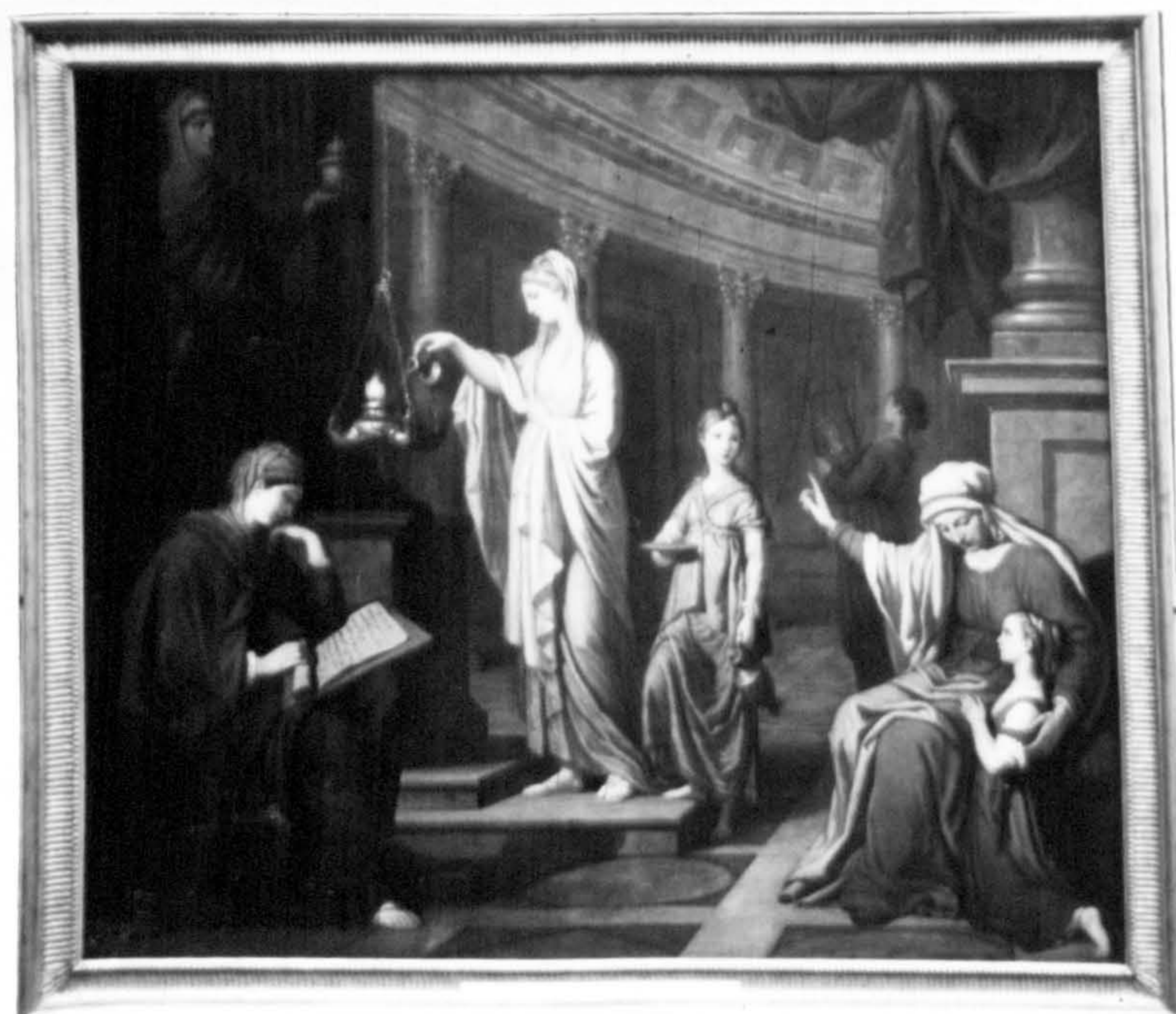
vulgar sense, to be naturally pleasing".<sup>256</sup> In short, the viewer was expected to experience emotion whilst remaining conscious of artistic contrivance, in the subject no less than in the imitation, not to experience a *frisson* of horror at seeing a sensational representation of a real boy savaged by a real shark. An admiration of the artist's skill in presenting his interpretation of an event should ideally combine with a recognition that Invention had been employed to realise the *Poetic*, not to recount the factual.<sup>257</sup>

To turn from Copley's pictorial bid for fame to a self-portrait by Angelica Kauffmann in which she is seen hesitating between the arts of Music and Painting is to enter less turbulent waters. This painting too, like Copley's not depending for its explication upon any text, makes some effort to pass itself off as a History.<sup>258</sup> It is cast in the familiar mould of the Choice of Hercules, "Miss Angel" being courted by two female figures representing Music and Painting. The first, with a musical score, sits by a temple in the foreground, the second, equipped with brushes and palette, indicates another temple on a distant hill. Although there are parallels with literary accounts and with other pictures, the recognition of these is superfluous to an understanding of this picture's meaning. Even the attributes of the two symbolic figures can hardly be classed as "emblems". To belong to a society or culture in which paintings are exhibited implies knowledge of a paintbrush.

The picture's internal narrative is as simple as the painter's choice is immediately obvious. The upward way indicated by the personification of Painting is arduous, the temple of her particular art perched high on a rocky eminence. Music, on the other hand, bids Kauffmann dally in the temple dedicated to her art, its rich swathe of drapery contrasting with the austerity of the other building no less surely than does its lower position, a contrast echoed and heightened by the vestments - warm red and chilly blue - of the two allegorical figures. The painter, with some show of regret, is already bidding "Music" farewell.

Such is the obvious reading of the piece, and nothing could be more simple. Yet underlying this immediate view is the implication that Music is a snare, or merely an attraction to lure an artist from the more demanding task of attaining the heights of Painting. Angelica, at any rate, appears to believe that she has no more of Music to learn, having apparently accomplished all the art can offer or require, and in fact the personal reference is the key to this painting. Any thought that it might have some relevance for the Arts in general evaporates when it





67. "The Vestals attending the Sacred Fire",  
signed and dated "Da, Allan pinxt. 1772.",  
Oil on canvas 58½ x 68½, Exhibited Royal  
Academy 1779, Glasgow Art Gallery and  
Museum,



becomes clear that Kauffmann simply fixed on the universally significant choice of Hercules between Vice and Virtue as a convenient pattern for dramatising her own rather less important concerns. This is a fancy portrait masquerading as a narrative History. The logic, the full implication of the piece has not properly been considered. The form is appropriate to only one meaning, however the identities of the participants might change.<sup>259</sup> Were the piece to be accepted without question, music is implicitly vicious in that it necessarily diverts artistic energies from the virtuous exercise of painting, as Garrick's fondness for Comedy dragged him away, on occasion, from the heights of Tragedy. In Annibale Carracci's famous painting of "The Choice of Hercules", it is true, an open songbook and some musical instruments lie among the array of attractions offered by Voluptas.<sup>260</sup> That music, or indeed painting, might be turned to unworthy purposes by some is no reason to condemn either art thus indiscriminately. Some words from Barry's *An Inquiry into the Real and Imaginary Obstructions to the Acquisition of the Arts in England*, though concerned with a quite different form of separation of form and style from content, are ironically appropriate to this picture. Barry wrote that no part of painting is

"trifling or mean in itself, it only becomes so when it gets into the hands of men of contracted powers, who debase those things by separating them from the noble qualities which should support and make them of consequence".<sup>261</sup>

It may be more charitable to attribute the faulty reasoning demonstrated in this portrait to its autobiographical nature, since Kauffmann was thought "no small proficient in music", Winckelmann believing that "as far as singing is concerned, she ranks with our best *virtuosi*".<sup>262</sup> Even so, there is the disquieting impression that she might cheerfully, and even less sensibly, have interchanged attributes had she decided a musical career was more suitable than a decorative one.

Copley's sensational painting depicted a contemporary event in a style pretending to the Grand Manner, while Kauffmann's self-portrait arrogated to itself a respected *motif* from History. David Allan's Royal Academy exhibit of 1779 does not depend upon precedent, high drama or a literary text to make its effect and convey its meaning.<sup>263</sup> The subject, the Vestals attending the Sacred Fire, is of the simplest, the narrative being at once comprehended in the very form of the picture. There is a rising emphasis which traverses the canvas, beginning at the oldest woman, positioned by the correct viewing place on the right, and pointing into the picture's space as she explains to her youngest charge the girl's new



duties. The eye swiftly crosses from these figures, via the ewer and salver, towards the sacred flame itself, the lamp being supplied with oil by a maiden palpably descended from classical sculpture. Balancing the elderly woman at the right is another seated at the left, below the flame itself and reading a sacred scroll. Thus the necessity of continual study to guardians of the light is emphasised, as being of no less significance than the lifelong dedication implied by the various ages of the six figures depicted. These six guardians, like the texts which they study, unite with the imagined present the knowledge of the past and the promise of the future.

Such major compositional elements are necessary to the structure of the painting and essential to its meaning. Further significance, as in all the best History paintings, emerges with greater attention, once the viewer, having been first attracted and then conducted through the immediate import of a picture, is awakened to its deeper resonance. The original flame of Vesta was, according to ancient story, brought to Rome by Aeneas when he fled the sack of Troy, and was inseparably associated with the *Fenates*, with every sacrifice to the gods, and thus with the Roman state itself. The tending of this flame was in essence a survival of the Grecian cult of Hestia, goddess of the hearth. When Allan's painting is considered in relation to his time, to the community of which he was part in Rome, and, additionally, to those letters and other writings of his which survive, then its representation of reverence for the past, and its implication of the importance of continual study, assume a new and greater consequence. If the tending of the flame be considered a metaphor for the dedication of artists like Gavin Hamilton or James Barry to the Classical ideal, then Allan's painting itself equates encouragement of the Arts with the well-being of the state. To establish and maintain true principles in art would be comparable to the achievement of good government in a country, when

"... dire Debate, and impious War shall cease,  
And the stern Age be softened into Peace;  
Then banish'd faith shall once again return,  
And Vestal fires in hallow'd temples burn," 264

This deeper resonance only becomes apparent with a more thorough reading of the painting, once its visual appeal to the imagination has been made and recognised. What narrative there is appears negligible, and this is as it should be. There is nothing unusual in the incident depicted, if incident it can be called. The tending of the fire was once a centuries-old tradition, unbroken for generations, and it is this sense of both antiquity and continuity which Allan evokes. The austerity of





68. HENRY FUSELI; *The Artist in Despair over the Magnitude of Antique Fragments*, c. 1780. Red chalk and sepia wash 18 $\frac{1}{4}$  x 6 $\frac{1}{4}$ , Zurich Kunsthau, 1938/668.



the piece suggests that he also evokes by its very style the purity of those early days, perhaps even advocating to fellow painters a return to an almost Doric simplicity rather than a development based on the classical tradition of the previous century. It is a restrained classicism quite beyond that seen in any of his other History paintings from these years, or indeed in those by his contemporaries. The works of Gavin Hamilton, for instance, even those based upon the *Iliad* and consonant with its barbarism, appear ornate by comparison. If, in choosing to exhibit this painting - which dates from 1772 - during his stay in London, Allan were truly demonstrating that an apparently naïve style is the one most appropriate to an ancient, a "primitive" subject, then some of the ideas he was later to develop in Scotland may already have been formulated in Italy.<sup>265</sup> This calculated choice of style is another aspect of the theme of artistic simplicity which he explored in "The Origin of Painting", by that time circulating in several printed versions.<sup>266</sup>

PLATE IV

Such experiments and developments were still in the future when Allan put this work before a public more accustomed to pictures of action and excitement, or of humour and sentiment, than to pictures of reflection and instruction. The atmosphere of reverence and study in the subject and the unadorned simplicity of the style make equal claims on the viewer's attention, and with good reason. The picture portrays what is broadly a fusion of the two, a reference to Classical principles, as represented by Neoclassical art.

Although, like impression of danger, "greatness of dimension is a powerful cause of the sublime", mere physical size does not by itself imply grandeur.<sup>267</sup> Designs that are "vast only by their dimensions, are always the sign of a common and low imagination", the "confounding greatness of size with greatness of manner" being an "erroneous principle" springing from "faulty taste" and leading in turn to worse faults and errors.<sup>268</sup> In Fuseli's remarkable drawing of "The Artist in Despair over the Magnitude of Antique Fragments" may be found both a suggestion of immensity and a deeply felt personal statement. The actual size of the drawing is only some eighteen inches high. In its implication of vastness it is reminiscent of Piranesi.

Figure 68

Like Allan's "Vestals attending the Sacred Fire", Fuseli's picture relies, and relies even more emphatically, upon its aspiring form to convey its meanings. No work in all his *oeuvre* better satisfies Fuseli's demand that the essential part of a subject should immediately be comprehended. Though it is a sketch, it would be hard to find a finished picture which more powerfully makes the single, complete effect so indispensable to the



Grand Style. At the same time, the depiction of a pathetic individual overwhelmed by the achievements of the past co-exists with the implication that modern artists must strive to attain that same glory and perfection. Although literally earthbound, on a level with the colossal foot, the artist is encouraged by the pointing hand, or will be when he eventually brings himself to look at it. The picture tells of future possibilities and, while hinting at the idea of Inspiration, really indicates the models to follow, not in a servile manner but with curiosity and discrimination, in forming "the true idea of beauty".<sup>269</sup> The particular and actual - fragments of a colossal statue of Constantine - represent all surviving great works of Antiquity and symbolise the "almost divine faculties of the mind" which enabled them once to be created and forever to be venerated.<sup>270</sup> So too, of course, the particular artist represents all others. Past, present and future time, artists historical, contemporary or yet unknown, and works of art from all ages, are but the most immediately addressed of the picture's many themes. It comprehends and extols, either obviously or implicitly, by depiction or suggestion,

"the perfection of form, the pursuit of sublimity, beauty, grace, or any other of those valuable qualities which perfect art by calling forth the great exertions and the ultimate vigour of the artist".<sup>271</sup>

In these two pictures, with their calculated allusions to the Antique, both Allan and Fuseli, however obliquely, implicitly addressed their own society. The sculpture, wall-paintings and other artefacts of those days represented more than "great examples of the Art".<sup>272</sup> In addition to their calling forth emulation and even rivalry, such surviving works, of both Antique art and Classical verse, allowed former times to live again in the minds of artists and antiquarians, and allowed viewers and readers of later ages to judge of the achievements of societies preceding theirs. James Barry had made his admiration of Ancient Greece - "from the time of Pericles to the end of the age of Alexander" - as public and eloquent as he could, and Fuseli was later to write that

"The artist and the public are ever in the strictest reciprocity: if the Arts flourished nowhere as in Greece, no other nation ever interested itself with motives so pure in their establishment and progress, or allowed them so ample a compass. As long as their march was marked with such dignity, whilst their union excited admiration, commanded attachment, and led the public, they grew, they rose; but when individually to please, the artist attempted to monopolise the interest due to Art, to abstract by novelty and to flatter the multitude, ruin followed. To prosper, the Art not only must feel itself free, it ought to reign: if it be domineered over, if it follow the dictate of Fashion or a Patron's whims, then is its dissolution at hand." <sup>273</sup>

There can be little doubt that artists who had drawn attention to how the arts of former ages could endure until their own had also recognised



that the arts of their own day, as they in turn were preserved and studied in future, allowed their achievements, and those of their society, to be judged in like manner. Fuseli's account of the relationship of artist and public moves from a general statement to a particular example and comes to a conclusion generally applicable. When applied to his own day, as he surely intended and composed it to be, this conclusion was damning indeed. Only once, in 1788, did David Allan broadcast his own views thus publicly, in what was virtually an open letter to Gavin Hamilton, the British artist of highest European standing, and his precepts and examples remain to be studied in greater detail. Allan several times referred in this letter, published with his edition of Ramsay's "justly admired Pastoral" *The Gentle Shepherd*, to the lack of demand in the country for "the nobler departments of the arts", and a keen sense of disappointment in "the general taste of the public" was clearly never far from his mind as it may be glimpsed between the lines of this dedicatory preface.<sup>†</sup> The diffidence with which, according to his own words, he submitted the edition to public gaze was matched by the moderation with which he expressed his regret. Barry's exhortation of around a decade previously, on the other hand, was characteristically incisive:

"History painting and sculpture should be the main views of any people desirous of gaining honour by the arts. These are the tests by which the national character will be tried in after ages, and by which it has been, and is now, tried by the natives of other countries", <sup>274</sup>

In short, and taking as paradigms these two pictures, Allan and Fuseli - the one with a painting of an ancient tradition, the other with a drawing evoking the grandeur of things past - seem to have seen their own art as part of a great continuum, and to have intended their own pictures to be relevant to all ages. The thought was not an unusual one. Reynolds, towards the end of his Fourth Discourse, had brought together the works of poets, painters, moralists and historians, and stated that those "which are built upon general nature, live for ever".<sup>275</sup> Few listeners or readers could have been unconscious of the irony as one who was primarily a portraitist concluded:

"Present time and future may be considered as rivals, and he who solicits the one must expect to be discountenanced by the other," <sup>276</sup>

As has already been shown, Reynolds returned to the theme in his Fifth Discourse, acknowledging that the love of fame is not in itself reprehensible, provided that such fame is justly acquired.<sup>277</sup> An "excessive and undistinguishing thirst after it", however, an immoderate attachment to

† Appendix IV.



the "allurement of popularity, which always accompanies the lower styles of painting", degrades both works and taste.<sup>278</sup>

Reynolds' deliberately élitist argument seems actually to be overly concerned with the times in which he lived. It was Fuseli who added to the President's carefully balanced aphorism the necessary condition that "all depends on the character of the time in which an artist lives, and on the motive of his exertions".<sup>279</sup> Reynolds, for all his professed confidence that the labours of artists could eventually "raise the thoughts, and extend the views of the spectator", seems to have been less convinced that the Arts did truly have any didactic effect than artists such as Hogarth, Allan, Barry or Fuseli, as far as their several public statements may be interpreted.<sup>280</sup> On the other hand, his ambivalent attitude towards public exhibitions may have caused him to issue an incautious, and inappropriately general condemnation:

"It is certain that the lowest style will be the most popular, as it falls within the compass of ignorance itself; and the Vulgar will always be pleased with what is natural, in the confined and misunderstood sense of the word." <sup>281</sup>

The very élitism of Reynolds' pronouncement tends to obscure its contemporary relevance. While artistic theory might proclaim the primacy of History, the majority of artists was under the necessity of satisfying the demands of the popular market. The discovery, early expressed by Hogarth, that "small sums from many" reproductive prints could eventually amount to more than the acceptable price for an original painting was soon accompanied by another realisation, one shared by many later painters. The artist had to paint what would sell.

As has been demonstrated, their having a moral purpose had for long been advanced as a vindication of artists and the arts.<sup>282</sup> Instruction by æsthetic or imaginative means had long depended upon empathy. Mystery plays had exploited the technique centuries before British theorists and critics had written upon the arts. Where those plays had dramatised and placed in a universal light the plights of "Everyman", of Adam, or of Job, the painters of a later era chose their moral exemplars from the Classics as well as the Scriptures, and ultimately turned to national history. The relevance of such Historical paintings to their own lives could hardly have been readily apparent to many of those who attended public exhibitions and caused Reynolds such disquiet. Being but slightly acquainted with the Classics, many a member of the "common miscellaneous public" might well have wondered what was Hercules to him, or he to Hercules, or for that matter Hector, Helen, Hecuba or Homer himself. Such a viewer could nevertheless always recognise in a "modern moral subject" by



Hogarth, or by one of his many imitators, an immediate relevance to his own life and society. The figures in these pictures were not strangely idealised antique heroes but pointedly realistic, recognisable, perhaps even identifiable characters, always placed in contemporary settings and engaged in credible, often commonplace activity.

Both Historical Compositions and these less ambitious pieces were, at least in theory, intended to advance a useful moral, to offer instruction as they afforded delight. In many a "modern moral subject", all too often there is little more than a simple cautionary tale designed to be appreciated on superficial contact, without any of the deeper and more humane portrayal of the vices and follies, or the virtues and occasional acts of benevolence, encountered in contemporary society. In many paintings avowedly Historical, the evidence suggests that true grandeur of conception and execution was less often shown or demanded than were prettily nostalgic and decorative interpretations of classical subjects.<sup>283</sup> Even Barry - almost certainly in a jocular manner - could be accommodated to the Procrustean measure of fashion. Burke happened to call when he was painting "young Mercury inventing the lyre, by accidentally finding a tortoise shell at break of day on the sea-shore. 'Aye,' said the philosopher, 'that is the fruit of early rising, there is the industrious boy! I will give you a companion for it,— paint Narcissus wasting his day in looking at himself in a fountain — there is the idle boy!'" <sup>284</sup> This *reductio ad absurdum*, amusing in itself but not to be taken too seriously, is probably a reflection of the banality which the two encountered so often at public exhibitions.

That they represented in part the pictorial expression of an uplifting moral could possibly be advanced in support of West's "Death of General Wolfe" and several other pictures of British officers making sacrifices for their country whilst fighting in other lands. Especially when such pictures are cast in a style recalling the Grand Manner, they might be mistaken for Histories despite their being unashamedly accommodated to the popular market, to the demands of "the Vulgar".<sup>285</sup> The exercise of mind in these painted paeans of martial glory seems to have been limited to sounding the same notes again and again, generally at the same pitch and in the same mode. There is not even the tenuous justification of any nobility of theme in Copley's painting of a boy's being rescued from a shark, a frankly exciting modern subject. All is subsumed in the desire to satisfy the popular appetite, to gratify the "fluctuation of fashion" by disregarding the unchanging principles of taste.<sup>286</sup> As Johnson might have said, Copley was "so much more careful to please than to instruct,



that he seems to [ have painted ] without any moral purpose".<sup>287</sup> There was, quite simply, a good market for such stirring stuff, the drama of which appealed to the vast popular audience.

As might be expected, the demands of the popular market were experienced and reflected in the other arts as well. Wordsworth, for instance, lamented that a "craving for extraordinary incident", arising from the recent great accumulation of people in cities and influencing contemporary literature and "theatrical exhibitions", had brought about the neglect of works of true merit in favour of "frantic novels, sickly and stupid German Tragedies, and deluges of idle and extravagant stories in verse".<sup>288</sup> The impulse to recapture a simplicity thought characteristic of earlier times, and to express emotion and sentiment more truly and naturally, is a notable feature of the works of many artists of the time.<sup>289</sup>

A parallel may be drawn between a "craving" for extraordinary pictorial incident and the real, as distinct from the ostensible and proper function of Historical painting. Those scenes of contemporary, often military action, scenes which came to form a staple of popular pictorial fare in the nineteenth century, scenes which have been so often and so mistakenly called "history paintings", may be seen as a less subtle manifestation of the kind of appeal made earlier, to a smaller class of patrons, by paintings with Historical subject-matter.<sup>290</sup> In sum, much of what passed as History painting, like many Genre pieces, was really a means of confirming the existing order rather than a didactic means of actually "raising" people or improving society by its supposed instruction. These paintings, and the prints made after them, served to affirm and reaffirm to viewers and to purchasers that whatever was was right, and that they lived in the best of all possible societies. On the one hand, a small social élite felt that the Classics, and therefore paintings based upon them — eternal reminders arranged around panelled walls or positioned on library shelves — were in some way a unique preserve of their own "condition", as well as a vehicle for decorative display of wealth and culture. On the other, members of the larger, less homogenous group which later demanded a supply of paintings and prints of exciting contemporary incidents and pleasant Genre scenes were, in their own way, as convinced of the superiority of the nation, centre of an Empire, to which they belonged and in which everyone knew his place.<sup>291</sup> By the turn of the eighteenth century, at least in the view offered by the typical picture of this kind, the peasantry was industrious and content, the gentry was just and benevolent, the Fleet was rolling in the Channel, and the disgruntled, seditious French were kept at bay by Nelson and his tars, Bluejackets and Redcoats forming the stoutest of bulwarks between Britain and that



"neighbouring kingdom, where *Anarchy* sits triumphant upon the *guillotine*, with *Murder* at her back, trampling upon law, liberty, and religion, and treading the rights of mankind under her feet".<sup>292</sup>

If the reality were somewhat different and certainly more complex, evidence to this effect is generally found in sources other than contemporary pictures. Artists themselves, of course, did not merely respond to the demands of the popular market. Their being "ever in the strictest reciprocity" with society implies much more than the detached provision of paintings, or writings, such as the public preferred and would buy. Each artist was himself part of that society, and to a great extent must have shared its beliefs and concerns. At the same time, although the relation of an artist's works and interests to his circumstances and his century is generally clear, few historians would argue that there was ever any uniformity of belief, let alone taste; critical opinion was divided over the very existence of the sources of Macpherson's *Fragments*, and few were as taken by Benjamin West as was George III. Among artists of that time as of any other, some might not only have had to balance their ambitions against their abilities, their interests against the requirements of patrons or the demands of the popular market, they might also find developing a struggle to reconcile their own views with generally accepted social attitudes and artistic theories.

David Allan's later career, more diverse than those of most artists, and passed almost entirely in Scotland, may profitably be followed in some detail. Soon after his return to Britain from a decade of study in Italy, Allan observed and recorded how the conditions which he encountered were in conflict with the artistic principles which he had learnt.<sup>293</sup> The works which he executed during the next fifteen years, the years of his creative maturity, demonstrate how, taking account of popular taste in painting, literature and music, he reconciled theory and practice with frequent ingenuity and appreciable success. While it is likely that the wide range of his art came of a personal trait and would have developed in a similar manner in any age and society, it may, like the identity and combination of his interests, documented in letters and memoirs and evident in his pictures themselves, have been due in great measure to his contemporary situation. Some aspects of Allan's art and many of his concerns are certainly to be placed in the context of eighteenth-century British painting and society as a whole. Others, it seems, were peculiarly Scottish in origin and resolution.



## Chapter III

### Groups of the manners in Scotland.

Allan's Portraits, Conversation Pieces and Genre scenes.

1780-1790

*Visit to the Highlands—Allan at Blair Castle—Portraits and Family Groups—Allan at Hopetoun House—Conversation Pieces—early Genre scenes—the "Highland Dance" and variations—the Famous Niel Gow—Highland customs—the Scots Arcadia—Allan's first experiments with an appropriate vernacular style.*



### III

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#### Groups of the manners in Scotland.

*"If I have health and time I intend to do groups of the manners in Scotland, which would be new and entertaining and good for engraving. I have painted at Athole for myself a Highland Dance as a companion to the Neapolitan, but the Highland is the most picturesque and curious . . . Whatever way encouragement may go am resolved not to be idle."*

David Allan, November 1780.<sup>1</sup>

As early as 1780, Allan had both established himself as a major portrait painter to the Scottish gentry, and expressed his intention to "do groups of the manners in Scotland", the works which were to prove his most lasting influence upon Scottish art. It was his first full year in Scotland after his lengthy and successful Italian sojourn, and the short period in London which had, by his own account, been attended with poverty and privation. He had, in fact, hoped to return to London in time for "the Season", but had been obliged by ill health, exacerbated by the severe cold of the winter, to remain in Edinburgh and make a living by the painting of small "cabinet" portraits, for the like of which he anticipated a steady demand.<sup>2</sup>

Allan the Historical Painter naturally felt aggrieved that, as he was soon to complain to the Earl of Buchan, he had been obliged to give up the Grand Style in the absence of public encouragement. Despite this, he was actually more fortunate than other artists whom he recognised as being in the same predicament, forced by necessity to paint portraits or "copy Gothick wigs . . . per Vivere".<sup>3</sup> He may not, as he acknowledged, have been a gentleman of independent means, but he had "the good fortune to know the firs rank of conoscenti", and it was they who assisted him greatly in the matter of obtaining commissions for portraits, in the several modes he practised. In these first months in Scotland, when his "groups of the manners" were, largely, still in the future, his portraiture was providing him with an adequate income, occupying a place in the forefront of



contemporary Scottish art, and demonstrating a skill equal to that of the best of his earlier, Italian, work in this field. Indeed, the earliest Scottish Genre works of this decade suggest, for reasons which will be advanced later, an artist not yet fully in command of, or, more probably, not quite comfortable with his means of expression.

Allan had good reason to be grateful to *cognoscenti* and noble patrons alike. His entrée to the best circles of *emigrés* in Italy had been aided by one patroness, Lady Cathcart, the sister of Sir William Hamilton. In Scotland, his introduction to the titled families was accomplished with the help of Jane, daughter of Lord Cathcart and wife of the fourth Duke of Atholl. In his first letter† to Sir William Hamilton since leaving Rome, Allan - after briefly mentioning his unsuccessful two years in London, his return to Scotland and subsequent dangerous illness - told how

"the Duchess of Athole was so good as to call me to the Highlands to paint their family in a group, which I did. That pure air improved my health and has introduced that kind of painting, and has the prospect of being well employed in this way." 4

The route most probably taken by Allan would have allowed him to visit family, friends and familiar scenes at Alloa and in Clackmannanshire, before he headed northwards past the Ochils and the "fine Gothic façades" of Perth towards that steep pass into the Highlands from which emerged the rapidly rolling Tay, darkened and partially hidden by overhanging woods.<sup>5</sup> He paused long enough at Dunkeld to make a drawing of a bridge near the Hermitage, and two views of the town itself.<sup>6</sup> There too he may have sketched fashionable visitors taking country exercise and sampling the goats' whey.<sup>7</sup> Another day's travelling, following the Tay, the Tummel and finally the Garry, saw him at Blair Atholl itself, some twenty-five miles further north.

Allan, received kindly by the Duke and amiable Duchess, and charmed by their three young children, lost no time in planning his painting. The journey from Dunkeld, particularly the final stages through the Pass of Killiecrankie, had convinced him that a landscape setting would be both appropriate and striking. Accordingly, he

"painted them on the green, with the Duke returning from the hunting in the Highland dress, his gun under one arm and in the other a heath cock which he holds out to the young marquis who is running to take it. The Duchess with the others sitting on a bank looking on, and in the distance Athole House with a view of the country, which please very well and figures about two feet high."<sup>8</sup>

The outdoor setting, in fact, may not have been entirely of Allan's own choice, however well he responded to the challenge of the distant

† Appendix II, "Has", in the second sentence of the extract quoted above, may be rendered "I have".





69. JOHANN ZOFFANY; [Group portrait of John, Third Duke of Atholl and his family on the banks of the Tay at Dunkeld] 1765-67, exh. Society of Artists 1769 (the landscape by Charles Steuart). Oil on canvas 36 x 63. Private collection, Duke of Atholl, Blair Castle.



Grampians. Firstly, as with any portrait, the wishes and suggestions of the sitter would have been taken into account. The popularity of relaxed portraits in informal surroundings, after the manner of Devis or Gainsborough, would have made the inclusion of a landscape view particularly attractive to many patrons. In the case of the Atholl group, however, there was the additional consideration of the painting Allan saw hanging above the mantelpiece in the Drawing Room at Blair Castle, Zoffany's depiction of the Third Duke and his family on the banks of the Tay at Dunkeld.<sup>9</sup> There can be little doubt that this work was of some importance in shaping the development of his own companion piece.

Allan's group is comparable in height to Zoffany's, but, perhaps because it has fewer figures, is shorter and more tightly organised. Nevertheless, in its approach to the frieze-like arrangement typical of family groups, the composition is clearly based upon the earlier painting. At one side of Zoffany's canvas, the Third Duke, having returned from fishing the Tay, is welcomed by the pyramidal group of his wife and children which occupies the other. As always in Zoffany's larger groups, there are obvious interrelationships, and subsidiary events of brief anecdotal interest, all occurring within the full structure of the painting. At the same time, the overall impression is one of movement across the canvas towards the vertical emphasis of the Duke, with the strong diagonal of the other figures - reinforced by a *repoussoir* tree - being taken up by the fishing rod which he carries over his shoulder. The organisation is undeniably artful, conveying both the eagerness of the family at the return of its head, and the childrens' innocent enjoyment of their game. Nevertheless, perhaps as over-zealous compensation for the fact that the figure work was conceived, arranged and executed in a London studio, or simply because even ducal children are more boisterous than *nabobs* or *cognoscenti*, Zoffany's painting seems literally overloaded with activity.<sup>10</sup> A viewer might almost imagine that the Duke has taken up fishing because he despairs of ever controlling the unruly swarm tumbling around their mother's skirts.

By way of contrast, Allan's painting is simpler and more placid. Again, the family welcomes the returning father, but the focal point is the figure of the "little marquis" as he stretches out his hands for one of the spoils of the hunt. The *repoussoir* tree in this instance, rather than emphasising any impulse across the canvas, seems to offer stability and shelter in its shade, and, echoed by the little clump in the background, suggests the security felt by members of the family in the setting of their own abundant grounds.

Figure 69

Figure 70





70, [The Atholl Family Group], 1780. Oil on canvas 36 x 40. Private collection, Duke of Atholl, Blair Castle,



Allan's painting is deceptively simple and direct. It would seem to present no more than a moment during a fine summer's day, the Duchess having arranged to take the children to the hills in order to meet their father on his return from hunting. Yet the scene is not merely a record of a pleasing incident in which the innocent pastimes of the flower-gathering children are contrasted with the sterner pursuits of the Duke. This family group suggests further responsibilities, particularly those associated with inheritance, as the boy abandons the crude little cart - literally putting away childish things - in order to accept the gamebird which his father passes to him. It is not by coincidence that the family seat, "in the distance . . . with a view of the country", appears in perspective directly above this centre of interest. At the same time, the immediate concerns of the adults are those of any parent, as "Anticipation forward points the view" to the years ahead.<sup>11</sup> The flowers collected by the two eldest children are more than an echo of the chaplets in Zoffany's painting of the previous generation, although their underlying meaning may be the same in each case. In falling from the daughter's lap, the scattered wildflowers indicate, with the familiar classical allusion, that the years will pass speedily.

To concentrate attention entirely upon Allan's debt to Zoffany and others is to overlook the extent of his originality in this work. That he depicted the Duke "returning from the hunting in the Highland dress" as a deliberate balance to Zoffany's fishing scene cannot be questioned, but the significance of those details he includes as giving a specifically Scottish identity to the painting should not be ignored.

Allan's was not the first portrait of a Highland chief or nobleman wearing the kilt. John Michael Wright's striking full-length has been dated at around 1680, and, even from the days of proscription, examples can be cited from the hands of Ramsay and Batoni.<sup>12</sup> Nor was he the first to paint the landscape of the Highlands. Charles Steuart, who probably prepared the background of Zoffany's group, had actually painted five panels for Blair Castle in the decade and a half before Allan's visit, and Steuart himself exhibited intermittently at the Society of Artists until 1790.<sup>13</sup> Most of his paintings were of scenes in Perthshire. In 1778, for example, he sent "A Romantic View and Cascade on the Bruer, near Blair, a seat of His Grace the Duke of Athol."

In his canvas of 1780, however, Allan combines with the distinctive dress of the Highlander and the majestic panorama of mountain and forest a theme which was to characterise depictions of the Highlands throughout the following century. Admittedly, the two deerhounds led off by the



kilted gamekeeper can be seen as simply a rugged Scottish variation on the pampered lapdogs yapping and gambolling across many a southern family group, a contrast amusingly heightened by the inclusion of the Atholl childrens' favourite slumbering peacefully in the foreground.<sup>14</sup> It is in the depiction of the antlered stag in conjunction with a seemingly endless recession of peaks - "huge dusky mountains , piled one over another" - that Allan introduces a view of the Highlands as a whole, and, equally inaccurately, of Scotland itself, which has persisted to the present day.<sup>15</sup> All the essential visual elements of the Victorian obsession with one aspect of "North Britain" are anticipated in this painting at Blair Atholl.

No detail of the work is, in itself, false. It accomplishes perfectly what Allan set out to do, to please his patrons by presenting them with a scene of themselves enjoying one of their recreations. Only when undue and unbalanced emphasis was later placed upon a single aspect of the Highlands was any significant falsehood perpetrated. Although this was largely a creation of the nineteenth century, the initial impulse was well under way by the time Allan posted north. Rather than seeing the mountains as menacing, monstrous or merely disagreeable for "their stupendous bulk, frightful irregularity and horrid gloom", travellers came to regard them as "the most beautiful and picturesque view of wild and gloomy nature that can be conceived".<sup>16</sup> They were the stamping ground of magnificent beasts and quaintly garbed savages alike, noble quarry for huntsman and novelist both.

While the fate of the one at the hands of the hunter was frequently pictured all through the following century, the true existence of the other was too often ignored, or fabricated. Unlike Dr. Johnson, who had declared on leaving the Strand for the "rocks of Scotland" that he who had never seen "regions mountainous and wild . . . must live unacquainted with much of the face of nature, and with one of the great scenes of human existence", later commentators - or visitors to galleries - had a knowledge of contemporary Scotland which was limited to precisely the area which Johnson had felt was not sufficiently known, and which concentrated exclusively on acceptable "scenes of human existence".<sup>17</sup> Scotland, to foreign eyes, had by this time become equivalent to the Highlands, and they were no more than a romantically misty paradise for the wealthy sportsman. Meanwhile, in a process lasting over a century, the indigenous human population was being forced to the shores or across the seas. However effective the expression of a distinctly Scottish identity in the early Atholl family group, and whatever the implicit



flattery of one family in particular and the hereditary principle in general, the truth - a wider view of Highland life - was depressingly different. As Johnson had observed - twenty years before the introduction of the Cheviot, forty before the notorious Strathnaver evictions, and eighty years before the founding of the Society for Assisting Emigration from the Highlands and Islands of Scotland - the population was no longer the wealth of a country. "The Lairds," he remarked to Boswell, "the Lairds, instead of improving their country, diminished their people."<sup>18</sup>

Allan's own more immediate concerns, those of earning his living by practising his art, were answered for the time being by the prospect of being "well employed" in painting wealthy families. After finishing the Atholl group, he may have continued his journey northwards as far as Grantown on Spey, the introduction to Sir James Grant in this case possibly coming from the Abbé Grant, whom Allan knew from Rome.<sup>19</sup> He was

"glad at least that they have got into the Notion of getting their familys done in familiar case in Groups by which painters may get great improvenen in this Study of Nature . . ."<sup>20</sup>

In 1780, the "improvement" thus gained was ten guineas for each figure as a "general price", but

"my Benefactors & frends whos recomendation is better than gold I will take only what they can spare", <sup>21</sup>

A few years later, Allan was able to command twelve guineas for these small figures, but, commendably, did actually reduce his price for Sir James Grant of Grant, in recognition of the kindness lately shown him by that eminent Scottish patron of the arts.<sup>22</sup>

By the end of 1780 Allan had established a friendly association with the Hope family, one which was to prove fruitful and, no doubt, flattering to the artist. As he reported to Sir William Hamilton,

"Has done some other familys particularly Lord Hopes. It has pleased them so well that they are so good as to invite me to live with them while about Edinburgh. So I stay there with them in the winter, and in the summer I paint familys in the country, which is good for my health."<sup>23</sup>

A second trip north followed in the summer of 1781, on which occasion the Earl of Kinnoull and his assembled relatives were painted at Dupplin House, on a scale comparable to that of the Atholl group.<sup>24</sup> The small-scale depiction of a family in a landscape setting was repeated with the Watson group of 1782, a painting even more suggestive of the contentment and security felt within the grounds of an estate than the





71, [The Watson Family Group], 1782. Inscribed  
 "D. Allan pxt. 1782. Chas. Watson 1763" on  
 verso of lining. Oil on canvas 40 $\frac{1}{2}$  x 51,  
 Dundee City Art Gallery



72, [Diploma of membership for The Honourable  
 Company of Golfers of Edinburgh], c. 1785.  
 (The vignette c. 2 x 3).



Figure 71

Blair Atholl canvas. It features a harmoniously contained, almost circular composition such as Allan found particularly congenial throughout his life, the several minor connexions and relationships being woven together by a carefully chosen pattern of postures and glances, the whole group shaded by trees and surrounded by the pleasant demesne at Saughton.<sup>25</sup> A mother is again seen cradling an infant in her arms while sitting on a bank, as the father proudly surveys his estate. Meanwhile, this slightly stiff, self-conscious dignity is undermined by an apprehensive glance from the elder child, as he surreptitiously feeds biscuits to a pet terrier which eagerly wolfs them down. The informal charm of Allan's portraits often disarms criticism, belying the skill with which they were conceived.

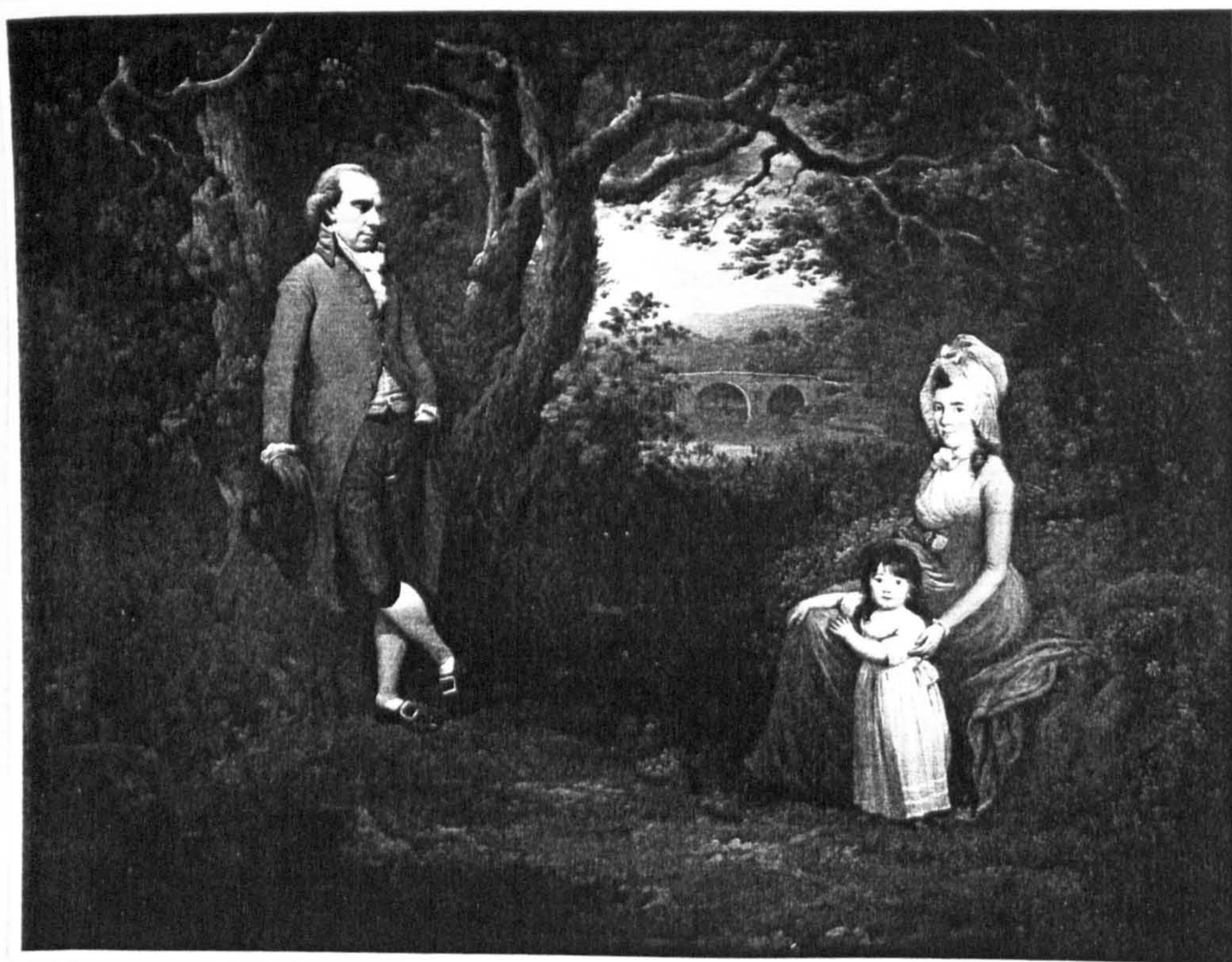
PLATE VII

A family group of the Hopes was painted in the same year as that of the Watsons, and similar pictures of the Erskines, Cathcarts, Hunter Blairs and Halketts were to follow. They all conform to a similar pattern, with the family, engaged in some favourite pursuit, arranged before its country seat or a familiar prospect, this being in the first case the Firth of Forth as seen from near Hopetoun House itself. Children dance a *cotillon* to their own accompaniment, or join together in pulling a small chariot; they loose arrows at a hat placed in a tree, or gather flowers like the young Murrays of Atholl in earlier years. The portrayal of young brothers and sisters dancing together with all the charm of their years and all the elegance of their times is, it may be observed, not only a pleasing compliment on the part of the artist as he makes reference to their polite accomplishments, it is also a skilful means of creating a picture at once informally relaxed and yet harmoniously arranged.

As in the Atholl group, these innocent pastimes occur in familiar surroundings. Alloa House, which "Da. Allan Alloaensis" also included in topographical and literary pictures, is shown with sheep grazing almost to the windows, while Schawpark, the home of the Cathcart family, is the setting for an early Scottish cricket match, if not quite "the very first game of the kind to be played north of the Tweed."<sup>26</sup> Several members of the family took part in the game, one, evidently just dismissed, sitting down with a 'kerchief to mop his brow, another preparing to take the field, and a third keeping note of the score on a tally-stick. One child, too young to join in, and standing in a parody of the pose of the Apollo Belvedere, holds a golf club and ball as if to advance the claim to antiquity of the native game. In this same year, 1784, Allan had actually designed a diploma for the Honourable Company of Golfers, an Edinburgh

Figure 72





73, ALEXANDER NASMYTH; [ Portrait of Dugald Stewart and his family ], c.1790, Private collection,



74, ALEXANDER NASMYTH; [ 3rd. Earl of Rosebery and his family at Dalmeny House ], c.1790 Private collection,



club of which he was elected an honorary member in 1785, in recognition of "his good services done the society".<sup>27</sup> Around the same time he would have painted an anonymous Edinburgh archer and his family, the picture, still in the possession of the Royal Company of Archers, being typical of his "familiar...groups" and adapting a drawing of a mother and child from his Italian sketchbooks.

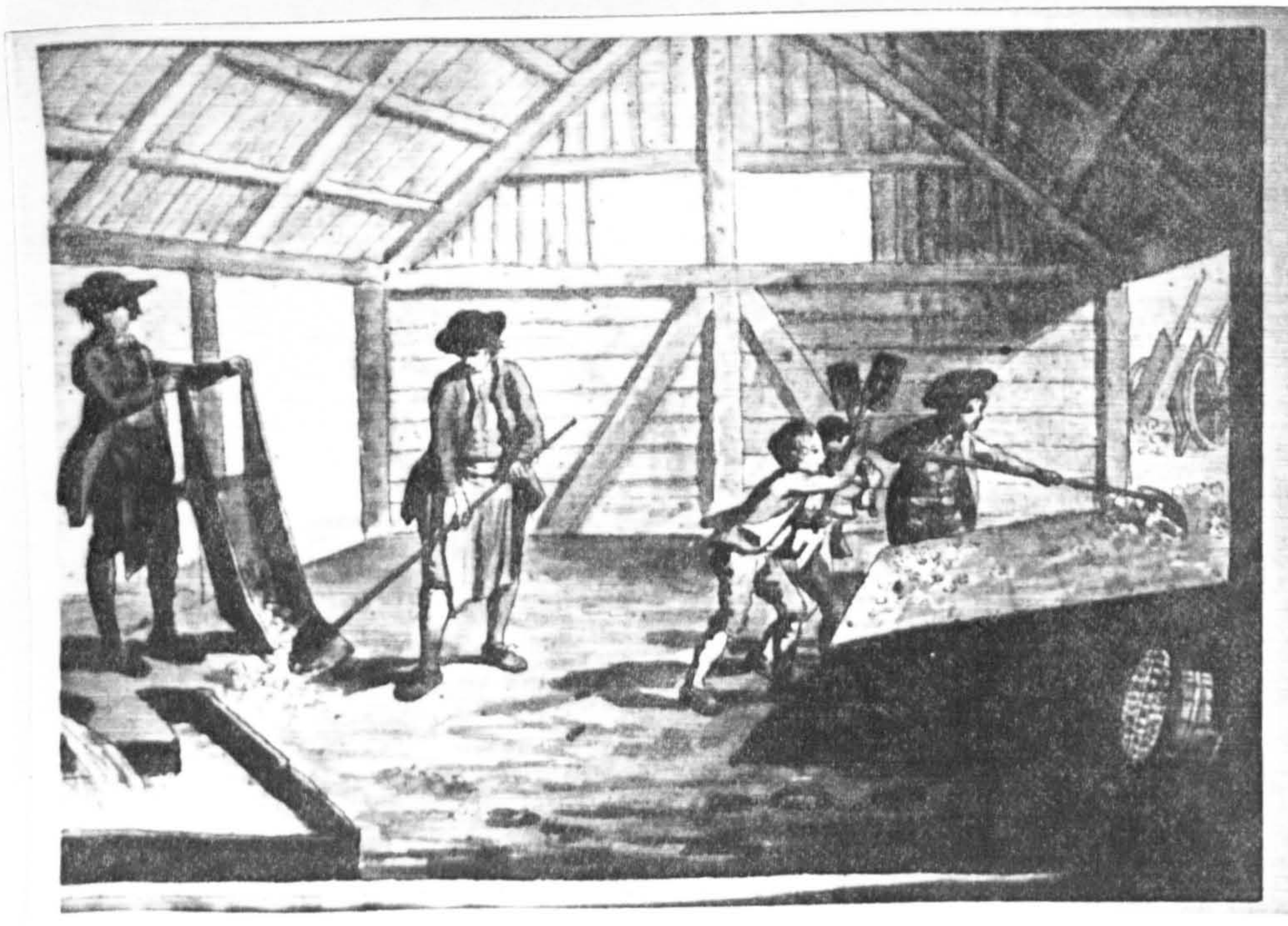
A more important election than his admission to the Honourable Company of Golfers was Allan's being appointed Master of the Trustees' Academy in 1786, the assured income of one hundred and twenty pounds per annum allowing him to give up the travelling involved in painting family groups in the grounds of their estates.<sup>28</sup> No example of this kind of picture, which he seems to have thought "the most difficult and lest profitable", is known to have come from his hand later than this date.<sup>29</sup> The "Notion" of having families painted "in familiar case in groups", which Allan had very largely introduced to Scotland, continued to be satisfied by Alexander Nasmyth in such pictures as those of Lady Honyman and her children, Dugald Stewart and his family, or, closest of all to Allan's work in its details and atmosphere, the scene of the third Earl of Rosebery and his family before Dalmeny House.<sup>30</sup>

Surely the most sympathetic of Allan's family groups is that painted for the Erskines of Mar, the family for which his father had worked as Shoremaster. Three of the children depicted in the painting are said to have been born blind, according to family tradition an omen that the Earldom of Mar was to be restored.<sup>31</sup> The fact of their blindness is of more than passing anecdotal interest. Without such knowledge, many a viewer must nevertheless have been struck by the apparent absorption of the little boy in the centre as he gently taps on his xylophone. Upon learning of the peculiar family misfortune, and noting a similarly distant, almost vacant expression on the face of the sister kneeling by her mother, the attentive viewer may come to realise the full subtlety of Allan's art. The little girl has recently plucked a posy of flowers, perhaps appreciating their scent the more because she cannot see them. In the same way, her brother is rapt in the sound of his own music, as Allan shows him enjoying another of the five senses. Meanwhile, their young sister Charlotte, just old enough to crawl, tugs at the skirt of their father's coat, reassured by this touch that he is near. Then, to offer the sharpest contrast he could, Allan equipped their elder brother with a bow and arrows, as he aims at the top hat which he can see so clearly in the branches above him. The allusions are pointed indeed, and all the more moving because they could have been appreciated, in their

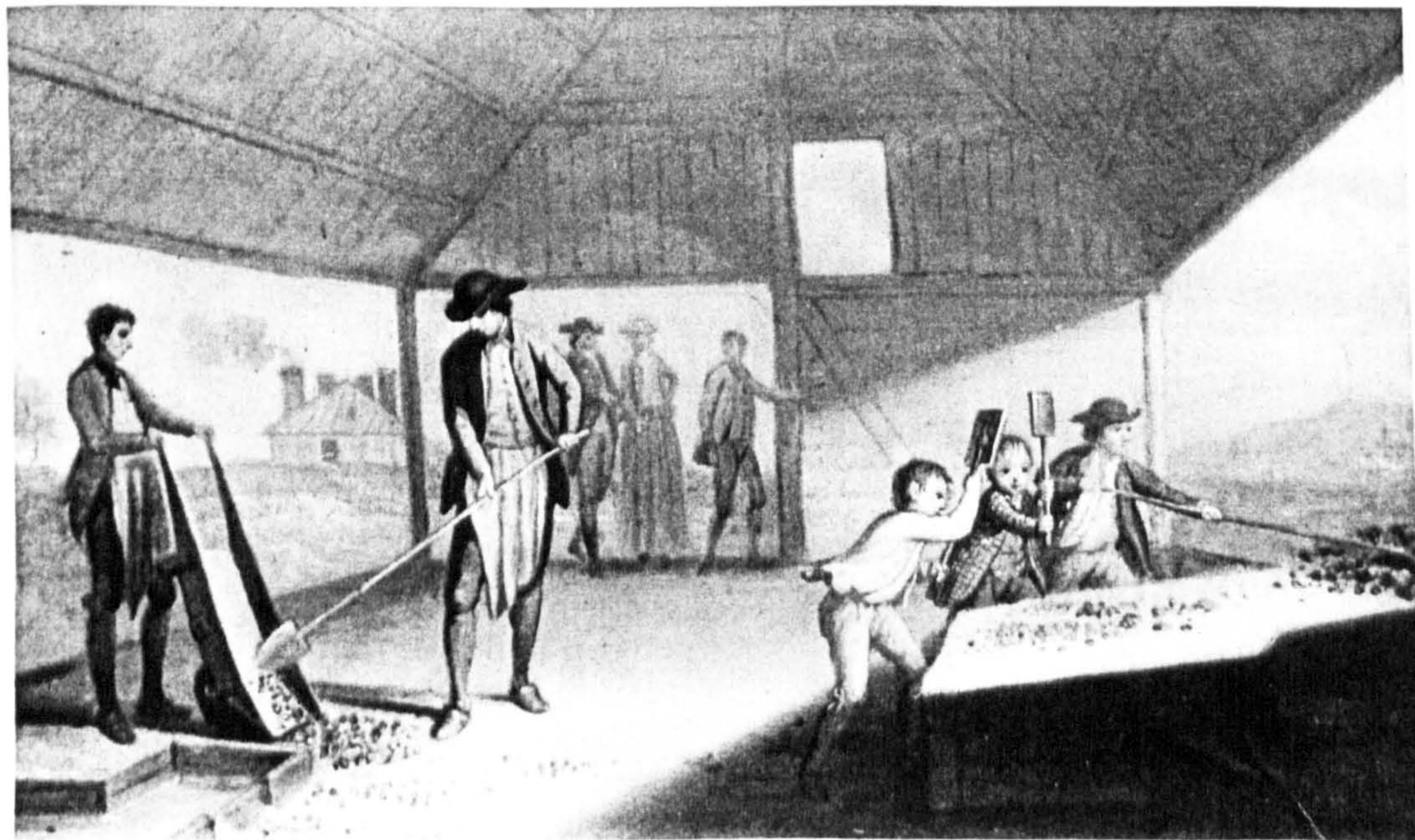
Figure 73  
Figure 74

PLATE VII





75. [Breaking the ore at the Earl of Hopetoun's lead mines, Leadhills], c. 1785, Pen & wash 6¼ x 9½; private collection.



76. [ Breaking ore at Leadhills ], c. 1785, Oil on canvas 15 x 22 (part of a set of four). Private collection (JHB).



own time, only by the Mar family of Alloa and those who, like Allan, knew them well.

During the several occasions when he stayed further along the coast at Hopetoun House, when the various members of the Hope family were not sitting to him for individual portraits or, in the case of the younger ones, perhaps having a few drawing lessons, Allan was free to sketch the landscape along the Firth of Forth, or to make copies of the paintings in the Earl's collection.<sup>32</sup> In fact, it seems that the artist, diffident by nature as he admitted to being, made the same favourable impression on Lord Hopetoun as he had earlier made on Sir William Hamilton, who considered "Lady Cathcart's little painter" to be "one of the greatest geniuses" he had ever met.<sup>33</sup> Not only was he taken to Leadhills in order to view the Earl's smelting works there, later making a number of sketches and working-up four small oils recording the process of lead extraction, Allan was encouraged to take some part in the social life at Hopetoun. His humorously informal sketch of a concert party there, perhaps of professional musicians but more probably of gentlemen amateurs like Sir Gilbert Elliot or the Earl of Kelly, might be thought of no more personal significance than his drawing of a celebration held by Lord Hopetoun's colliers, were it not for an account of an incident which occurred at Hopetoun House during one of Allan's protracted visits. A troupe of professional Italian singers had performed the finest arie to a great party without eliciting any response other than "the most solemn gravity", since "not a tenth of the audience understood the words":

"A splendid entertainment followed of good cheer. As the exhilarating glass went round the Earl said, 'Mr. Allan, we have heard much of the finest Italian music; will you be so good as to give us a specimen of one of your best Scotch songs, such as I have often heard you sing?' This request was most readily complied with, and . . . every verse produced convulsions of laughter, so that they were scarcely able to keep their seats." <sup>34</sup>

What adds to the humour of the situation, of course, is the fact that Allan was among the few there who understood the Italians' language. To judge from his scenes of Italian festivities, he knew something of their music too. Perhaps of more value than its humour, and certainly of more relevance to an appraisal of Allan's art as distinct from an account of his life, is the light which this anecdote throws on the background to his later illustration of Scottish songs.<sup>35</sup>

His depiction of a Hopetoun concert, slight though the drawing is, and informal as the gathering appears to be, is of some importance for the position it occupies in Allan's *oeuvre*, being both a form of group portrait and a representation of contemporary Scottish life. It can be

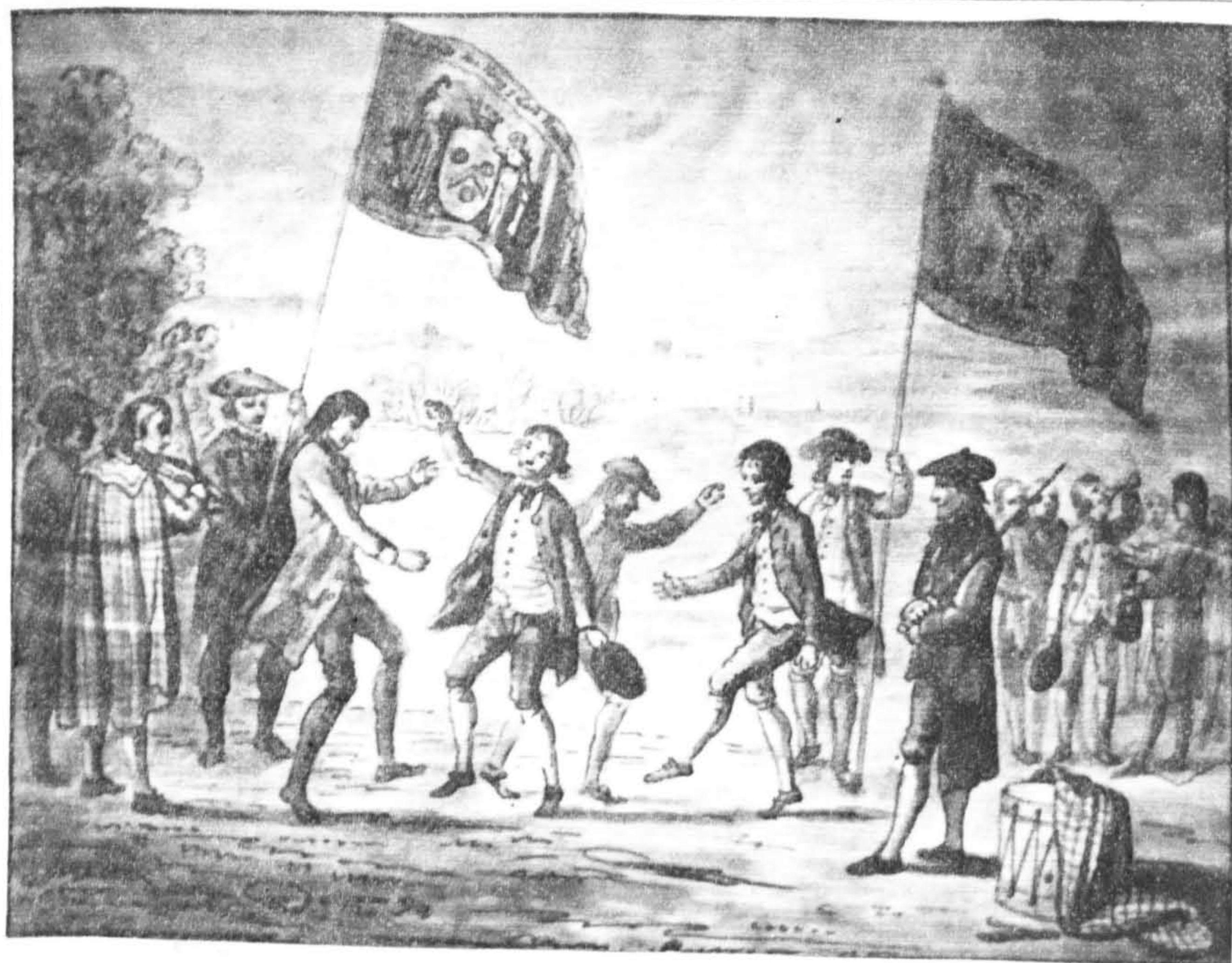
Figure 75

Figure 76

PLATE XIV

Figure 77





77. [Celebration held by the Earl of Hopetoun's colliers], c.1780/85, Pen & wash 11 x 14 1/4, Hopetoun House



78. [Portrait of David Allan, father of the artist], c. 1760/65, Pen and ink 8 x 6, National Galleries of Scotland, Department of Prints and Drawings.



seen as existing in a middle ground between the portraiture of posed individuals and the recording of actual events, in this case typical of genteel recreation, into which certain known individuals are introduced. In fact, with some obvious exceptions, portraits can themselves be regarded as depictions of typical scenes of their age. In the very simplest sense, they afford an immediate, visual description of clothes, hairstyles, furniture and interior decoration then fashionable. Those which do not provide even this historical information would, in the eighteenth century, include allusive or allegorical works in which, for example, Mrs. Siddons portrays the Tragic Muse or Mr. Garrick casts in his lot with Comedy, as well as that host of minor portraits "in the character of" this or that minor deity, personification or figure from popular literature.<sup>36</sup> While it is hardly a scene from *contemporary* life, Allan's posthumous portrait of the first Earl of Hopetoun has some historical significance. The features from a head of the Earl by Aikman were made the basis of a full-length portrait in which he is shown holding the plans of that Hopetoun House which preceded the present Adam building, a wing of this earlier house being seen in the background.<sup>37</sup>

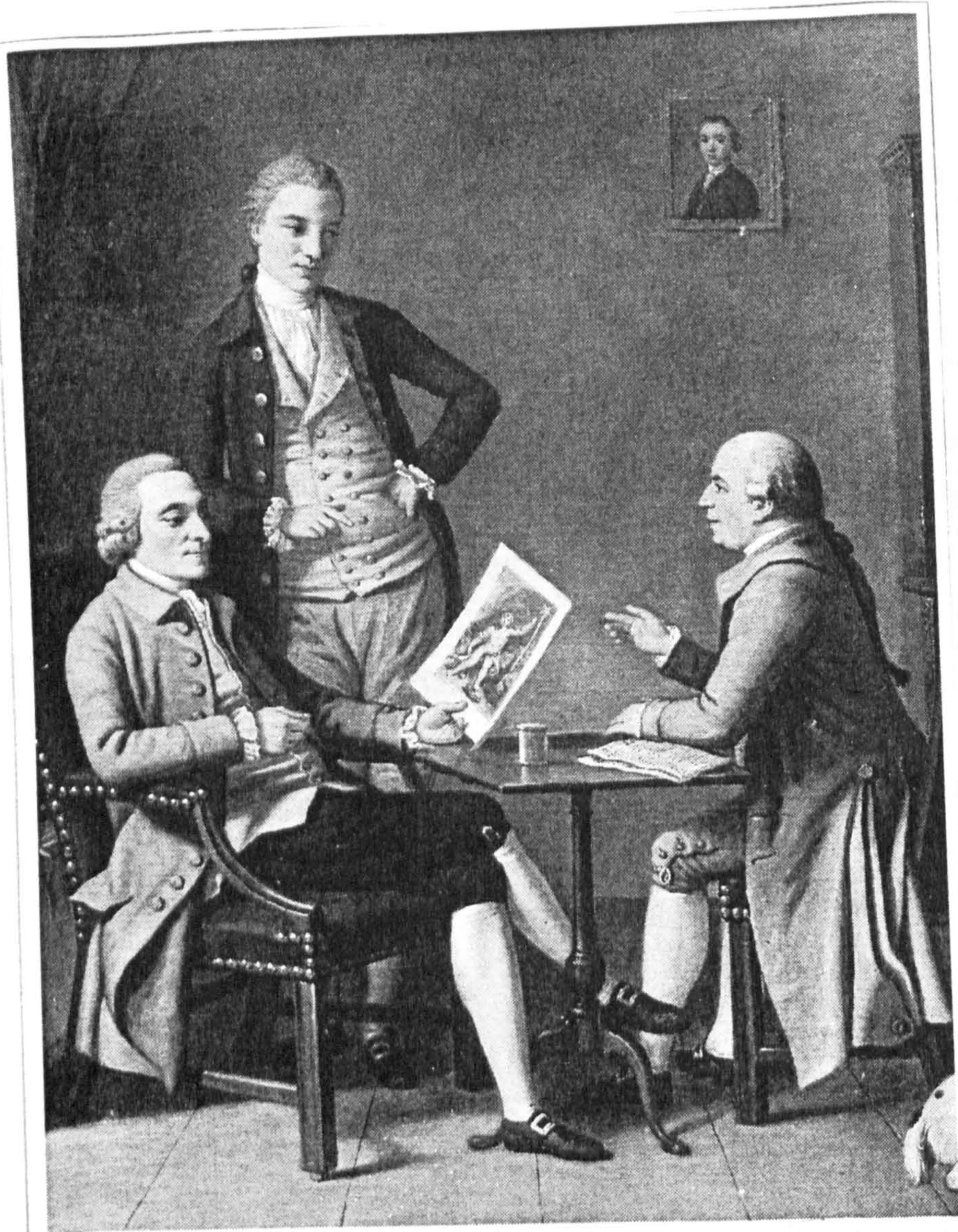
Of greater social significance are the glimpses portraits often provide of the typical interests and polite accomplishments of the time, or even, remembering Zoffany in particular, the theatrical conventions. Thus, lords and ladies share glasses of claret or dishes of tea, play musical instruments or games of billiards, while Macklin - in a work which Allan appears to have known - is depicted in his famous reinterpretation of the rôle of Shylock.<sup>38</sup> So too Allan portrayed his father playing the recorder and Robert Foulis inspecting his academy, some of the Cathcart family at a cricket match, members of the Society of Antiquarians, or the anonymous musicians at Hopetoun House.<sup>39</sup>

It is in such cases that one specialised kind of group portrait, the Conversation Piece, comes into its own, being expressly developed for the depiction of friends and relations engaged in some favourite, shared activity. The concept of sharing is fundamental to the genre. Individual figures within these works are linked by kinship, situation, or a common field of interest, as general and wide-ranging as music or ancient sculpture, or as specific and ephemeral as an experiment with an air pump. From the smallest group in the familiar surroundings of a library or country estate to the largest assembly of Academicians or brother officers, Conversation Pieces entail some degree of interrelationship among those depicted, some narrative interest in the scene arrested upon the canvas. Hogarth, one of the earliest practitioners of the style in

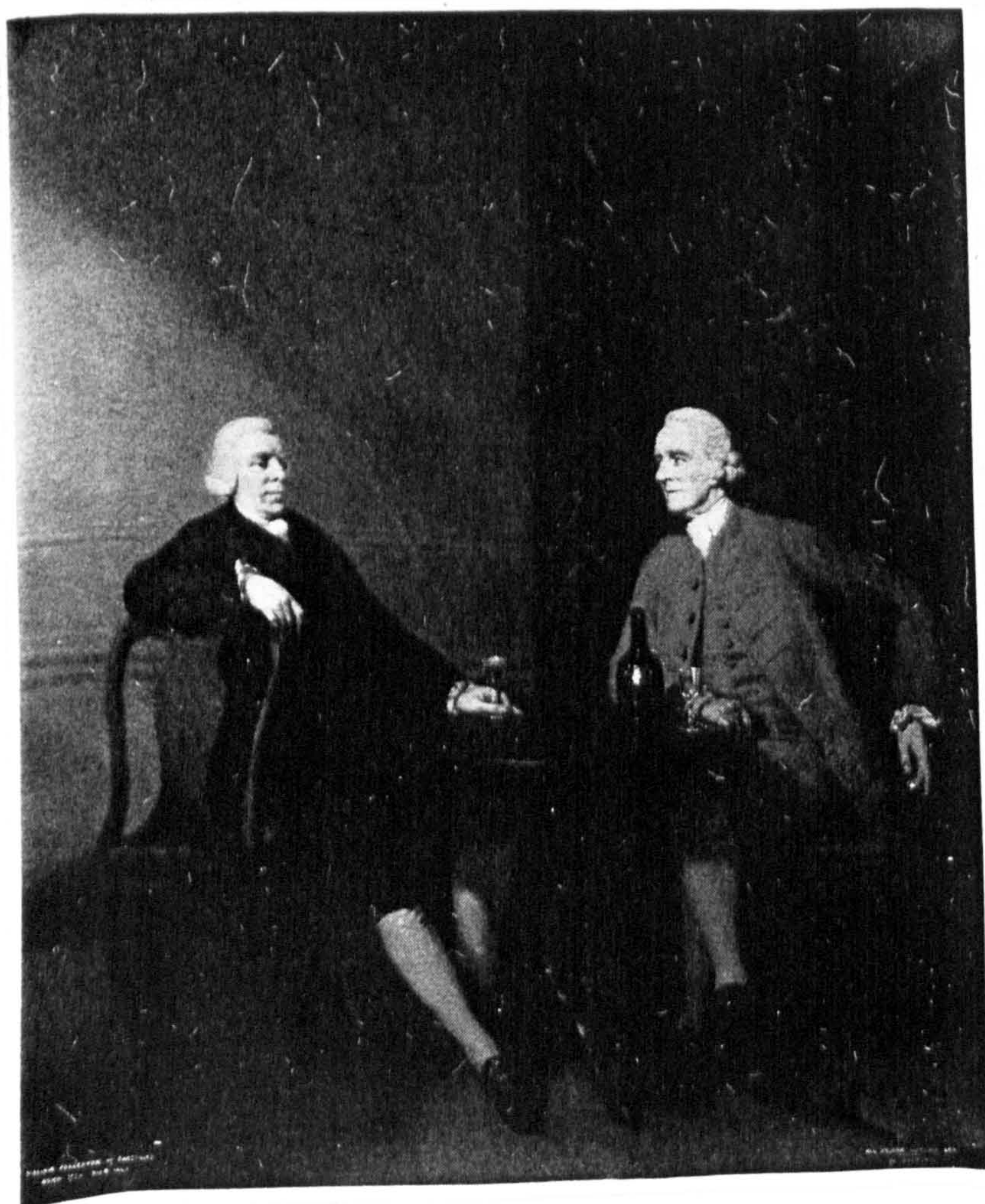
Figure 1

Figure 78





Detail of PLATE IX.



79. JOHN THOMAS SETON; [ William Fullarton of Carstairs and Captain Lewis ], 1773. Oil on canvas 29½ x 24½. National Galleries of Scotland.



England, effects a reconciliation between the portrayal of a large number of people, with several subsidiary areas of interest, and the depiction of a simple, instantly grasped central theme, in his well-known painting of the Wollaston family. Consisting of sixteen main figures, it is actually divided into two smaller scenes, each of a group arranged around a table, the one supporting teacups while cards are dealt at the other. The whole picture is nevertheless artfully linked by the figure of Mr. Wollaston himself, glancing to one group of friends while indicating the other with a momentary gesture. He holds the painting together as a whole, just as in reality he provides the bond among all the people in it.

PLATE IX

That which links the characters in one of Allan's finest Conversations, usually known as "The Connoisseurs", is their common culture and interests. The intimate grouping, more typical of the genre than Hogarth's piece, and in its easy informality suggestive of a French influence, is set in a room furnished plainly with a small table, two chairs and a bookcase-bureau, on which a couple of books are carelessly placed.<sup>40</sup> A curtain has been drawn back fully to admit the morning light, enabling two men - possibly father and son - to study a print of Raphael's "St. John in the Wilderness", before passing it to a third seated opposite. Equally, the print may just have been given to the father for his opinion. In a sense, the attempt to find any more precise motivation for the action is unnecessary, though it might add some anecdotal potential to decide whether the print has been taken from the portfolio leaning against a chair or is about to be added to it. The fact that the boards are already unlaced would suggest the former. It is enough that the print, the portfolio and the books are there. In the reality of eighteenth-century Edinburgh, the men were brought together for the moment by their shared interest in art, just as it is art, through the medium of the painting, which preserves their images and friendship. The print is forever there and still to be appreciated, though the three sitters - like the portrait of a fourth, set on the wall behind - are known today only from this painting.<sup>41</sup> That is, the group ideally fulfils the purpose of a Conversation Piece, and, in doing so, exactly meets Allan's own theoretical expectations:

"I woud bend towards the small Domestic and conversation style as it tends most to improvement, & the most useful as it is the means of everlastingly joining frends together on the canvace." <sup>42</sup>

In this aim and practice, he had few Scottish predecessors. There was Seton, with paintings from the 1770's, and earlier still there had been Gawen Hamilton, one of Hogarth's chief competitors. Even that curious



double portrait of Alexander Runciman and John Brown can be considered as a Conversation, the two artists being seen as they discuss a passage from *The Tempest*, the former "making a damnable face" as Brown finds fault with his interpretation of the scene.<sup>43</sup> An appearance, or at least a suggestion of eavesdropping is an essential quality of the genre if a painting is to create an atmosphere of informality. A tension will, in any case, be inevitable between the impression these pieces must make and the actual process of their execution. The paintings have to be composed and gradually built up; the scene depicted must appear artless, natural and momentary. The action of returning a print, as in "The Connoisseurs", is so inconsequential that only when every detail is questioned does the viewer realise why this particular moment was chosen. Only by having the print thus turned towards him can he see its subject as well as the faces of the three sitters. At the very least, this establishes that the reason for the meeting was cultured and liberal rather than material and prosaic, an interest in the Old Masters rather than a dry discussion of some point in a legal document.

Allan's working method in preparing such groups may be established from a number of letters to Sir James Grant. With one, he enclosed a sketch of a proposed Conversation Piece, requesting an opinion of this initial idea. Presumably, most other commissions were carried out at less inconvenient distances than that between Edinburgh and Grantown on Spey. Despite this difficulty, and in spite of what has been suggested, Allan disliked working from "personal portrait sketches and . . . a lay-figure", only having recourse to the former when there was no alternative, and apparently eschewing the latter entirely: <sup>44</sup>

"Dear Sir

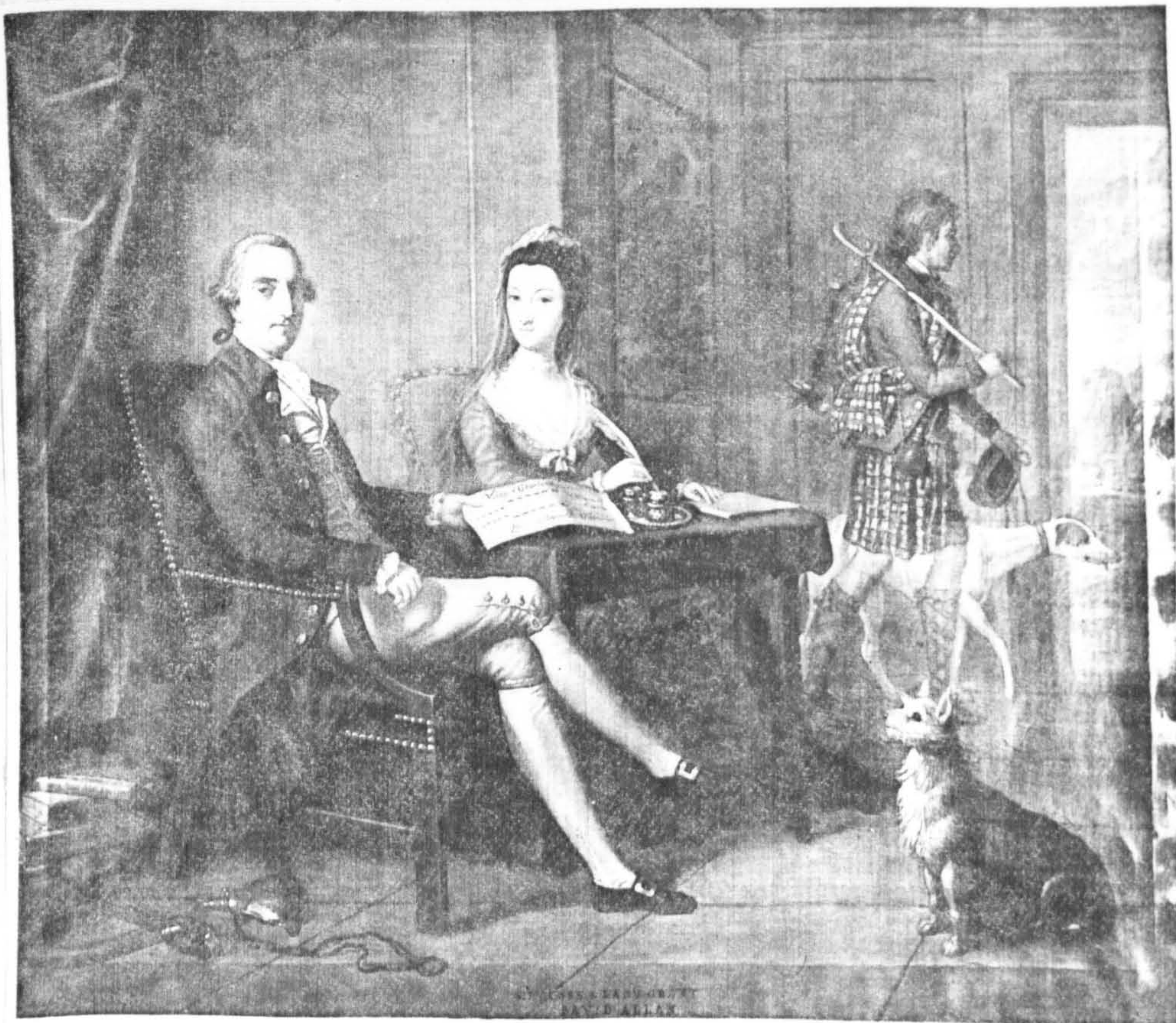
Ed<sup>r</sup> June 13<sup>th</sup> 1785

I received the honour of yours with the two Black lead Drawings & I flatter myself to make an agreeable Groupe of three figures, Mr Duff Lady Ann & Lady Grant & has inclosed my present Idea of the composition & begs your remarks on it if aproved off I will get some persons of their stature to sit by an organ which will be my next step to study nature, Mr D. has a wig pray let me know what colour or powdered or whether it should be his own light Brown hair tyed & particularly the colour of Eyebrows & Eyes of both him & Ly Ann Duff we must suppose them all many years younger & at the time Mr D. lived I think it would make a pretty picture & about the size of Sr Wm. Hamiltons- & its price is 15 guineas, this price being three portraits should be the same if agreeable your own should be twelve but I only take ten Each as you have been good to me If you wished to have the picture sent to France soon it is possible for me to send it in about a month, if not in a hurry I could do easily by Nov<sup>r</sup> or Dec<sup>r</sup> when I return to Town, will remain here this month & if you do me the honour to write it will find me even if I was out of Town, the plan of Grantown will do exceeding well to put in the picture

I have prepared yours, for Ly Ann D. & your own is well advanced, in this month I will have the heads & necessary parts finished so the other might go when you think proper I have the honour to be truly

Sir your oblig<sup>d</sup> Ser<sup>t</sup> D. Allan <sup>45</sup>



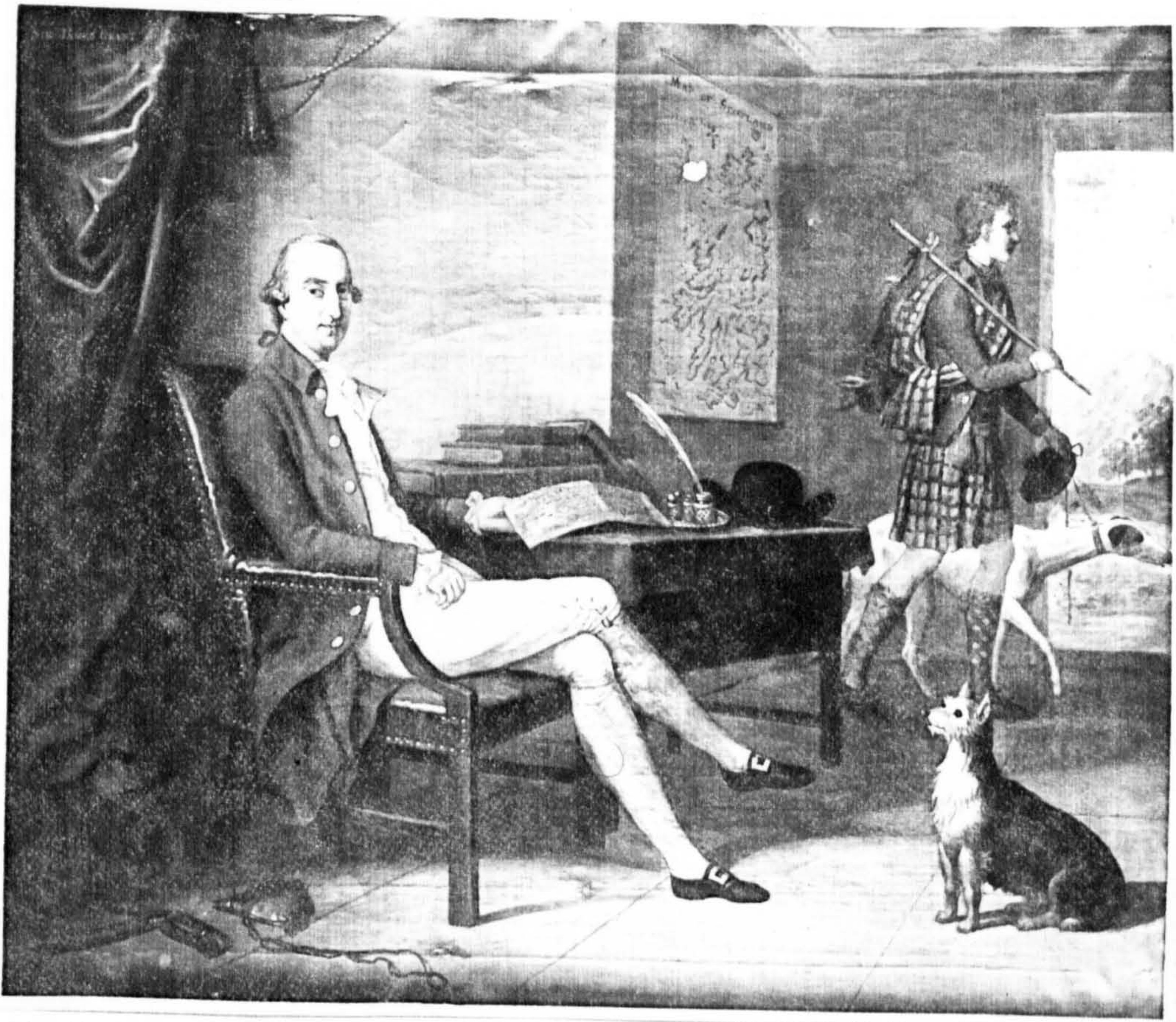


80, [Portrait of Sir James Grant of Grant with his wife], 1780. Oil on canvas 42 x 52, private collection,



81, [Portrait of Sir William Hamilton with his first wife], dated 1770. Oil on copper 18 x 24, Private collection.



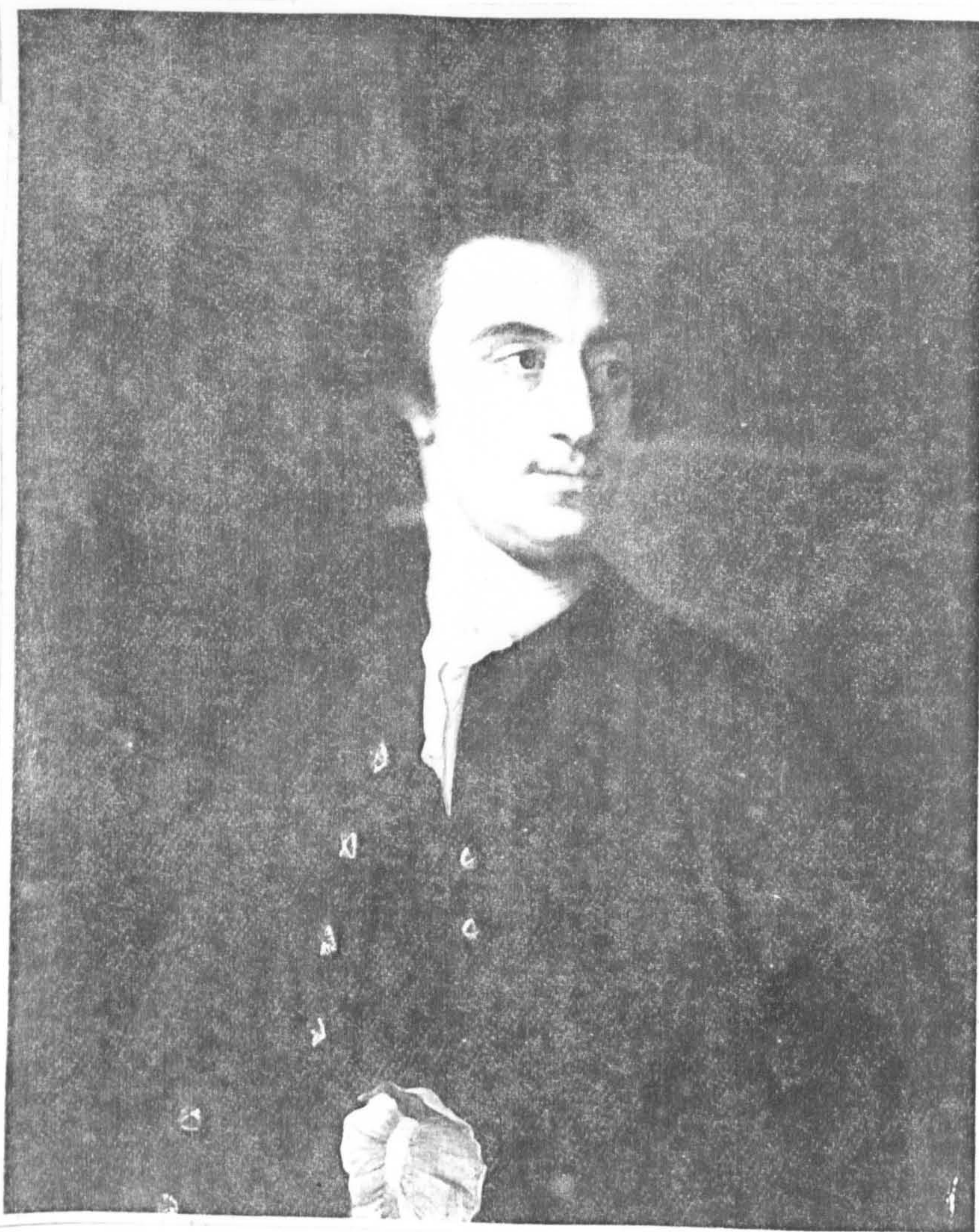


82. [Portrait of Sir James Grant; variation on Fig. 801, c. 1785. Oil on canvas 41½ x 50, private collection.]

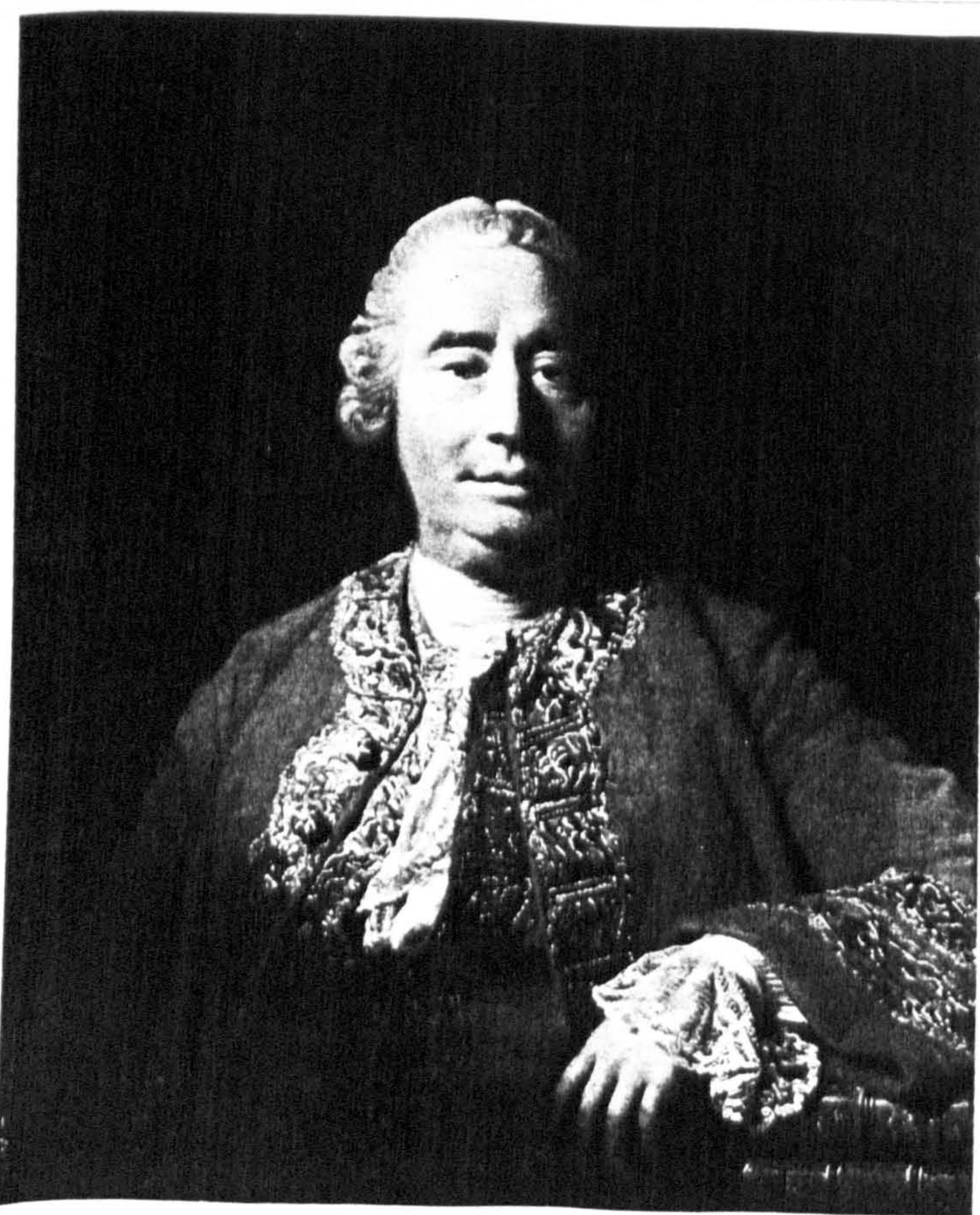


[Figure 115, between pages 168-69.]





83. [ Portrait of Sir James Grant of Grant ],  
c. 1780. Oil on canvas 30½ x 25. Private  
collection (S).



84. ALLAN RAMSAY; [ Portrait of David Hume ],  
1766. Oil on canvas 30x25, National Gall-  
eries of Scotland.



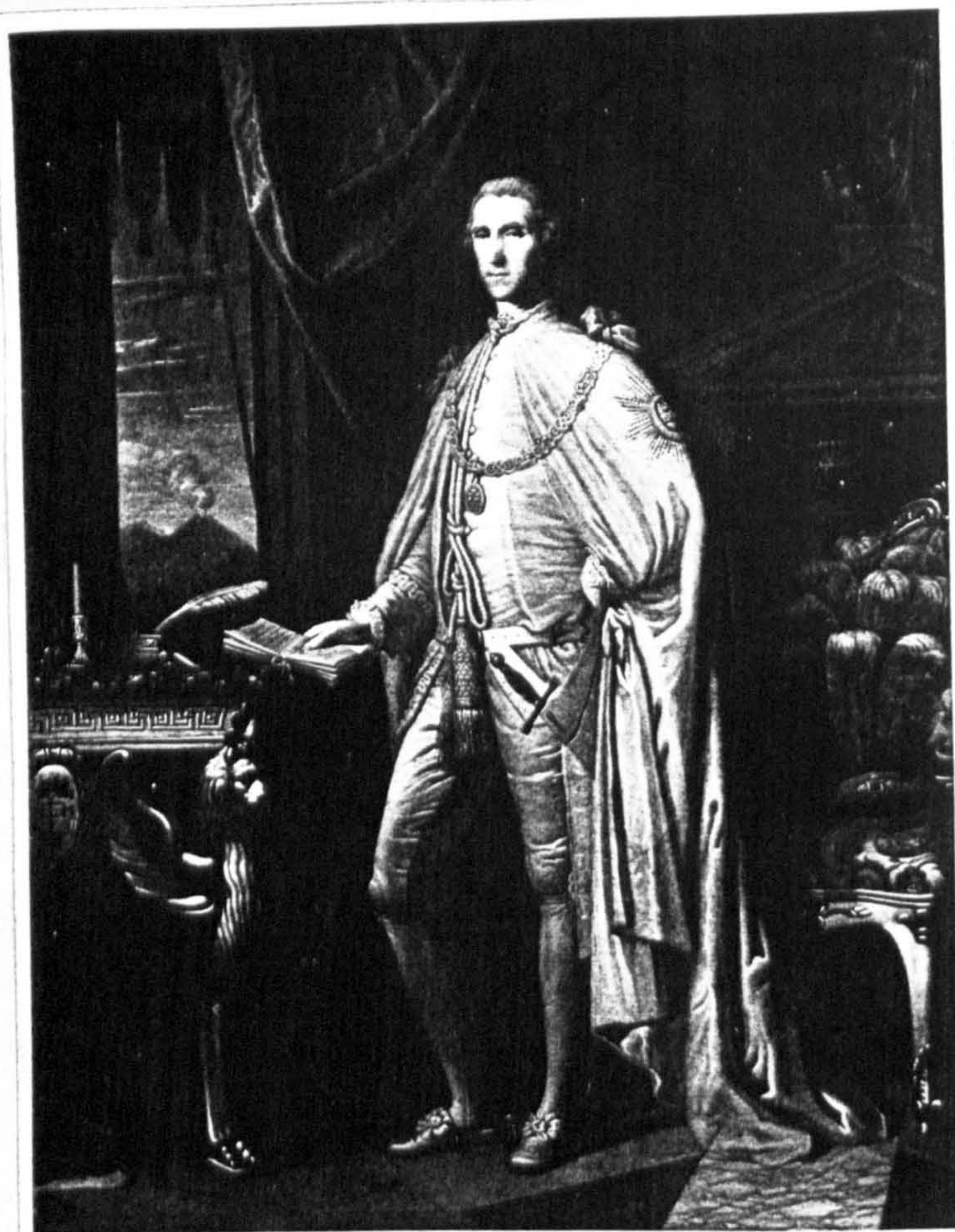
85. ALLAN RAMSAY; [ Portrait of Jean-Jacques  
Rousseau ], 1766. Oil on canvas 29¾ x 24¾,  
National Galleries of Scotland.



The enclosed sketch, entitled "Ly A. D. playing Ly G blowing the Organ & Mr D. attentive", is again an ideal example of the Conversation Piece, and shows three members of a family sharing in the pastime of music-making in the familiar surroundings of their home. Unfortunately, no finished painting of this subject in oils is known, the idea having apparently been abandoned or modified in the summer of 1786. The only Conversations associated with the Grant family are that of 1780 and a later variation upon it. The earlier portrays Sir James and his wife, with a *ghillie* and a couple of dogs, and is clearly based on a painting of ten years before showing Sir William Hamilton, his first wife and a *corriere volante* at a villa on the Bay of Naples. This repetition may actually have been suggested by the patron, who could have seen the Hamilton group at the Royal Academy in 1779. Nevertheless, the artist himself was nothing if not economical, and the figure of Sir James in the double portrait was itself repeated as a single full-length in a setting identical even to a map of Scotland on the wall. Again, he was later to make one sitter in the Hope family group, Lady Eliza, the lone subject of a couple of small posthumous portraits, each of which reproduces exactly the pose of the larger painting, repetitions presumably requested by the family in *memoriam*.<sup>46</sup> On a lighter note, one of the dogs in the first plate for Allan's edition of *The Gentle Shepherd* has clearly been chosen from a study of Sir James Grant's terrier. Allan never relinquished his sketchbooks, nor did he ever forget a useful drawing.

In the Grant double-portrait as in the Hamilton group, Allan took care to present his sitters in as careless a guise as possible, whilst yet — bearing in mind that they were ladies and gentlemen of the Enlightenment — maintaining an air of culture and assurance. It is a poise similar to that seen most memorably in Ramsay's paired portraits of Hume and Rousseau. Neither the informality of the one nor the relaxation of the other can detract from the sitters' self-possession, or allow a viewer to forget the power of their reason and imagination. There is no redundant display of learning; their dignity is innate and unaffected, the artist recreating in each painting both the appearance and attitude of its subject. Rousseau, shrouded as ever in simple Armenian garb, turns in upon himself and away from any spectator. Hume, on the other hand, comfortable and genial in red and gold, confronts the viewer with the same steady gaze that he turned on the "narrow limits of human understanding".<sup>47</sup> When compared with Ramsay's earlier portrait of Hume when Keeper of the Advocates' Library, this painting is almost unsettling in its directness. For all the ease of the pose, and despite the careless — or artful — disarray of





86, [Portrait of Sir William Hamilton] 1775  
Oil on canvas 89 x 71, Inscribed bottom  
left; "Painted by D. Allan, and by him  
humbly presented to the British Museum,  
Anno Dom<sup>i</sup> 1775", The British Museum.



87, ANNE FORBES; [Portrait of David Allan ],  
1781, Oil on canvas 15 x 12 (formerly in  
an oval frame), Scottish National Portrait  
Gallery.



waistcoat and shirt, Hume's arm rests firmly and resolutely on a couple of leather-bound volumes, his weighty and densely argued writings contrasting with the delicate, airy fineness of the lace cuff brushing over them.

For all that he is shown wearing the Order of the Bath, there is no confusing Allan's presentation of Sir William Hamilton in a Conversation Piece with that in a later portrait, over seven feet high, of the same subject. In this, Sir William is attired in all the splendour of his state robes. A Greek vase nearby, an allusion to his antiquarian interests and famous collection, appears almost as an imperial trophy. When Allan presented this portrait to the British Museum, in which Hamilton's "Noble Collection of interesting and beautiful monuments of Antiquity" was already stored, he explained its purpose as neatly as he was later to describe "the small Domestic and conversation style":

"I have inclosed the bill of Lading and hopes to be excused for sending the picture so large, but I have thought best in fully imitating his resemblance to the life, it was best to add likewise his Character as a man of taste; which is expressed by the different things about him," <sup>48</sup>

In the earlier work, Hamilton is shown not as the Plenipotentiary but as a private individual taking a few moments away from affairs of state to appreciate his wife's playing of the spinet. Again his artistic tastes are indicated, in this case by a Correggio and a bust of Serapis, but his duties as an ambassador are not neglected. The *corriere* has just been dispatched with a sealed letter, and another bundle of correspondence lies on the table at left, incidentally obscuring Sir William's violin.

This form of almost iconographic allusion to the tastes and interests specific to an individual was, and is, a particularly obvious device and one favoured by many portraitists. Allan was no exception. His youthful self-portrait spares no effort in proclaiming his devotion to Antiquity and academic classicism. When finished his sketch of a triumphal arch, he can turn to the red chalk drawing by "A. Carracci" on his table. Later, he thought it sufficient to be seen simply as an artist, in Anne Forbes' small canvas of 1781.<sup>49</sup> His companion portrait, a particularly sensitive and assured painting, shows her glancing round from a drawing board in a manner reminiscent of a poetess from the Herculaneum frescoes which Allan had studied so thoroughly.<sup>50</sup>

Two more of Allan's Scottish colleagues in the arts are also accompanied by their "attributes". The architect James Craig, predictably enough, is seen with his plans for the New Town of Edinburgh, another drawing, showing his proposed elevation for Physicians' Hall, having

Figure

PLATE III

Figure 87

PLATE V





88. [Portrait of James Tassiel, c. 1780/81, Oil on canvas 30 x 25, Scottish National Portrait Gallery.



Detail of Figure 88.





89, JAMES TASSIE; [ Portrait of David Allan ],  
inscribed signature and date, 1781, Paste  
Medallion 4 x 3 (approx). Scottish National  
Portrait Gallery.





90. "Prize of the Silver Golf, at Edr., 1787".  
Pen and watercolours over pencil 8 $\frac{3}{4}$  x 6 $\frac{1}{4}$ ,  
National Galleries of Scotland, Department  
of Prints and Drawings, D 387.



fallen to the floor. The informality of this modest "cabinet" picture is of a kind with that of Sir James Grant of Grant, in which the sitter holds the plan of Grantown on Spey which Allan agreed would "do exceeding well to put in the picture".<sup>51</sup> Both these pictures are in marked contrast to the life-size portrait of the first Earl of Hopetoun mentioned earlier, a contrast not confined to difference of scale and presentation. The plans of Hopetoun were intended for a grand private residence. In the period which saw Argyll's village of Inveraray and Sinclair's town of Thurso, James Craig and Sir James Grant present their own visions of "improvement" for society at large.

The second of Allan's colleagues in the arts to be thus painted with his "attributes" was a friend of long standing, Allan having known him since his time at the Foulis Academy. James Tassie, who modelled "most correct likenesses in basso relieve" of Allan and his wife, supposedly "under the direction of the painter himself", looks up from studying his own cast of the Strozzi Medusa, and appears on the point of welcoming a companion, or requesting his opinion.<sup>52</sup> Some companions must have enjoyed the joke hatched by the two friends in this portrait. Tassie, whose exquisitely modelled portrait medallions preserve the features of his contemporaries as in stone, has here been captured by Allan holding the most appropriate of all Antique cameos.

An easy informality is the hallmark of much of Allan's portraiture, and is particularly memorable in a late example, dating from 1787. By bringing together elements from two distinct though related aspects of portraiture, he combines with specific allusion to the interests of a single subject those anecdotal glimpses of a wider contemporary life more normally found in Conversation Pieces. The surgeon William Inglis, one of that Company of Golfers of which Allan had been an Honorary member since 1785, stands before a busy stretch of Leith Links, resplendent in his cocked hat and uniform of black breeches and red jacket faced with blue. To judge from his unbuttoned waistcoat no less than the view of the course behind him, the round has so far been a strenuous one. Among the background scenes is one drawn from another area of Allan's interests, the depiction of characters and events familiar in the capital. Every year since its foundation in 1744, the Company held a competition at which a club, ornamented with silver golf balls, was paraded, and in 1787 Allan added this scene to his series of "Scotch Figures" as well as to the Inglis portrait.<sup>53</sup>

On a rise above all this, a tight-lipped Inglis pauses to see the result of his last stroke, as his caddy hurries along behind, perhaps

Figure 82

Figure 88  
Figure 89

PLATE VI

Figure 90





91. [ *A Ghillie* ], 1780. Pencil on prepared paper 9 1/4 x 6 1/4, the figure 7 1/4 high. National Galleries of Scotland, Department of Prints and Drawings, D 4613.



with a report on their current standing in the competition. There is something in this commanding figure seen against a panorama of distant activity which brings to mind a particular portrait type, that of a general in heroic pose on the battlefield. The notion is at first amusing, if not startling, the result a commemorative portrait in which the informal and the official are held in fine equilibrium. The caddy appears both as an essential adjunct to the game and as a ragged parody of an *aide de camp*, the jacket badge is in effect an insignia of rank, and the Silver Club remains the standard of the Company, of which, significantly, Inglis was twice Captain. The association is not gratuitous but apt, the portrait among Allan's finest pieces of characterisation.

Golf had for long been popular in Scotland, being one of the sports banned by James II in an attempt to encourage the practice of archery. Some ten years before Allan's first connexion with the Honourable Company, Captain Topham, noting that the game was "peculiar to Scotland", had reported that "all ranks and ages play at it", apparently in some unorthodox locations.<sup>54</sup> Allan's view of the golfers and onlookers at Leith Links can claim with some justice to be as distinctively Scottish as the vista of Blair Castle with the slaughtered stag. Furthermore, though both are scenes of real life, golf was practised and enjoyed by many more Scots, "from the senator of justice to the lowest tradesman", than could afford, or were permitted, to hunt in the Highlands.<sup>55</sup>

The background to the Inglis portrait is essentially a Genre scene, with anecdote nascent in every group or figure on the course. One golfer heatedly pursues something beyond the canvas; a dog runs in from the same side but closer to the viewer, who wonders if the two events are in some way related. When the number of participants is taken into account, the prospect of losing a ball to the occasional cur seems less alarming than that of being struck by a wayward shot. In a day when golfers did not balk at driving balls over the weathercock of St. Giles', perhaps Allan's allusion to a battle scene is more pointed than appears at first sight.<sup>56</sup>

From his earliest years, Allan had always taken the opportunity to record scenes of the life around him. There followed from his northern journey of 1780, in addition to "the fine family piece" at Blair Atholl and the views of Dunkeld, a number of sketches of Highland characters - a *ghillie*, a piper, a beggar - and some pictures of typical Highland activities.<sup>57</sup> A sketch of a "Highland Family" may later have been worked up into the large oil sold from Allan's studio in 1797, but nothing





92. [Sketch of a Highland marriage custom], c. 1780. Pen and ink over pencil 4 x 6½. The Mitchell Library, Glasgow, Cowie Collection SR 241, 308864, f. 14 recto.

*Tail piece IV. \**



*Head piece V. \**

*Tail piece VI  
Trophy*



*Trophy Tail piece*



Figure 92

beyond a small outline drawing is known of his scene of one boisterous Highland bridal custom, and his print of a "Funeral Procession" was last recorded in 1798.<sup>58</sup> If, as seems likely, this picture were of a Highland funeral, its being paired with a "Highland Dance" may not be as incongruous as might at first sight appear. What with the abundant supply of whisky "as strong as geneva", the provision, of "a sumptuous feast, accompanied by the music of a dozen pipers", and the discharge of pistols with which the ceremony closed, it was little wonder that such an event would have "all the air of a grand festival", or be of some interest to a Lowlander and his public, among whom funerals were "conducted with a silence and a solemnity which makes sorrow appear still more dismal".<sup>59</sup>

Figure 91

Figure 80

More soberly, Allan's *ghillie* found his way into the background of the Conversation Piece for Sir James Grant, while a sketch of the Gow brothers, Niel and Donald, provided him with the basis for a double portrait in oils and a multiplicity of dancing scenes.<sup>60</sup>

The "Highland Dance" was to become a frequent theme. Even in Allan's practice, with his habit of repeating in new combinations figures and groups from several other pictures, this subject is remarkable for the number of variations that are still known. It exists as oil paintings in several sizes, watercolours, etchings and aquatints. There may have been as many as a dozen distinct versions.<sup>61</sup> One was exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1781; another, presumably a watercolour, had "the Landscape part by Paul Sandby".<sup>62</sup>

PLATE I

The largest version, and one of the earliest, is that formerly at Dunimarle and now on permanent loan to the National Gallery of Scotland. As Allan's own comprehensive title makes clear, to term the work a "Highland Dance" is actually a misnomer, though one which accords with the letter of 1780 to Sir William Hamilton, and which serves to distinguish it and variations upon it from works illustrating several customs enacted at Highland weddings. On the verso of the Dunimarle oil is inscribed:

A Highland Wedding  
DAVID ALLAN PINXT  
AT BLAIR IN ATHOL 1780  
FAMOUS NEIL GOW FIDLER  
DONALD GOW BASS  
MOST OF THE OTHERS FROM NATURE

Most versions of the "Highland Dance" have a structure broadly similar to that in this painting. In a couple of wash drawings of the subject, differing in many details from the oil, Allan has in fact simply reversed the composition whilst retaining its centres of interest and





93.

*The Highland Dance*, signed and dated 1783. Etching and aquatint 13 x 20,



94. [ A Highland Dance ], c.1780/90, Pen and watercolours 11¼ x 18½.



95. ANON (?PARKER) after David Allan; [Highland Dancing scene]. Engraving 2 x 3¼, for Joseph Ritson, Published in *Scottish Song* (1794), Volume II.



96. SIR HENRY RAEBURN: [Portrait of Niel Gow], c.1790. Oil on canvas 48 x 39. Scottish National Portrait Gallery.



Figure 93

activity. A group of figures gathered before the dark mass of cottages at one side is balanced on the other by a smaller group beside an earthen bank and a few trees. A clear space is thus created in the centre for the dancers. It is an obvious and conventional composition, one which Allan was to adapt for another scene of dancing, "The Penny Wedding" of fifteen years later. Beyond this human activity in the foreground, the country setting descends gently at first to a second ridge, then falls away into the atmospheric perspective of a landscape of mountain, loch, and gloomy solitude. The few cattle and blackface sheep gazing from a knowe in the middle distance of one variant serve to throw into greater prominence the lonely blue mountains beyond. In one of his wash drawings, in place of these domestic brutes, Allan actually included a distant stag, pausing in its passage along a precipice as though at the sounds of revelry below. Music in this picture is provided by a couple of pipers, left-handed as so often in Allan's work, whether intended for printing or no, but when a much-reduced version of the subject was rather coarsely engraved for a book of Scottish songs, these and other specifically Highland notes were deleted.<sup>63</sup> Even the piper, seated atop a ruinous stone wall, has become a conventional fiddler.

Figure 94

Figure 95

Figure 178

Figure 96

Niel Gow's hold on the fiddle, as depicted by both Allan and Raeburn, was anything but conventional. His skill, and consequent reputation, were just as remarkable. Living in Dunkeld, he was paid five pounds each year to play at the festivals held by the Atholl family, particularly the Duke's birthday at the end of June. In his later years, apparently, he was reluctant to play at all unless to the accompaniment of his brother Donald, whom Allan depicts by the side of Scotland's "king o' rant and reel".<sup>64</sup> It is worth noting that, although the figure of Niel in Wilkie's "Penny Wedding" is manifestly derived from the famous Raeburn portrait, that of Donald can only have come from David Allan. Both brothers, as the inscription on the Dunimarle canvas implies, were requested to sit for their portraits during Allan's stay at Blair.<sup>65</sup>

While Niel Gow's habitual costume of tartan breeks and hose was as distinctive as his low, elbow-tucked hold on the fiddle, his brother and most of the other male guests wear the kilt. To do so before the repeal of the Dress Act in 1782 was, strictly speaking, illegal, but several of Allan's paintings, and the experiences of Dr. Johnson and Boswell in 1773, suggest that its terms were neither so rigorously nor so universally enforced as at first.<sup>66</sup> In the years immediately after Culloden, Allan's amorous soldier in the blue facings of the Black Watch, or more probably





97. [A Highland Wedding], signed & dated 1793.  
Pen and watercolours 13½ x 18. Dundee City  
Art Gallery.



some Fencible formation, would instead of joining them in a wedding celebration have been engaged in hunting down those who

"on any pretence whatsoever, wear or put on the Clothes commonly called Highland Clothes (that is to say) the Plaid, Philebeg, or Little Kilt, Trowse, Shoulder Belts, or any part whatsoever of what peculiarly belongs to the Highland Garb", <sup>67</sup>

The groom sports one of these varieties of the Highland garb, a pair of trews diced with the distinctive *Cath-dath* pattern. This dress, no less than the presence of the Gows, suggests that the wedding is no ordinary one. The traveller and naturalist Thomas Pennant had noted in 1769 that "*truis* were worn by the gentry, and were breeches and stockings made of one piece".<sup>68</sup> In turn, this social circumstance may account for the minister's obvious approval of the mirth and dancing, in contrast to the intolerance of the General Assembly towards such festivities.<sup>69</sup> The musicians have struck up some sprightly air as "a tune for the *Sean Triubas*, an ancient Highland dance where the sporran and kilt are replaced by tartan trews".<sup>70</sup> The piper, presumably after piping the party from the kirk, refreshes himself at the table, a lass standing attentively by with a bottle and a kebbuck. It may be the last time he will be called upon to perform, since Niel and Donald had been known to continue playing "incessantly, for upwards of twelve hours".<sup>71</sup>

Musicians, both pipers and fiddlers, are glimpsed in the backgrounds of other wedding scenes, in which the main intention was to record the customs attendant upon such occasions in the Highlands. Once again there exist several similar pictures by Allan of the same customs, and once more the wedding is not of commoners. The father of the groom is apparently an officer in some Highland regiment, again probably a company of Fencibles. The bride, in being welcomed back from the distant kirk, bows her head to allow the breaking of bread or shortcake above her, after which ceremony - in one drawing - the unmarried girls of the parish scramble to collect the fallen pieces of "dreaming breid". The lines of movement thus created by their upraised or downstretched arms enclose the bride in a protective arc, ensuring that, for the moment, she is the centre of attention. In another version, the same function is performed more gently by a length of ribbon held by two guests. The groom's party, in every case smaller than that of the bride, is also partially arcaded by the gestures of other guests, and the whole wedding group is bracketed by two upraised firearms discharging shots to ward off the Deil.<sup>72</sup> A similar custom prevailed in the Lowlands during the

PLATE II

Figure 97



previous century, to judge from the crudely painted wedding scene sometimes attributed, oddly, to de Witt.

In addition to this documentary detail, anecdotal touches, as might be expected, abound in all these pictures, whether of wedding dances or bridal customs. The secondary male dancer at Blair Atholl - a favourite figure of Allan's - is birling with such abandon that he has already lost his bonnet. Nearby, one lass adjusts a garter before entering the fray. Opposite, the oldest guest is content merely to watch the blythsome bridal, while the one-legged veteran behind him is compelled to do so. A dog, sitting at the edge of the clearing, turns its head as at the arrival of more guests. A serving lad draws the dook from a hogget of ale to ensure that every stoup will be well supplied. The young gallant in uniform, broadsword laid aside, appears to be making the most of his leave, arousing the jealousy or consternation of one lass keeking round the clump of trees. A more friendly rivalry, perhaps, is seen in one group of unmarried girls, distinguished by their wearing snoods around their heads rather than kirches over them, as they snatch for the bridal bread.<sup>73</sup> One enterprising lass holds out a scoggie, or apron, to catch the falling pieces, but another finds her efforts frustrated when her tunag, the light plaid hanging from her shoulder, is seized from behind by a third. While this struggle is watched with amusement by old men and young lads alike, a late arrival is so startled by the report of a gun that she may not collect any bread at all. It is certain that Allan had observed all the human actions as closely as the traditional customs. As his wife and half-brother were later to recall,

"His vigilant eye lay always on the watch, for every eccentric figure, every motley group, or ridiculous incident, out of which his pencil, or his needle, could draw innocent entertainment and mirth." <sup>74</sup>

Despite much evidence to the contrary, encountered both in Allan's paintings and in his writings, this comfortable view of his limited aims has persisted almost without question. That he found a Highland dance "curious" suggests a deeper interest than might be expected of an artist whose only thought was to find amusing or ridiculous peculiarities, and Allan in this picture as in others can be seen to have had a more serious purpose than has previously been allowed him.

The "Highland Wedding . . . at Blair in Athol" was the first subject from Scottish life painted by Allan after his return from Italy. Still wishing he were working "in the invention groupe", that is, as a History painter, it is understandable that he should first have conceived this



picture on a grand scale, and its size, compared to Allan's other scenes of dancing, is quite striking. He must immediately have been conscious of a fundamental dilemma between his first aspirations and his classical training, or at least experienced initially an ambivalent response to his subject. A dance of peasants is not the stuff of the Grand Style. All his pictures of Italian dances and customs had been unambiguously cast as small Genre pieces. Yet scenes of the manners among Scottish Highlanders were, to an alert contemporary, capable of a different interpretation.

Artists were urged to study both nature and "the great works of the great masters, for ever".<sup>75</sup> This study, it was understood, was not to be undertaken for the purpose of "narrow, confined . . . and servile" imitation, but in order that the artistic principles on which a work was created could be apprehended:

"we must not content ourselves with merely admiring and relishing; we must enter into the principles on which the work is wrought; these do not swim on the superficies, and consequently are not open to superficial observers." <sup>76</sup>

In a like manner, a cursory glance at the appearance of Allan's "Highland Dance" is quite insufficient. He may have been fortunate in his contemporaries, in that they, conscious of the significance of the way of life shown in this picture to certain theories of the time, might have approached it in a manner sympathetic to Allan's intentions and receptive to his ideas. The principles upon which his whole presentation is based are those of Enlightenment philosophy, when the attention of writers was turned upon "the natural history of mankind", especially "with regard to the state of mankind in the rude parts of the world".<sup>77</sup> William Robertson, Historiographer for Scotland, Moderator of the General Assembly and Principal of Edinburgh University, with whom Allan seems to have been on friendly terms, held that the study of the "condition and character" of peoples then living a more primitive existence was

"one of the most important as well as instructive researches which can occupy the philosopher or historian. In order to complete the history of the human mind, and attain to a perfect knowledge of its nature and operations, we must contemplate man in all those various situations wherein he has been placed. We must follow him in his progress through the different stages of society, as he gradually advances from the infant state of civil life towards its maturity and decline." <sup>78</sup>

That the Scottish Highlanders were seen as just such an aboriginal race, "ancient and unmixed", perhaps not quite in the "infant state of civil life" but unquestionably of a less polite and elegant cast than, for example, the Edinburgh *Literati*, is readily established. Many writers found both the antiquity of the race and the simplicity of the Highland



life worthy of remark. Like the Greeks in "their unpolished state", as described by Thucydides, the Scottish Highlanders had for long carried weapons at all times, even to church.<sup>79</sup> The irregulars whom Dundee had led to victory in the previous century, men from "the interior parts of the highlands", were viewed retrospectively as

"a people untouched by the Roman or Saxon invasions on the South, and by those of the Danes on the East and West skirts of their country; the unmixed remains of that Celtic empire, which once stretched from the pillars of Hercules to Archangel." <sup>80</sup>

Dr. Johnson, touring the Highlands with Boswell in 1773, observed more circumspectly that

"mountainous countries commonly contain the original, at least the oldest race of inhabitants, for they are not easily conquered, because they must be entered by narrow ways, exposed to every power of mischief from those that occupy the heights; and every new ridge is a new fortress, where the defendants have again the same advantages." <sup>81</sup>

While such martial thoughts are understandable only a generation after the Jacobite rising of 1745 - Johnson seems later to have been reminded of the conquests of the Romans - he also advances sound commercial reasons for the continued difference from the other inhabitants of Scotland of the Highlanders, "a distinct nation, cut off by dissimilitude of speech from conversation with their neighbours".<sup>82</sup> Few strangers would be brought to such barren and rough tracts by the hope of profitable trade, and thus the native inhabitants would be denied the opportunity of "gradual refinement" from commerce with those more prosperous than they. There were, however, other reasons for visiting the north. Only a few years after Johnson, another English visitor, as a diversion from writing *Letters from Edinburgh*, went hunting through these "regions mountainous and wild", and was satisfied with the evidence of primæval cultures which he found there

"As I frequently wandered over the mountains with my gun, I often found a sequestered village, which had little communication with the rest of mankind, that had received scarce any form or fashion from art and human invention; and consequently, was not far remote from its original simplicity", <sup>83</sup>

There may be an echo of Johnson's words in Captain Topham's observation, but he might equally well have been influenced by the writings of Rousseau. Not only was the countryside, or the Highland landscape of muir and ben, an agreeable retreat for the polite, the existence of its rustic inhabitants was seen as ideal, and unchanged for ages. Highland villagers dancing near Loch Tummel could be thought the counterparts of the Swiss peasants of whom Rousseau had written by the shores of Lake



Leman. In effect, and in addition to the romance, and the perceived danger of the Highlands, these still-foreign people could be regarded as the inhabitants of a latter-day Arcadia, beyond the north wind to be sure, but still following an "ancient faith that knows no guile", speaking a language "pure and original", and sentimentally suggesting the days "when mankind were but callans", each

" as free as Nature first made man,  
Ere the base laws of servitude began,  
When wild in woods the noble savage ran," 84

It seems that both Classical and Vernacular could satisfy the same contemporary longings, those for simplicity and purity. In Highland areas, actually termed "the Scots Arcadia", none could be surprised if he were welcomed with an "Arcadian offering of Milk and Cream", or if he heard of acts of fidelity and chivalry comparable to those of ancient heroes.<sup>85</sup> There too, when he had read the legendary fragments with which James Macpherson fed the contemporary imagination, the traveller could feel "an enthusiastic pleasure" in surveying "the brown heath that Ossian was wont to tread, and hear the wind whistle through the bending grass".<sup>86</sup> It was but a short step for many to hail this ancient, blind harper as the northern Homer, "the eldest ballad singer on record", the compositions of each growing from the kind of society in which "human nature shoots wild and free".<sup>87</sup> Allan, when he came to illustrate some Ossianic tales, certainly recognised the potency of such an identification whether or no he agreed with it, and clearly had the famous Antique portrait bust in mind as the prototype for "the last of the race of Fingal".<sup>88</sup>

PLATE XI

While it is of more importance to Allan's illustrations of Scottish literature than to his "groups of the manners", a parallel with the Vernacular movement itself ought not to be overlooked. A rude and "firy" language was seen as another survival from ancient times, better suited to powerful and poetic utterance than speech more refined.<sup>89</sup> In this cultural *milieu*, even the functional Scottish plaid was ennobled, Ramsay for one seeing it as the "First of garbs", one

"So long employed, of such an antique date",<sup>90</sup>

Allan did not neglect the possibilities offered by the plaid of classicising scenes of Scottish Highlanders, and used its folds to heighten the Antique appearance of the group around the bride in his pictures of Highland wedding customs. Contemporaries might have been expected to appreciate the manner in which he equated the pastoral simplicity of the Highlanders with the acknowledged antiquity of the



plaid, which could be disposed in the manner of a classical *toga* or *chlamys*. As Ramsay put it,

"Antiquity contains a certain spell,  
To make ev'n things of little worth excel . . .  
Much more 'tis valu'd, when with merit plac'd,  
It graces merit, and by merit's grac'd." <sup>91</sup>

That Allan, wishing to be employed in his native country, might have found in all this enthusiasm encouragement for a thoughtful depiction of the Highlander is not unlikely.<sup>92</sup> That his painting need not be a modest Genre piece had already occurred to him. Again, the lead had come from literature and literary theory:

"Critics upon works of fiction have laid it down as a rule that remoteness of place, in fixing the choice of a subject, and in prescribing the mode of treating it, is equal in effect to distance of time;- restraints may be thrown off accordingly." <sup>93</sup>

As has already been clarified, remoteness of place generally implies difference of character and *costume*. To decide that because Canada was a distant and savage land in which occurred events "marvellous and wonderful,,the nerve of the epic strain", then a painting of any significant event there, even one involving British officers, is necessarily a History painting is, as has been demonstrated, a wilful distortion of this argument, one which emphasises the less important detail, geographical distance, at the expense of, indeed to the exclusion of, the more significant consideration of difference of *mores*.<sup>94</sup>

Scottish artists did not need to go far from home in order to discover difference of *costume*, and hence find a form of temporal remoteness despite proximity of country and identity of time. Since the Scottish Highlands were the modern Arcadia (even before Edinburgh became the Athens of the North), and since their inhabitants were members of a race preserved by its remoteness in all its ancient simplicity and purity, then of course restraints might be thrown off in describing the customs of these people either in words or in images. Ironically, while the works of those Gaelic poets like Donnchadh Bàn and Mac Mhaighstir Alasdair, men every day acquainted with the scenes and people of the Highlands, were, at this time, rarely published or regarded in the Lowlands, the adaptations of Macpherson, dealing with a legendary past largely of his own conjuring, were wildly successful among the *Literati* of Edinburgh, a prelude to their European fame. It was, apparently, beyond the grasp of most writers or painters to find in the *contemporary* life of the Highlands fit material for artistic treatment, despite the



justification afforded by theory. It is, therefore, all the more remarkable, and all the more indicative of his originality, that David Allan should recognise more possibilities than those found in "the actions of other times".

For all that the wedding depicted is that of some gentleman, Allan's painting "The Highland Dance" is not of some grand event, the proper subject of Invention upon a large scale. One of the earliest foreign travellers to give an account of the Highlands, Captain Burt, observed that "Writers, for the most part" had supported "the Dignity of History" by treating of generals, councils and "the Order and Event of Battles, Sieges and such like", but added that "the Genius of a People has been thought beneath their Notice".<sup>95</sup> For his own part, Burt continued, he

"should be as well pleased to see a Shepherd of Arcadia, free from poetical Fiction, in his rustic Behaviour and little Economy . . . as to know the Character of a Consul; for . . . it is the Comparison of past Ages, and foreign Countries opposed to our own, that excites my Curiosity and gives me Satisfaction." <sup>96</sup>

As has been shown earlier, the writing of history, poetry or ethics, and the painting of Histories and - in Richardson's ingenious argument - portraits, were seen as mutually assisting one another in conveying ideas and thoughts "clearly and without ambiguity". <sup>97</sup>

Thus Allan, in his conception of this painting, drew upon several strands of earlier and contemporary thought. The Highlands were of particular importance to discussions and theories of Man's original nature, or of earlier states of human society. If the Genius of this people, as expressed in their arts, their activities, their dress and manners - their *costume* - were worthy of such debate among the *Literati*, and if the nature of their lives and culture did effectively set them at a remove from Allan's own Lowland society, then the decision to paint "The Highland Dance" in the Grand Manner was an inevitable consequence of Allan's having followed these separate ideas to their logical conclusion. It is the imaginative leap involved in thus combining ideas and acting upon the synthesis which is all-important.

To be sure, the painting dwells upon "all the minute particularities of a nation differing in several respects from the rest of mankind".<sup>98</sup> Yet if - as was the case - these people were seen as a survival of an earlier state of Mankind, there could scarcely be a subject of more general interest than an event of their social calendar. "The Highland Dance", when a little thought is expended upon its social context, is truly "built upon general nature", the expression of human activity as evinced plainly, emphatically and without restraint by these dancers.



At the same time, while it might by certain criteria even be termed a History painting, the picture is not realised in the Epic strain. There were further considerations to be made than those of scale. Allan gave some thought to the question of style. The style chosen by Gavin Hamilton for his vast Homeric canvases was broad and robust, in keeping with their near-barbaric subjects. The style appropriate to a rural celebration on the other hand, particularly in this age so deeply influenced by the writings of Rousseau, was one of the utmost simplicity. Peasants, whether highlanders or no, were literally closer to Nature, representing Mankind in an innocent state, uncorrupted by city life and untouched by artifice. A wedding provided an occasion for these villagers to gather together in a *ceillidh* of artless airs and dances, a spontaneous overflow of powerful feeling, naturally and directly expressed. Clearly, Allan decided his style must be equally simple, quite as innocent.

Perhaps most obviously, the handling of much of the painting is rough and crude. Dull earth tones predominate, with thinly painted passages of raw colours and harsh contrasts, quite unlike Allan's typically harmonious, if occasionally warm palette. The style in which figures are drawn is likewise carefully adapted to the subject-matter and interpretation. On the scale of the Dunimarle painting this intentional naïveté at times approaches the primitive. Even in the smaller scenes of wedding customs, or his pictures of Highland cottage interiors, Allan's drawing could often be termed quite inept, had he not literally proved the excellence of his *disegno* to all Europe a decade earlier. Needless to say, the consistent adoption of a child-like style in his Highland scenes supports the view that Allan did see these pictures as visual expression of contemporary theories about early societies.

In the large oil painting, this primitive style is most apparent in the figure of the principal male dancer, much of the ingenuousness of other participants, such as the ill-defined woman at a window or the young Highlander rowed in his plaid, being largely a matter of lack of "finish". This latter fact may be due to Allan's having painted the picture for himself, as he explained to Sir William Hamilton. He did not bother to rub out thoroughly some earlier details when he changed his mind in the course of painting the scene. Thus, one lassie adjusts a garter while her skirt still reaches to her toes. The same *nighean* was originally greiting, as may be deduced from the ghostly head still visible, but this anecdotal touch - presumably occasioned by the altered attentions of the soldier - was transferred to a jealous face in the background. The central character, on the other hand, is fully finished



and must therefore be as Allan wished him. Insubstantial and purely linear, hardly as graceful as the bride forermost him, this doll-like figure uncomfortably suggests a smaller study amplified for a canvas measuring some three-and-a-half feet by five. Yet this dancer, painted like his partner in a lighter key against predominantly dull tones, serves to throw into relief the solidly modelled group at the left of the picture, as though Allan chose to emphasise the *naïveté* of the one part by forcing a comparison with the accomplishment of another.

These three portraits combine informality and innate dignity in the manner of Allan's best Conversations, that of Niel Gow - "a short, stout-built, honest highland figure, with his greyish hair shed on his honest social brow" - capturing his convivial aspect in a cheerful counterpart to the more reflective image recorded by Raeburn.<sup>99</sup> It is not too fanciful to remark that in one painting the note is that of Gow's Lament for Abercairney or for the death of his second wife, while in the other he strikes up "Athole Brose", "Highland Whisky" or "The Braes o' Bushbie". Nor is it only Allan's skill in portraiture which is seen to advantage in "The Highland Dance". The landscape background works particularly well on a large scale, summits "ranged in wild disorder along the verge of the distant horizon" and shouldering aside the mist that hangs in the glens in a prospect which is as successful an evocation of the Highlands as the Atholl family group.<sup>100</sup>

It must nevertheless be remembered that Allan could hardly afford either the time or the materials to paint for himself and uncommissioned scenes of the "manners" on this ambitious scale. Contemporary taste must always be borne in mind. It was one thing to enthuse over, and buy, his scenes of the Roman Carnival when they were made available as prints, as Hogarth's various series had been before. It would have been quite another to pay the higher prices appropriate to paintings, even small paintings, of the same scenes. Hogarth's original paintings for his engravings had themselves generally been small; indeed, his cumulative detail is often more easily discerned in the prints. Whatever encouragement existed in reality for the large Historical compositions beloved of theory, there was much less, then or later, for scenes of real life, involving ordinary people, painted on the same scale. Whatever the views of contemporary philosophers upon the origin and progress of human societies, few among Allan's public at large would have regarded "The Highland Dance" as other than a pleasant picture of rustic revelry, despite the clues afforded by its exaggerated *naïveté* and coarse handling. Admittedly, with hindsight the evidence of his child-like





98. "Highland Family", c.1780/90. Pen & water-colours over pencil 16½ x 22 (approx.; badly torn). Dunimarle album (f. 52), on loan to the National Galleries of Scotland (Prints & Drawings).



pictures of Highland cottagers may also be adduced, at least one of these scenes of Highland families being painted, in oils, as a pendant to a "Highland Dance". Almost invariably, however, when artists painted Genre scenes these were small, generally unassuming, most frequently humorous or gently sentimental. As Sir Walter Scott put it,

"A painting of Teniers is very well - it is of a moderate size, and only looked at when we choose",<sup>101</sup>

Genre itself, of course, was accorded a suitably humble position in the established artistic and academic hierarchy. Only once again, as far as may be known, with the paired dancing scene and cottage interior, did Allan attempt Genre paintings of other than modest dimensions, and they were considerably smaller than the early "Highland Dance".<sup>102</sup>

That all his subsequent Genre pieces were small need not be wholly due to lack of encouragement for large works of this kind. The recognition that simplicity and "innocence" were paramount in depicting such groups according to his own conceptions may have reconciled Allan the Historical Painter to the smaller sizes on which he was to work. The importance that overall simplicity in these pictures had for him may be gauged from their paucity of intricate detailing. Nothing would have been easier than for Allan to have included a mass of essentially decorative *staffage*, external and superfluous to the expression of each piece. These touches are kept to a minimum, and are generally of items specifically Scottish rather than picturesquely rustic: a dirk, bagpipes, a plunge-kirn, a hantle of coggies and laiglens. Often, these articles have a particular relevance to the scene in which Allan places them, other than simply marking the setting as a *fermtoun* or *ingleneuk* in rural Scotland. This device is primarily to be found in his illustrations of songs, which should not be too rigorously isolated from those scenes more typically classed as Genre. In these illustrations too, as might be anticipated, Allan draws upon contemporary thinking about the language, the music and the manners of less "polished" societies.

Unlike the work of later artists who did accumulate a clutter of meticulously delineated articles in emulation of the Dutch little masters, Allan's Genre scenes, whatever their scale, approach in their simplicity the austerity demanded of the Grand Style. It was not simply the natural response of a Historical Painter, drawing encouragement from contemporary interest in remote and simple societies, that caused him to attempt "The Highland Dance" on a large canvas. It was an attempt to show, by the decision to paint a peasant celebration on this scale, what is now



accepted as obvious. These peasants, more than half a century before those of Courbet or Millet, are accorded the respect due simply to their shared humanity, their dance recognised to be as worthy of serious depiction as any other social activity. Here as elsewhere, and contrary to what has generally been stated or implied of Allan's art, his common people are not just paraded for the amusement of those more attuned to the culture of the towns. His recognition that the dance was "picturesque", the manners entertaining, does not perforce deprive the participants of all human dignity, nor does it rob the painting of all genuine feeling and artistic value. For Allan, to adopt a Vernacular style, as being suitable to his subject, was not invariably to produce an amusing piece, a painting of "low life and comic characters".<sup>103</sup> He was later to write that "the best moral effects" could often be derived from "the just representation of ordinary Life", and saw a more significant purpose for this aspect of his art than "the ludicrous representation of laughable incidents in low life".<sup>104</sup> Humour is certainly present in many of his later Genre scenes, but, as will become increasingly apparent, it is a humour shared and sympathetic in nature, and a serious and consistent purpose is common to almost all these little pictures dating from the fifteen years between the first "Highland Dance" and Allan's last major work, the "Penny Wedding" of 1795.

Again, perhaps predictably, Allan's approach may be compared with the conclusions of contemporary philosophy. Both were founded upon observation and experience, the study of human nature or "the science of Man". As Hume noted,

"It is needless to push our researches so far as to ask, why we have humanity or a fellow-feeling with others. It is sufficient, that this is experienced to be a principle in human nature. We must stop somewhere in our examination of causes, and there are, in every science, some general principles, beyond which we cannot hope to find any principle more general."<sup>105</sup>

As will also become clear, there is one more reason why a small scale was essential to Allan's purposes, as he expressed them in the long letter sent to Sir William Hamilton in 1780. It is one which, when limited contemporary expectations are taken into account, can actually justify that too-glib *soubriquet* "The Scottish Hogarth". Quite simply, these Genre scenes were seen by Allan as "good for engraving".<sup>106</sup>

The making of prints from his subject-pictures, at least as an objective, was to assume increasing importance for Allan in following years. Those drawn from contemporary life, in addition to Highland weddings, included scenes of "Presbyterian Catechism", Kirk discipline,



and various kenspeckle characters, notable ceremonies and familiar events of the city of Edinburgh. During the decade after 1785, however, it was the illustration of literature - from the works of Shakespeare to those of Hector MacNeill - which was to attain greater prominence in his life and art, quite apart from absorbing more time and effort, than his prints of Genre scenes. Allan must have been influenced by contemporary writing again, in this case, not surprisingly, the works of the Vernacular poets, in turning his attention firstly but not exclusively to the poetry and song of Scotland, his interest in which has already been indicated.<sup>107</sup> Chief among these undertakings was the "set of the Gentle Shepherd" which he had contemplated at least as early as 1783, and upon which he began working soon afterwards.



Plates I - XII.



## Plates I - XII.

- I. *The Highland Dance*, signed and dated "D Allan px. 1780", inscribed on verso: "A Highland Wedding | DAVID ALLAN PINXT | AT BLAIR IN ATHOL 1780 | FAMOUS NEIL GOW FIDLER | DONALD GOW BASS | MOST OF THE OTHERS FROM NATURE". Oil on canvas 40% x 60%. National Galleries of Scotland, on loan from Dunimarle.
- II. [ *A Highland Wedding* ], c. 1780. Pen and watercolours 13 x 18%. National Galleries of Scotland, Department of Prints and Drawings.
- III. *Self-Portrait*, signed and dated "D. Allan Pinxt Roma 1770". Oil on canvas 49% x 38%. Scottish National Portrait Gallery, on loan from the Royal Scottish Academy.
- IV. *The Origin of Fainting*, signed and dated 1775. Oil on wood 15 x 12 (oval). National Galleries of Scotland.
- V. [ *Portrait of Anne Forbes, 1745-1834* ], dated 1781. Oil on canvas 14% x 12%. Scottish National Portrait Gallery.
- VI. [ *Portrait of William Inglis, d. 1792* ], dated 1787. Oil on canvas 51 x 41. Scottish National Portrait Gallery.
- VII. [ *The Erskine Family* ], signed and dated "David Allan Alloansis pinxt 1783". Inscribed on verso are the names of all the figures, and the ages of the children. Oil on canvas 60 x 84. Scottish National Portrait Gallery.
- VIII. "Edinburgh Watercarrier - 1793.", c. 1785/90 (inscription in a later hand, referring to a print of this date; Fig. 270, p. 325 ). Pen and watercolours over pencil 6% x 5% Private collection ( D.B.).
- IX. *The Connoisseurs*, c. 1780/90. The three figures, and the portrait on the wall, are numbered 1 - 4. Oil on canvas, 34 x 38%. National Galleries of Scotland.
- X. "Fish Wife", c. 1783 (Allan's print of this subject, entitled "OYSTER GIRL", is dated 1784). Pen & watercolours over pencil 9% x 7%. National Galleries of Scotland, Prints and Drawings D 404.
- XI. Frontispiece illustration in an interleaved volume of translations from Gaelic poetry, c. 1780. Signed "D Allan." Inscribed with two lines of verse from "M<sup>c</sup>Phearson's translation of Ossian's Poems" and the title "Croma" (no page reference). Pen and watercolours 7% x 5% (the frame 9 x 6%, mounted on paper). Cowie Collection, the Mitchell Library, Glasgow, SR 243 308888.
- XII. [ *Scene from The Gentle Shepherd*, by Allan Ramsay ], 1787/88. Watercolours over etched outline 9 x 7 (platemark 10% x 8). The fully-bitten aquatint was published as Plate 3 in July 1788 (Figure 117, between pages 168-69). Private collection ( C.M.K.).





I. *The Highland Dance*, signed and dated "D. Allan px. 1780", inscribed on verso: "A Highland Wedding | DAVID ALLAN PINXT | AT BLAIR IN ATHOL 1780 | FAMOUS NEIL GOW FIDLER | DONALD GOW BASS | MOST OF THE OTHERS FROM NATURE". Oil on canvas 40½ x 60¾. National Galleries of Scotland, on loan from Dunimarle.



II. [ *A Highland Wedding* ], c. 1780. Pen and watercolours 13 x 18½. National Galleries of Scotland, Department of Prints and Drawings.





III. Self-Portrait, signed & dated 'D. Allan Pinxt Roma 1770'  
Oil on canvas 49 $\frac{1}{2}$  x 38 $\frac{1}{2}$ . Scottish National Portrait  
Gallery, on loan from the Royal Scottish Academy.



IV. *The Origin of Painting*, signed and dated 1775.  
Oil on wood 15 x 12 (oval). National Galleries  
of Scotland, Edinburgh.





V. [Portrait of Anne Forbes, 1745-1834], dated 1781.  
Oil on canvas 14½ x 12¼ (oval). Scottish National  
Portrait Gallery.



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Oil on canvas 51 x 41. Scottish National  
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VII. [ The Erskine Family ], signed and dated "David Allan Alloansis pin<sup>x</sup> 1783". Inscribed on verso are the names of all the figures, and the ages of the children. Oil on canvas 60 x 84. Scottish National Portrait Gallery.



VIII. "Edinburgh Watercarrier - 1793.", c. 1785/90. Pen and watercolours over pencil 6 $\frac{1}{2}$  x 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ . Private collection (D.B.); inscription in a later hand, referring to a print of this date, in which the watercarrier is included (Figure 270, page 325).





IX. *The Connoisseurs*, c 1780/90 Oil on canvas 34 x 38½. The three figures, and the portrait on the wall, are numbered 1-4. National Galleries of Scotland.



X. "Fish Wife", c. 1783. Pen and watercolours over pencil 9¾ x 7¾. National Galleries of Scotland, Department of Prints and Drawings, D 404. Allan's print of this subject, entitled "Oyster Girl", is dated 1784 (Figure 276, between pages 326-27).





XI. Frontispiece illustration in an interleaved volume of translations from the Gaelic, c. 1780. Signed "D. Allan". Inscribed with two lines of verse from "McPherson's translation of Ossian's Poems" and the title "Croma" (no page-reference). Pen and watercolours  $7\frac{1}{4} \times 5\frac{3}{8}$ , the frame  $9 \times 6\frac{3}{8}$ , mounted on paper. Cowie Collection, the Mitchell Library, Glasgow.



XII. [Scene from *The Gentle Shepherd*, by Ramsay, 1787/88. Watercolours over etched outline  $9 \times 7$  (plate-mark  $10\frac{1}{4} \times 8$ ). The fully bitten aquatint was published in July 1788, as Plate 3 in Allan's edition of *The Gentle Shepherd*, Foulis Press, Glasgow (Figure 117, between pages 168-69). Private collection (C.M.K.).]



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## Chapter IV

### The walks of homely life.

Allan's set of illustrations to *The Gentle Shepherd*.

1786-1788

*Ramsay's play—its plot and purpose—its language—the Scots Arcadia—the early illustrated editions—Allan's plates and preface—his didactic purpose—a sense of history and tradition—his visits to the Pentland Hills—topography, character and costume—the style of Allan's plates—his narrative technique—the evolution of Allan's preparatory studies—links with his later Historical Compositions and song-illustrations—the coherence of Allan's set of plates.*



## IV

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### The walks of homely life.

*"I am at a loss to know what to do, there is so many ingenious people everywhere and even my health is not strong to Bustle in the world, I have a scheme in my head to invent new subjects, particularly of the Scotch manners, to do a set of the Gentle Shepherd and study them all from nature."*  
David Allan, March 1783.<sup>1</sup>

Allan's set of plates for *The Gentle Shepherd* is the only major series of pictures from his years in Scotland to be brought to completion as first envisaged. This group of prints was not his most ambitious undertaking, but it was, with the possible exception of "The Origin of Painting", probably his best-known work. Published in 1788, these plates are not only illustrative of various moments or situations which occur during the course of the play, they are also expressive of several concerns embodied or suggested in it. Allan's letter of dedication to Gavin Hamilton,<sup>†</sup> which stands as Preface to this edition, is densely textured in a like manner. His illustrative plates are only one of several issues it touches. Wide-ranging and discursive, the dedicatory Preface is always tending to a fixed end and always contriving to create a particular effect. Because the pictures, pleasant as individual compositions though they may be, depend as much upon a knowledge of the text they illustrate as do any History paintings themselves based upon literature, they can only thoroughly be appreciated by those familiar with *The Gentle Shepherd*. Because Allan's Preface, modest and apparently simple though it is at first sight, is actually as carefully composed as the plates it accompanies, it must be seen in relation to contemporary ideas on both art and society, some of which have already been introduced.

Allan Ramsay's Scots Pastoral Comedy *The Gentle Shepherd* was first published as a whole in 1725, by Thomas Ruddiman of Edinburgh. Its opening scene, an eclogue between two shepherds, had appeared four years

<sup>†</sup> Appendix IV



earlier, in the quarto edition of Ramsay's poems. The play is set entirely in a fermtoun and fields among the Pentland Hills, a short distance south of the capital, the action taking place within twenty-four hours and depending upon a single important event; that is, the dramatic unities are observed. In setting the scene in a familiar landscape, taking the action from the recent past, virtually from within living memory, and having as characters people emphatically of his own country, Ramsay was acting in accordance with the views he had expounded at length in his introduction to *The Evergreen*, a collection of the poetry of the Makars, published "frae antique manuscriptis, with utmost cair". Making an early claim for the virtue of "the true simplicity of Nature", he wrote:

*"I Have often observed that Readers of the best and most exquisite Discernment frequently complain of our modern Writings, as filled with affected Delicacies and studied Refinements, which they would gladly exchange for that natural strength of Thought and Simplicity of Stile our Forefathers practised; To such, I hope, the following Collection of Poems will not be displeasing.*

*When these good old Bards wrote, we had not yet made Use of imported Trimming upon our Cloaths, nor of foreign Embroidery in our Writings. Their Poetry is the Product of their own Country, not pilfered and spoiled in the Transportation from abroad; Their Images are native, and their Landskips domestick; copied from the Fields and Meadows we every Day behold.*

*The Morning rises (in the Poets Description) as she does in the Scottish Horizon. We are not carried to Greece or Italy for a Shade, a Stream or a Breeze. The Groves rise in our own Valleys; the Rivers flow from our own Fountains, and the Winds blow upon our own Hills. I find not Fault with those Things, as they are in Greece or Italy; but with a Northern Poet for fetching his Materials from these Places, in a Poem, of which his own Country is the Scene; as our Hymners to the Spring and Makers of Pastorals frequently do."*<sup>2</sup>

In addition to the significance of these views to the Vernacular movement in eighteenth-century Scotland, and quite apart from their shrewd assessment of one characteristic of Scottish poetry, they are manifestly in accord with David Allan's own approach to national subject-matter. He very clearly saw Ramsay's Pastoral as a fit representative of Scottish literature, and felt no incongruity, once the distinctions most important to a Historical Painter had been made, in coupling Hamilton's pictures from the *Iliad* with his own for *The Gentle Shepherd*:

*"May I hope, that YOU, who have justly acquired the highest reputation in the present age, for the HEROIC and SUBLIME of painting, will not condemn me for this attempt to join with the Poet of my native country, in the imitation of agreeable nature."*

After the death of Cromwell, when "royal Charles and right are restored", Sir William Worthy returns from the fifteen years' exile which followed his resolve

*"To stand his Liege's friend wi' great Montrose".*

[Act II scene i]

Disguised as a fortune-teller, he revisits his ruinous mansion and the tenants he once knew, to one of whom, Symon, he had entrusted his infant



son Patrick before fleeing the country. He discovers that this Patie, brought up as a shepherd, is respected by all the villagers both for his knowledge and for his fairness of judgement. Furthermore, he is soon to be betrothed to Peggy, a foundling raised as his own niece by Glaud, like Symon an old tenant to Sir William. Glaud's own daughter, Jenny, is diffidently courted by Patie's friend Roger, a richer shepherd than he, but she dismisses him, at first, with the memorable line

"A herd mair sheepish yet I never kend"

[Act I scene iii]

Meanwhile, the comic character Bauldy endeavours to turn Peggy's affections from Patie to himself by consulting Mause, an old woman reputed to be a witch, but succeeds only in being soundly beaten by Glaud's sister Madge.

When Sir William "draps his masking beard" there is heartfelt rejoicing among the villagers once they learn that their laird has come home, and that he "owns young Pate his heir". Equally intense is the pathos when Peggy realises she is no longer a worthy match for Patrick. Mause hints mysteriously that

"Ev'n kings hae tane a queen out of the plain;  
And what has been before may be again,"

[Act IV scene i]

Madge, however, retorts less optimistically but with more realism,

"Sic nonsense! love tak root, bot tocher good,  
'Tween a herd's bairn and ane of gentle blood!  
Sic fashions in King Bruce's days might be  
But siccan ferlies now we never see,"

[Act IV scene i]

Fortunately, Patie's protestations that neither time nor distance will cause him to forsake his vows prove unnecessary, for in true Folk tradition as in much Sentimental literature, Peggy too is revealed to be of gentle birth, the treacherously dispossessed daughter of Sir William's dead sister. Thus Patie has his Peggy, Roger finds his voice at last, daft Bauldy is reconciled with Mause and Madge, and the play concludes with "flowing pleasure", a double betrothal, and the singing of Ramsay's version of "Corn riggs are bonny".

Not surprisingly, *The Gentle Shepherd* was a great success both as a poem and as a play, in performance or publication. It was unquestionably Ramsay's most widely known and best-loved work. Pope was a "great admirer" of the piece, Hogarth dedicated his illustrations of Butler's *Hudibras* to Ramsay, and Gay, who visited Edinburgh and met the poet at



his bookstore there, may have cast his own "Newgate Pastoral" as a ballad-opera in emulation of the popular Scottish drama.<sup>3</sup> The admiration was mutual and the influence reciprocal. Ramsay's play had originally only a few songs, including an elegant duet between Patie and Peggy and a snatch of a raploch traditional rant delivered in brave humour by Bauldy. After *The Beggars' Opera* was performed in Edinburgh towards the end of 1728, it is said that Ramsay was asked by some schoolchildren to recast his own play, which was soon provided with a score of songs to popular airs.<sup>4</sup> According to the account of Ramsay's life written by his son, the poet preferred the original version, in which the verse drama was only lightly sprinkled with music, but it was as a ballad-opera that the piece achieved its greatest popularity. Whatever Ramsay's own feelings upon the matter, his revision at least gave rise to one of his finest lyrics, the opening song to the tune of "The wauking of the faulds".

Although it is a "Scots Pastoral Comedy", the world of *The Gentle Shepherd* is no closer to that of traditional Pastoral than is the intentionally disreputable setting of *The Beggars' Opera*. Formerly, poets had employed

"some illusion to render a pastoral delightful; and this consisted in exposing the best side only of a shepherd's life, and in concealing its miseries." <sup>5</sup>

It is true that Roger's complaints are largely those of many a woeful Damon or Strephon sighing for a shepherdess as "cruel as she's fair", but such prolonged agonies are dismissed by Patie as a "silly, whingeing way". In the intervals between his moans for the recalcitrant Jenny, Roger also tells how his byre tumbled, killing several cattle, and how, a few months previously,

" . . . scores of wethers perished in the snaw,"  
[Act I scene i]

Not only does Patie drive sheep to the West Port, he makes sure that all his flocks "be feeding right" before playing his new flute. Even "The wauking of the faulds" refers to the practice of keeping watch over the buchts in which sheep were penned at night. Peggy and Jenny too, in the second scene, are first encountered at work, on their way to wash and bleach their linen by a burn, while Bauldy, typically, is rebuked for leaving corn unthreshed.

A formal parallel to the first eclogue between Patie and Roger, that between the two lasses ends with the "better sense" of Peggy - as natural a leader as Patie and for the same dramatic reason - overcoming her friend's doubts about marriage and her fear of poverty, but not before



Jenny advances some telling instances of the possible miseries of a rural life:

"O 'tis a pleasant thing to be a bride;  
Syne whingeing getts about your ingle-side,  
Yelping for this or that wi' fasheous din;  
To mak them brats then ye maun toil and spin . . .

But poortith, Peggy, is the warst of a',  
Gif o'er your heads ill-chance should begg'ry draw;  
But little love or canty cheer can come  
Frae duddy doublets, and a pantry toom.  
Your nowt may die - the spate may bear away  
Frae aff the howms your dainty rucks of hay -  
The thick-blawn wreaths of snaw, or blashy thows,  
May smoor your wathers, and may rot your ews;"

[Act I scene iii]

Thus, although the Pastoral is idealised in its structure and resolution, Ramsay never loses sight of reality, nor does he allow the audience, or his readers, to forget its realistic background.

The language spoken in the play, on the other hand, is fully in accord with European thinking upon the writing of Pastoral. In short, Ramsay's use of a "dialect peculiar to the country" in which *The Gentle Shepherd* is set had already been approved in theory by writers both in Britain and on the Continent.<sup>6</sup> Several years before the first eclogue between Patie and Roger was published, Thomas Purney in his *Pastorals in the simple manner of Theocritus* had aimed to

"introduce into our Language a Dialect entirely Pastoral; having at once Rusticity, Softness and Simplicity".<sup>7</sup>

That Purney, Gay, Pope or any other English writer should have thought a Scottish setting, and hence a Scottish speech, peculiarly appropriate to Pastoral is hardly surprising. Long before Ramsay and William Thomson published their collections of Scottish songs, this genre was familiar in Britain from the volumes of Thomas D'Urfey.<sup>8</sup> Whatever the true origin of some of the songs in his publications, and however debased the "dialect" in which songs truly Scottish eventually came before the public, it was held by some in the south that "the *Scotch-Songs*, which pass'd with so much applause" among them, offered the surest guide to reviving the "old Conduct" of writing Pastoral.<sup>9</sup> That is, the Doric adopted by Theocritus in his *Idylls* was to find its modern counterpart north of the Tweed, in a latter-day Arcadia.

Scottish writers may have viewed the matter in a different light. Not all regarded Scots as "a very corrupt dialect" of English.<sup>10</sup> The ideas of both Ramsay's friend, Sir John Clerk of Penicuik, and his publisher Thomas Ruddiman, lent to the Scots vernacular in which he wrote a



prestige denied any provincial dialect of English. In his editorial notes to Gavin Douglas's *Aeneis* Ruddiman, as well as claiming a classical standing for the Scots of the Makars, suggested that it yet survived in the speech of the peasantry.<sup>11</sup> Clerk, in his *An Enquiry into the Ancient Languages of Great Britain*, held that this vernacular was in fact "the genuine Saxon" in its purest surviving form.<sup>12</sup> Thus Ramsay not only wrote of a rural life he could see around him every day, he was fortunate in having to hand a language both appropriate to Pastoral verse and more congenial, more weighty, more natural in feeling than that employed by Ambrose Philips or, from a century and more earlier, the "rusticall language" constructed by Edmund Spenser.

The critical acclaim allowed *The Gentle Shepherd* was, within Scotland itself, qualified by this very question of language. The influential Dr. Blair, in his *Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres*, wrote that the Pastoral could "bear being brought into comparison with any composition of this kind in any language", but continued,

"it is a great disadvantage to this beautiful poem, that it is written in the old Rustic dialect of Scotland, which, in a short time, will probably be entirely obsolete, and not intelligible; and it is a further disadvantage, that it is so entirely formed on the rural manners of Scotland, that none but a native of that country can thoroughly understand or relish it." <sup>13</sup>

Even natives of Ramsay's country, it seems, were soon to be denied this relish. Henry Mackenzie, the "Scottish Addison", in a famous article in his periodical *The Lounger*, endeavoured to place Robert Burns "in a higher point of view" than he already enjoyed within the bounds of his native Ayrshire, and also regretted "the circumstances of his humble station":

"One bar, indeed, his birth and education have opposed to his fame;- the language in which most of his poems are written. Even in Scotland, the provincial dialect which Ramsay and he have used, is now read with a difficulty which greatly damps the pleasure of the reader; in England it cannot be read at all, without such a constant reference to a glossary, as nearly to destroy that pleasure.

Some of his productions, however, especially those of the grave style, are almost English . . ." <sup>14</sup>

When Sir William Worthy, in *The Gentle Shepherd*, speaks in his own person, his language is not merely "almost English". In advocating travel to improve Patie's mind, he echoes Dryden's observation on the "unrefined" Chaucer;

"Like the rough Diamond, as it leaves the mine,  
Only in little breakings shews its light,  
'Till artful polishing has made it shine;  
Thus education makes the genius bright."

[Act III scene iv] <sup>15</sup>



When Patie discovers his genteel origin, his speech frequently becomes similarly formal, as when he swears fidelity to Peggy:

"Ne'er quarrel fate, whilst it wi' me remains  
To raise thee up, or still attend these plains.  
My father has forbid our loves, I own,  
But love's superior to a parent's frown . . .  
Sir William's gen'rous; leave the task to me  
To make strict duty and true love agree."

[Act IV scene ii]

The difference between this passage and one from the first scene is one not only of Scots or English vocabulary, but of Augustan antithesis or colloquial vigour. Despite the artificial convention of speaking in verse, in Patie's earlier racy narrative to Roger the rhythms are palpably closer to those of ordinary speech, and Ramsay does indeed sound "a completely new voice in British poetry": <sup>16</sup>

"Daft gowk! Leave aff that silly whingeing way;  
Seem careless, there's my hand ye'll win the day.  
Hear how I serv'd my lass I love as wiel  
As ye do Jenny, and wi' heart as leal.  
Last morning I was gey and early out,  
Upon a dyke I lean'd, glowring about;  
I saw my Meg come linkan o'er the lea;  
I saw my Meg, but Meggy saw na me,  
For yet the sun was wading thro' the mist,  
And she was close upon me e'er she wist;  
Her coats were kiltit, and did sweetly shaw  
Her straught bare legs that whiter were than snaw.  
Her cockernony snooded up fu' sleek,  
Her haffet-locks hang waving on her cheek . . .

Blythsome, I cry'd, My bonny Meg come here,  
I ferly wherefore ye're sae soon asteer?  
But I can guess, ye're gaun to gather dew;  
She scour'd awa, and said, What's that to you?  
Then fare ye wiel, Meg Dorts, and e'en's ye like,  
I careless cry'd, and lap in o'er the dyke.  
I trow, when that she saw, within a crack,  
She came wi' a right thieveless errand back;  
Misca'd me first --- then bade me hound my dog  
To wear up three waff ews stray'd on the bog.  
I laugh; and sae did she; then wi' great haste  
I clasp'd my arms about her neck and waist . . ."

[Act I scene i, lines 97-110, 115-126]

Sir William's altered speech may, of course, be accepted with little demur - he is a well-travelled laird who need no longer masquerade as a spaeman - but Patie's can only be seen as a dramatic contrivance, a "code-switch" made in accordance with his true origin becoming known to him. This certainly has a disconcerting effect within Ramsay's play, since every other character consistently speaks Scots except, to some extent, Peggy, whose altered circumstances cause a similar change of



register in the dozen lines allotted her in the final scene. Of some importance in the wider context of Scottish literature of the time, and in the field of Scottish painting, is the equating of the vernacular with subjects drawn from low life. As is demonstrable in the particular case of his illustrations to *The Gentle Shepherd*, David Allan avoids any untoward change in the appearance of hero and heroine, while yet skilfully accommodating their good fortune to his unified set of pictures.<sup>17</sup> As is apparent from all his pictures of this time, and set out in his Preface to *The Gentle Shepherd*, Allan himself never confused a vernacular style with one inherently comic or vulgar.

In addition to his consistently accurate portrayal of a selection of rural activities, Ramsay's purpose is evidently, at times obtrusively didactic. To "instruct delightfully" was seen as the chief end of a work of art, and the frequent reminders of Patie's "strict duty" to Sir William, of the priceless education to be found in "the wale of books", and of the shortcomings of irresponsible young lairds - "useless branches of a common-wealth" - more than justify the claim made in the Prefatory Address that instruction may be gained from these pages.<sup>18</sup>

Ramsay's instruction is most palatable when it appears to grow naturally from the dramatic situation. Peggy's comparison of a married couple to a nearby pair of elm trees is charming and appropriate in its almost proverbial quality:

"This shields the other frae the eastlin blast;  
That in return defends it frae the wast."

Patie's final lines in the first scene combine Pastoral convention - the preference for simplicity - with colloquial realism, and sound a note to echo in Scottish writing throughout the eighteenth century. Ramsay, referring to Braidness of expression in his *Collection of Scots Proverbs* remarked that "a brave Man can be as meritorious in Hodden-gray as in Velvet", but here the metaphor is of "hamely fare":<sup>19</sup>

"But first we'll tak a turn up to the height,  
And see gif a' our flocks be feeding right;  
Be that time bannocks, and a shave of cheese  
Will mak a breakfast that a laird might please;  
Might please the daintiest gabs, were they so wise  
To season meat wi' health, instead of spice."

It was, of course, the delight in "the Gentle Shepherd's tender tale of love" rather than the moral instruction of, for example, Glau'd's forthright opinion of "wild, worthless rakes" that ensured the book's



continued success in its position among the staple secular reading for all classes in Scotland throughout the century.<sup>20</sup> Ramsay, partly to emphasise his hero's learning, but perhaps also to evoke the country of half a century previously, suggests in *The Gentle Shepherd* a peasantry less literate than would historically have been the case. Soon after Sir William reveals his true identity, he asks Symon whether Patie can read and write. Patie, naturally, "delights in books", but Symon jokes that he and the others

" . . . .sindle look,  
Except on rainy Sundays, on a book  
When we a leaf or two haff read haff spell,  
Till a' the lave sleep round as wiel's oursell,"  
[Act III scene iv]

Symon's reference to Sundays, rainy or no, is apposite. The General Assembly of 1647 had laid down that the head of each household was to be responsible for its regularly participating in worship. People would not only "chant their artless notes in simple guise", for "in every family where there is any that can read, the holy scriptures should be read ordinarily to the family".<sup>21</sup> At the time in which *The Gentle Shepherd* is set, reading matter was doubtless not confined to religious tracts and Bibles. By the turn of the century, Ramsay himself was reading "the History, in verse, of King Robert the Bruce, the exploits of Sir William Wallace, and the poems of Sir David Lindsay", books such as these being, according to his son, "then in the hands of the country people all over Scotland".<sup>22</sup> Less than thirty years after *The Gentle Shepherd* itself was published, its regular, but not frequent reprinting gave way to "a veritable stream of editions", generally chapbooks selling for tuppence.<sup>23</sup> It would be to such a book that Watty Walkinshaw refers in Galt's *The Entail*, when he tells Betty how

"We'll sit cosy at the chimney lug, and I'll read ye a chapter o' the Bible, or aiblins Patie and Roger . . . ." <sup>24</sup>

By the turn of the century, John Stoddart noted that it was "read with avidity by all ranks in Scotland, and excite[d] a very considerable interest".<sup>25</sup> At least a hundred editions had by then been issued, of which some twenty were illustrated.<sup>26</sup> Nor was it quickly superseded by the works of Burns and Scott, for in addition to five etchings by Paul Sandby, a painting by one "J. Rooukin" exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1785, and several more illustrated editions published in the nineteenth century, *The Gentle Shepherd* suggested some "ideal subjects" to



# GENTLE SHEPHERD; A S C O T S *Pastoral Comedy.*

By ALLAN RAMSAY.

The Sixth Edition, with the SONGS.



EDINBURGH:

Printed by THO. and WALT. RUDDIMANS, for the  
AUTHOR. Sold at his Shop near the Cross. 1734.

99. RICHARD COOPER; [Title-page vignette for  
*The Gentle Shepherd*, 1729 (Sixth edition  
1734), Engraving 2½ x 2½.



100. SIR JAMES THORNHILL; [Allegorical repre-  
sentation of Apollo as patron of the Arts  
and Sciences], c. 1690/1720. Pencil, pen and  
sepia wash, 5" diameter. With Christie's,  
London, July, 1988.



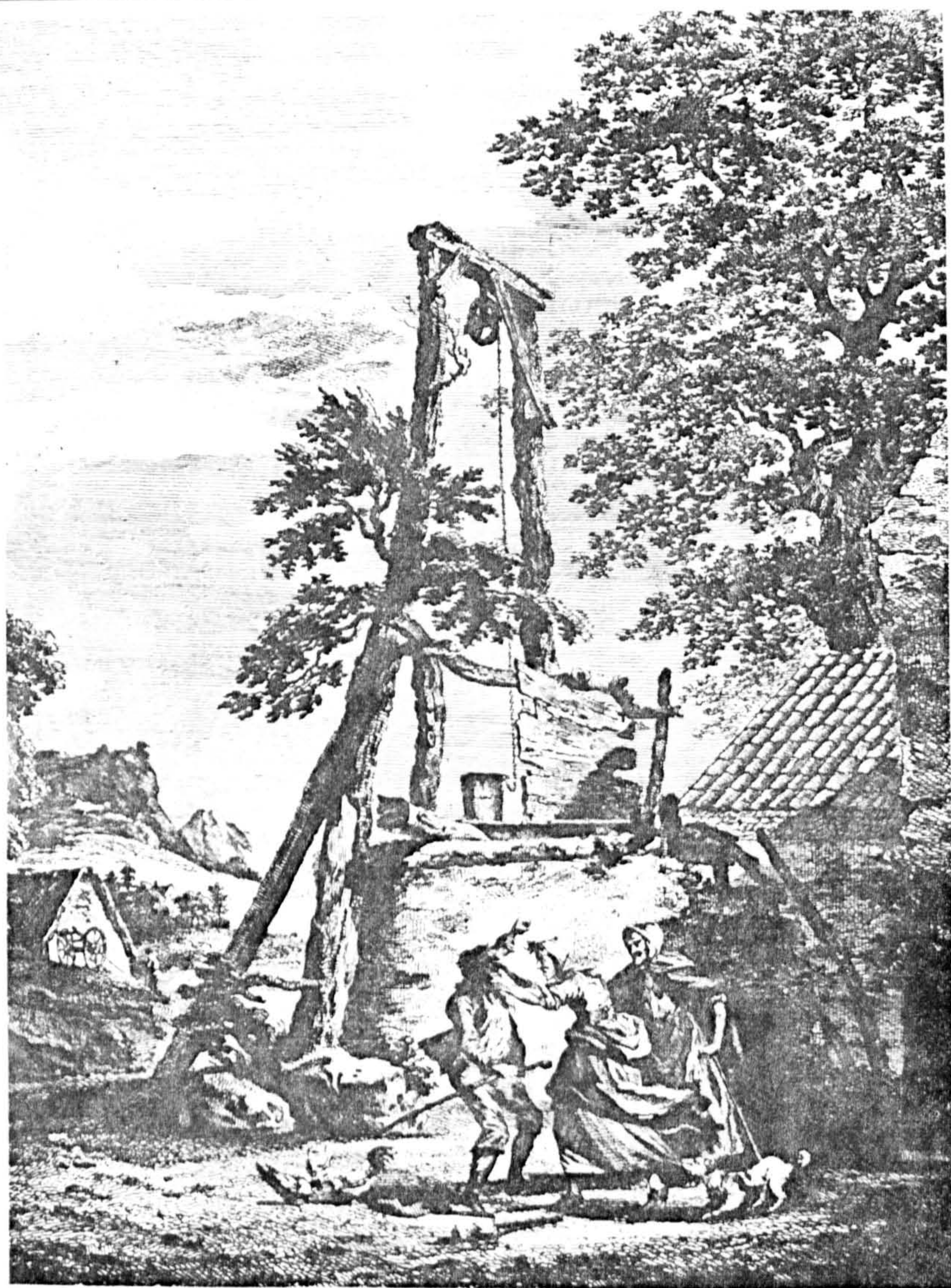
the self-taught Lanarkshire sculptor Robert Forrest, and inspired a number of paintings by Wilkie, although his ambition to contribute illustrations to an edition was never realised.<sup>27</sup>

Ramsay himself presided over the publication of the early editions by the scholar, journalist and printer Thomas Ruddiman of Edinburgh, and it is in that of 1729 that the first illustration appears. The small engraving is signed by Richard Cooper who, in the same year, with Ramsay, John Alexander, William Adam and others, founded in Edinburgh the Academy of Saint Luke. Of the two figures depicted, one is certainly a shepherd, and is dressed in a garb recognisably Scottish. The rocky background may be identified with the "craigy bield" of the play's first scene, and a single thistle lurks in the foreground shadows. From the top of that crag, however, a leaping Pegasus, seemingly escaped from an emblem book, looks downwards to the second figure, who is reclining before the shepherd and running a graceful hand over a lyre. Rather than being an illustration of the play, this print represents Ramsay - in the guise not of an Arcadian shepherd but of one from the Pentland Hills - being inspired by Apollo to compose it.<sup>28</sup>

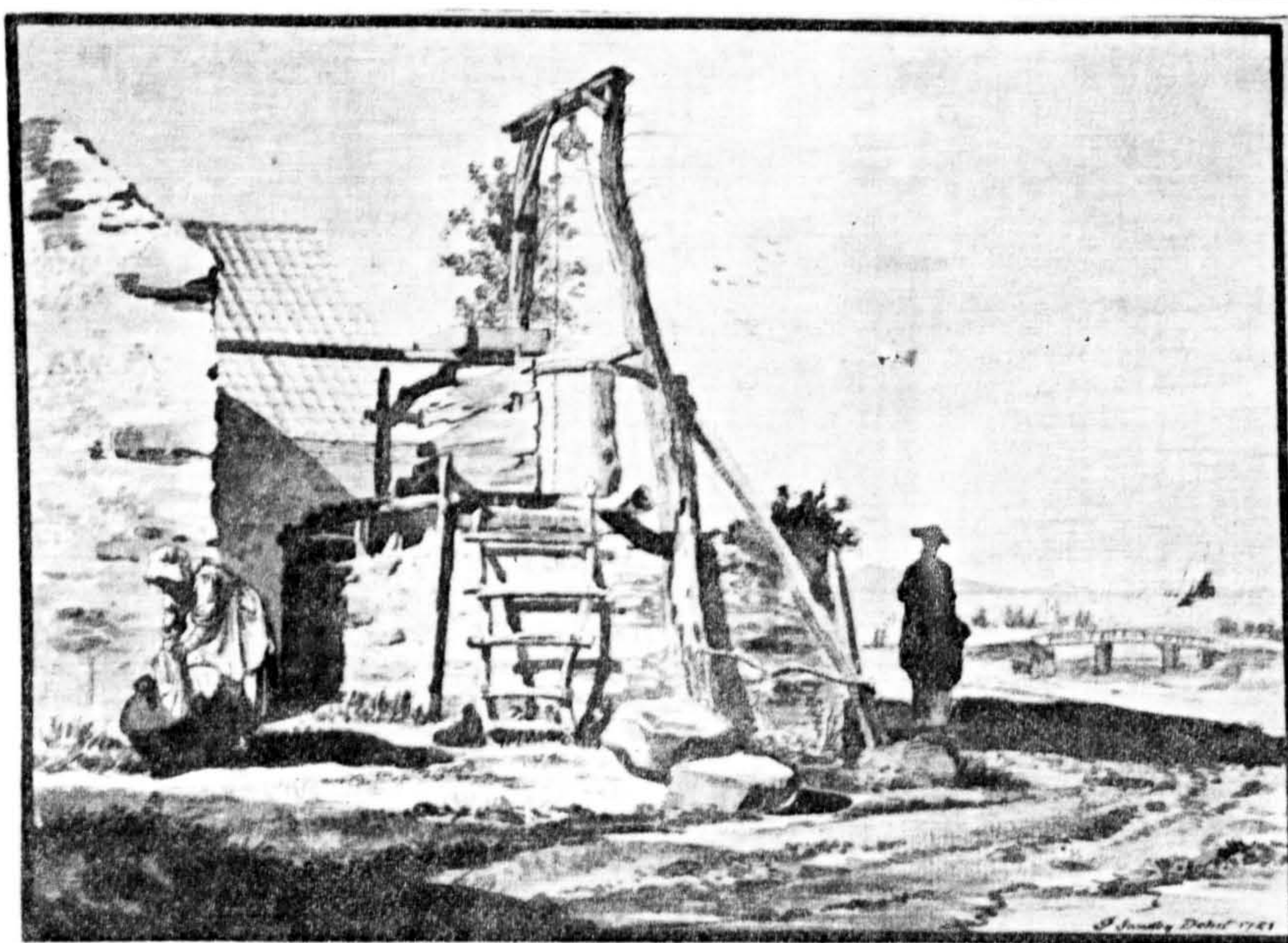
Almost thirty years passed before the appearance of the next pictures related to *The Gentle Shepherd*, these being Paul Sandby's etchings of 1758. Sandby combined with the execution of his official topographical drawings for the Board of Ordnance work on both privately commissioned views and his own records of landscape and architecture, some of which contributed local colour to his scenes from Ramsay's *Pastoral*.<sup>29</sup> In 1751 he painted a watercolour of the "Draw well at Broughton", a village near Edinburgh, and this feature, with its rickety steps and rotting wooden slats, is introduced as a background to the scene of Bauldy being routed by Madge. A more peaceful scene of the hero and heroine includes a distant view of Edinburgh and the Firth of Forth, with the great mass of Castle Rock dominating the towering lands of the Old Town clasping the lower slopes, just as Patie and Peggy are themselves dwarfed by the ruggedly textured tree.

Despite the particular prominence accorded the landscape settings at the expense of the characters in these etchings - none depicts an interior, though a small oil painting of the fortune-telling scene is attributed to Sandby - they reveal both a close adherence to the text and an evident sympathy with the humour of the piece.<sup>30</sup> The series begins with a limpid morning scene of Patie and Roger lying on the gowans, continues with their two lasses conversing near the entwining elms which





102. PAUL SANDBY: [Illustration to *The Gentle Shepherd*], signed and dated 1758, Etching 10 $\frac{1}{2}$  x 7 $\frac{1}{4}$ .



101. PAUL SANDBY: [The Draw well at Broughton], signed and dated 1751, Pen and water-colours 6 $\frac{1}{2}$  x 9, British Museum, Print Room.





103, PAUL SANDBY; [Illustration to *The Gentle Shepherd*], 1758, Etching 10½ x 7¼; part of a set of five.





Act. II.

104. ANON.: [Illustration to *The Gentle Shepherd*], 1758. Engraving 5½ x 3¼. The second in a set of five.



105. TERRY: [Frontispiece to *The Gentle Shepherd*], 1779, for Morison of Perth, reprinted 1780. Engraving 3¼ x 2½.



grow beside a little linn, while in a later scene Roger is the very picture of confusion as, tongue-tied, he tousles his hair and strives to summon the courage to speak to Jenny, who is openly laughing at his embarrassment. In the etching of the quarrel, two fighting cocks echo the main action, and Bauldy's dog, teeth fast in Madge's skirts, slypes across the farmyard as his master's assailant "flees to his hair like a fury", the elderly Mause hobbling painfully to the rescue.

Patie's dog looks back in amusement as the Gentle Shepherd, left arm resting on Peggy's shoulder, whispers

"Hard by this little burnie let us lean;  
Hark how the lav'rocks chant aboon our heads,  
How saft the westlin winds sough through the reeds,"  
[Act II scene iv]

Peggy, at least to begin with, maintains that she must not tarry, as they are "baith cry'd hame", and gracefully indicates the plain between them and Edinburgh, its recession suggested by the winding burn and by several *coulisses* overlapping like stage scenery. Here Sandby includes the diminutive figure of Symon slowly departing from a meeting with Glaud, whose cottage and onstead are as faithfully depicted as the little burnie, whispering reeds and full-throated lark of Ramsay's poem.

These etchings, which were never published in any edition of *The Gentle Shepherd*, are much superior to a set which appeared in the same year, and which became standard for the next two decades. One edition, indeed, is advertised as containing "the five cuts".<sup>31</sup> Each plate corresponds to one act of the drama, the first illustrating the "two youthful shepherds" with whom the play opens, the fifth showing the betrothal with which it ends. The second act is represented by its first scene, a lively conversation between Symon and a convincingly portrayed Glaud, his pipe clamped in his mouth while hens peck around his feet and a fine rooster claws the midden, crowing in full accord with Ramsay's description. With only one significant reworking, the five cuts were regularly reissued, and by 1783 had become very worn.<sup>32</sup> In the last scene, background faces originally depicted in shadow are finally no different from those in centre stage. The frieze-like arrangement of this scene evidently owes much to contemporary theatrical practice, and a pleasant glimpse of how the Pastoral was acted is afforded by the frontispiece to an edition of 1779, showing "Mr. Wilson in the Character of Patie".<sup>33</sup> Addressing an unseen Roger, or more probably the gallery, Mr. Wilson waves a rhetorical left hand and begins to declaim the "Meg

Figure 104

Figure 105





106. ANON.; [Illustration to *The Gentle Shepherd*], 1780, for Morison of Perth, reprinted 1781. Engraving 2½ x 1¾.



107. JOHN BEUGO; [Illustration to *The Gentle Shepherd*], 1788, for Morison of Perth, Engraving, 2½ diameter.



Dorts" speech, the highlight of the first scene. Resplendent in a costume of finely etched tartan, with flamboyant feathers curling over his bonnet while lace flaps at his wrists and ribbons sway at his knees, Mr. Wilson reappears before the public, reversed even to his buttons, as the frontispiece to an edition of 1780 published by Morison of Perth, which contains in addition a number of more soberly clad shepherds.

Despite their smallness and some obvious crudities, these roundels certainly capture the essential spirit of each moment illustrated, and their designs are repeated, on a slightly larger scale and with a different framing, in Morison's edition of the following year.<sup>34</sup> Ramsay's mild yet unashamed humour is finely captured in a scene of Patie and Peggy: The shepherd draws Peggy towards him gently but insistently, and she, though making token resistance, clearly has a mind to be as yielding as young Patie is kind. This incipient acceptance seems to be echoed in the ambiguous drapery. Patie's plaid hangs over his right shoulder and vanishes behind Peggy's left arm, but her kilted gown appears to continue the curling movement around her waist.

A depiction of the same moment in the next dated illustrated edition, that of June 1788, is less successful, with a Peggy who struggles awkwardly and a Patie who is embarrassingly importunate. Much happier is the frontispiece, like all the five plates in this edition a roundel by John Beugo, the Edinburgh engraver most noted for his portraits.<sup>35</sup> The two figures are harmoniously accommodated within the frame, with a strong sense of communication between them as a somewhat melancholic Patie turns towards the irredeemably disconsolate Roger. Even if Patie seems rather ornately dressed, his feathered bonnet rivalling that of Mr. Wilson, and although Beugo clearly experienced some difficulty in articulating Roger's right leg, the convincingly rendered figure of Patie and the instantly legible characterisation make this the most accomplished illustration in any edition of *The Gentle Shepherd* since Cooper's engraving of sixty years previously. Ironically, within a few months, this edition was to be eclipsed by that issued by the Foulis Press, containing Allan's plates and prefaced by his letter of dedication to Gavin Hamilton in Rome.

It was not these plates alone which Allan dedicated to Hamilton, but, as he makes plain, the edition itself, of which his designs form but one part. Seemingly confident that he could attract sufficient subscribers to cover the costs of printing, it was on his own initiative that he undertook the venture and prepared the plates, finally advertising the

Figure 106

Figure 107



volume in *The Caledonian Mercury* in December 1788.<sup>36</sup> The poet's son had himself hoped to supervise the printing of "a more typographically elegant edition", but had died four years previously.<sup>37</sup> It is possible that Allan, who must have known Ramsay when in Italy, learned then of this plan from his fellow-countryman, finally realising the ambition many years later. Only one thing is certain. Even if Ramsay had contemplated an illustrated edition, the task of providing such pictures could have fallen to no more suitable artist than David Allan. Referring to the "new guinea edition of *The Gentle Shepherd*", Robert Burns declared that Allan was "the only Artist who has hit genuine Pastoral costume", a judgement not lightly to be ignored.<sup>38</sup>

In his Preface, after adding his voice once again to the chorus of artists lamenting the lack of encouragement for "the *Poetical painting*" in Britain, Allan continues with an ingenious variant on the familiar argument connecting a country's natural situation with its artistic achievements.<sup>39</sup> Allan ignores the popular question of climate, either because there could be little help for it or because James Barry had vigorously rebutted this argument with his *Inquiry* of 1775, which Allan must surely have read.<sup>40</sup> Instead, he suggests that the arts are at an advantage in countries where the inhabitants themselves "furnish good models . . . for the imitation of the artist". It is a view which might be anticipated at a time when the importance of the senses to individual experience was the subject of much philosophical debate, in an age when the sight of History paintings displaying "eminent instance[s] of heroick action" was held eventually to bestow "refinement of taste" upon whole nations and ultimately, by communicating an idea of intellectual beauty, to "conclude in Virtue".<sup>41</sup> More particularly, it is an argument to be expected from Allan, with his "vigilant eye" ever alert, since "nothing ought to escape a Painter's observation".<sup>42</sup>

As is also to be expected in any contemporary argument concerned with the Imitation of Nature, Allan introduces "the great examples of the Art . . . the materials on which Genius is to work".<sup>43</sup> If Britain were deficient in human objects of imitation, then, good academician that he was, he suggests that artists have recourse to the arts of the past. It was not solely of his own student days that Allan was thinking, but of his day to day supervision of the Trustees' Academy, its meagre stock of plaster casts probably supplemented by the dozen or so he owned



himself.<sup>44</sup> Moving from the theoretical to the practical, then, he continues,

"Yet the Nature we have, with the assistance of ancient models, which may be easily procured by casts from the best of the Greek statues and busts, is fully sufficient for all the purposes of study, and might lead to great improvement even in Historical Painting, were that the general taste of the public."

Throughout his Preface, Allan constantly returns to the ideal of History Painting, and to the reality of the "general taste of the public". Fashionable demand was not only for the genres he mentions - portraiture and still-life - but, as his own pictures of the Roman Carnival had proved, for Genre itself. This Allan promptly distinguishes from low or vulgar subjects, setting out plainly in words the belief which had already informed his treatment of "The Highland Dance":

"Without descending to mean and low objects, it is possible, by a strict adherence to truth and nature, to produce compositions, which though not so striking as the sublimer efforts of the pencil, are yet capable both of pleasing and instructing, in a very high degree."

It is significant that Allan the Historical Painter does not pursue this reasoning to the conclusion reached and the maxim advanced by Hogarth, who believed that

"those subjects that will both entertain and improve the mind bid fair to be of the greatest public utility and must, therefore, be entitled to rank in the highest class,"<sup>45</sup>

Allan knew full well that for an artist to have in his work a didactic purpose, though desirable, was not all.

Having thus set out his reasons, not to mention his justification, for choosing scenes of common life - such as he had, in fact, already executed by this time, and with just such a didactic intention - Allan goes on to point out that in his "set of the Gentle Shepherd" he is neither simply illustrating literature nor depicting Genre in a new guise, but is actually joining with "the Poet of [his] native country, in the imitation of agreeable nature".<sup>46</sup> First drawing upon tradition to support this claim, he then invokes a sense of tradition to make more vivid the world described in the words and pictures of his edition:

"This piece it is well known, he composed in the neighbourhood of Pentland hills, a few miles from Edinburgh, where the shepherds to this day sing his songs, and the old people remember him reciting his own verses. I have studied the same characters on the same spot, and I find, that he has drawn faithfully, and with taste, from Nature. This, likewise, has been my model of imitation, and while I attempted in these sketches to express the ideas of the Poet, I have endeavoured to preserve the *COSTUME*, as nearly as possible, by an exact delineation of such scenes and persons as he actually had in his eye."





108, [Illustration to *The Gentle Shepherd*], c.  
1787, Watercolour over etched outline,  
9 1/4 x 7 1/4, National Galleries of Scotland,  
Prints and Drawings, D 2306.



It is clear that he means the same characteristic types rather than exactly the same people; after sixty years, even the Lass of Peatty's Mill would no longer be "sweet like an April meadow".<sup>47</sup> Allan considered countenances "full of character and expression" to be "useful to the study of History-Painting" because painters could, at least in theory, derive from a study of the faces of many different people a knowledge of that "general nature" from which every individual peculiarity of feature was a deviation.<sup>48</sup> In his quest to give to the figures in his pictures expressions appropriate to their ranks and situations, an artist would of course draw upon "the assistance of ancient models", and presumably upon the *Passions* of Lebrun. This technique is, in fact, ideally suited to the illustration of a play in which immediately recognisable types appear, and a reader need look no further than Allan's first plate for the definitive depiction of the melancholic Roger.

So too the broad and cheery face of Glaud is the very image of the Guidman, an inimitable realisation of a Scottish ideal. It is just such a figure that might be imagined sitting at "The Farmer's Ingle", giving his counsel to the hirelin lads. The peace which Robert Fergusson in this poem wishes for the "husbandman and a' his tribe" has clearly long been enjoyed by Allan's Glaud:

"Lang may his sock and cou'ter turn the glybe,  
And bauks o' corn bend down wi' laded ear!  
May Scotia's simmers ay look gay and green;  
Her yellow har'sts frae scowry blasts decreed!"

The sense of continuance evoked in Fergusson's poem is bound up with the land and its people. Allan in his Preface points out that both are coupled in his plates. There is some similarity to that historical continuity which Ramsay himself had advanced, or suggested as a worthy objective for contemporary poets, in his introduction to *The Evergreen*, and the common bond is, of course, "those Fields and Meadows we every day behold", that Lowland Scottish landscape which, at least in the traditional setting of *The Gentle Shepherd*, has survived for centuries virtually unaltered.<sup>49</sup>

People, however, are a different matter. In claiming that the old people of the Pentland Hills still remembered Ramsay reciting his verses Allan may be availing himself of a measure of licence for poetic effect. Captain Topham, it might be remembered in passing, "scarce met with one instance of remarkable 'longevity' during his stay in Scotland."<sup>50</sup> In writing that the shepherds of the Pentlands still sung Ramsay's songs, however, Allan clearly is presenting the truth in a persuasive manner, one



designed once more to evoke a sense of permanence, in this instance by invoking the agelessness of art. He suggests that though people are many the stock is one, and though generations may pass a good song will go down the ages. The country lass traditionally held to have inspired Ramsay to compose "The Lass of Peatty's Mill" was, like the originals of "The Yellow-Hair'd Laddie" or "John Hay's Bonny Lassie", long gone by Allan's day, but lived in Ramsay's verses ever young.<sup>51</sup> Anyone among his contemporaries would have appreciated the point that Allan was making, but many might have overlooked the strategy he employed.

It was, in fact, not only the peasantry among whom Ramsay had set his play who still sang his songs. George Thomson, one of several amateurs of Scottish music with whom Allan was associated, wrote in a Preface to his *Select Collection of Original Scottish Airs* that "most of the Songs which have so long been favourites" were to be found in Ramsay's *Tea-Table Miscellany*, first published in 1724 and regularly reissued throughout the century.<sup>52</sup> These four volumes contained, alongside many "old verses . . . done time out of mind", some thirty new songs written to traditional airs by a number of "ingenious young gentlemen", and about twice as many verses composed by Ramsay himself.<sup>53</sup> These modern songs, bound together in duodecimo volumes placed upon a genteel tea-table or slipped into a fiddler's wallet, may have been written by those of a particular social position, but Allan for one would not have been likely ignorantly to overlook the fact that "persons of all ranks" enjoyed them. He knew that "Tea-table songs were the popular songs of the upper and middle classes, and if they were any good at all they gradually became known among the whole people".<sup>54</sup> To make especial reference to the shepherds of the Pentland Hills singing Ramsay's songs, therefore, was to claim as remarkable that which was commonplace. Allan, by deftly playing upon contemporary expectations, evokes with this passage a world of eternal Pastoral innocence, its people "not far remote from [their] original simplicity", and still singing the songs of a poet who had once come among them.<sup>55</sup> Ramsay would have been pleased with the myth. In an apostrophe to the *Miscellany* itself, he had written:

"Happy volumes! You are to live too as long as the Song of Homer in Greek and English, and mix your ashes only with the Odes of Horace. Were it but my fate, when old and ruffled, like you to be again reprinted, what a curious figure would I appear on the utmost limits of time, after a thousand editions? Happy volumes! You are secure, but I must yield; please the Ladies, and take care of my fame." <sup>56</sup>

In his illustrations to Ramsay's other claim to poetic fame, Allan clearly chose to emphasise historical continuity in one more way. He depicted the characters of the play in the costume of his own day,



although the action takes place more than a century earlier. This anachronism was by no means caused by his ignorance of the dress typical of this period, or by his not knowing the date of the Restoration. He was soon to draw a scene of the battle of Killiecrankie, fought in 1689, in which the costume of "King William's years" is quite different from that seen in these plates, and his preparation for a series of Historical paintings based on the life of Mary, Queen of Scots, reveals the depth of his interest in "the old Scottish dresses".<sup>57</sup>

This aspect of his illustrations is, in fact, but one more example of how the existence found in isolated rural communities was perceived as a survival of "original simplicity". For shepherd lads and lasses supposedly of the seventeenth century to wear the costume of the eighteenth was, imaginatively at least, quite appropriate. A hundred years was a small consideration among so many ages. As has been shown, this pastoral simplicity was itself seen as inherently virtuous, expressive of the true and uncorrupted nature of Mankind. The instruction to be gained from both plates and Pastoral is, of course, not confined to this recognition alone.

Although he admits that his illustrations may not be as striking as "the sublimer efforts of the pencil", it is evident that Allan's intention in presenting them to the public was didactic, in the same spirit as he would have exhibited a History painting. They were conceived of as being "capable both of pleasing and instructing, in a very high degree". In Neoclassical critical theory, to "form the mind to . . . virtue through example" was "the general end of all poetry", but the examples presented by Ramsay and illustrated by Allan are not those of "some eminent instance of heroick action, or heroick suffering".<sup>58</sup> The painter's object was to "instruct delightfully" in precisely the same manner as had the poet half a century previously. The locale of *The Gentle Shepherd* is recognisably Scottish, its characters presented as familiar and sympathetic individuals, the action of historical, dramatic and traditional interest. By the time Allan came to illustrate the play, its scenes and characters were more widely known in Scotland than the "great events of Greek and Roman fable and history", and were, even acknowledging the "devotional piety of the Scottish peasantry", the widespread possession of tracts and the partiality for religious debate, probably more congenial than "capital subjects of Scripture history".<sup>59</sup> Thus, in addition to raising "peals of laughter in country mansion and crofter's cottage" - for Allan did keep on hand sets of the prints,



Gentle Shepherd



Patie. Here you've been rooming as thinly stock'd as mine,  
 If you wad lose and if you wad repine.  
 He that has just enough can soundly sleep;  
 The overcome only fashies how to keep.

[Figure 115, between pages 168-69.]



presumably to be sold independently of the quarto volume and more cheaply - his aquatints would have been seen by many as co-existing in meaning with the text they illustrate, and complementing it in both pleasing and instructing.<sup>60</sup> Bauldy is discomfited as a result of his superstition and knavery, Roger is miserable and down-trodden until he plays a true man's part, Peggy advocates domestic harmony and represents a contemporary ideal of femininity, while Patie retains his composure and confidence from first to last. In the illustrations too, humour and sentiment are amply demonstrated throughout, the moral tone is evident from the quotation finally appended to the first plate, and in at least one later instance an explicit social comment made by Ramsay is emphasised by Allan.<sup>61</sup>

Patie's first appearance in both play and pictures is one of irrepressible cheerfulness. Having just caught his breath after the fine, and very demanding song, "My Peggy is a young thing", he exclaims how the sunny morning gladdens him as it does all Nature, and asks the cause of Roger's "ill-season'd pain". Thinking at first that his friend's woe is a symptom of meanness, Patie endeavours both to cheer him and advise him of a proper attitude to wealth and gear, by holding up his latest purchase, a "winsome flute",

"Of plum-tree made, wi' iv'ry virles round;  
A dainty whistle, wi' a pleasant sound;  
I'll be mair canty wi't, and ne'er cry dool,  
Than you wi' a' your cash, ye dowie fool!"

[Act I scene i]

It was these four lines which Allan wrote on the proof pulled of his first plate, but he soon decided that the didactic note sounded by Ramsay was not given sufficient prominence by this choice, appropriate though it was to the picture, which is itself a fine distillation of the mood of the opening scene.<sup>62</sup> The four lines which were finally chosen not only encapsulate Patie's sound common sense and his resolve never to "quarrel Fate", they emphasise the virtues of fortitude and simplicity so admired by Allan's contemporaries and seen as characteristic of the pastoral life.

It is from "the just representation of ordinary Life" that Allan believed the "best moral effects, may be often produced". Both the didactic content of *The Gentle Shepherd* and the interest in simpler modes of living are indicative of that reforming consciousness typical of Neoclassicism and expressed to various degrees in all the arts. The massive, unadorned building projects of Ledoux exemplify a dependence on basic geometrical forms and simple planes, just as the sculptural severity of Gavin Hamilton's cycle of paintings from the *Iliad* is a



perfect demonstration of that austere clarity which is the Neoclassical ideal, becoming most famous in the canvases of David or the sculpture of Canova. Flaxman, in his own series of illustrations to the *Iliad*, and, following his lead, Carstens and Retzsch, pursued austerity to the point where all was conveyed by line alone, devoid not only of colour but of shadow. It is small wonder that depictions of the "Origin of Painting" were so popular, this ætiological myth striking a particularly responsive chord among Allan's contemporaries. The field of music itself saw particular interest being taken of what Herder was already calling "Volkslied", with Sir William Hamilton, for example, being among the subscribers to a collection of Scottish songs arranged by Haydn.<sup>63</sup> Similarly, Ramsay's having written in Scots was not only an expression of national identity, nor was it merely in accord with the prescriptions of Decorum, it was an early manifestation of the impulse towards a less obviously polished and artificial kind of poetry, an impulse which culminated in the *Lyrical Ballads* of 1798 relating

"incidents and situations from common life . . . in a selection of language really used by men, and . . . tracing in them, truly though not ostentatiously, the primary laws of our nature".<sup>64</sup>

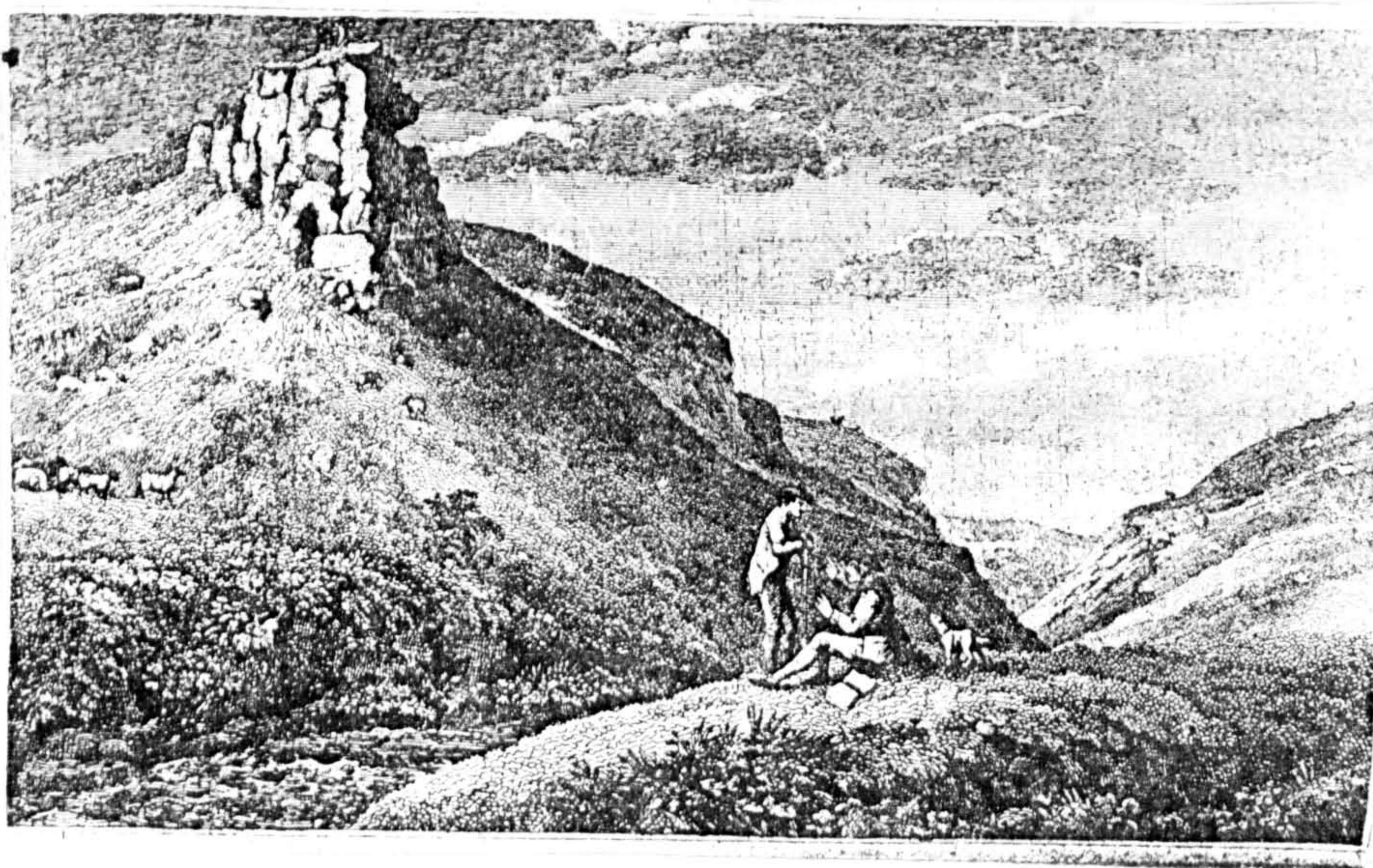
The antiquarianism of Sir William Hamilton or that of the Earl of Buchan, with both of whom Allan was associated, are but two instances of a widespread desire to learn more of the art and civilisation of the Ancients, or of the lives of the inhabitants of different countries in different ages. Concentration by some men of letters upon examples of older poetry, Addison, Gray and Bishop Percy being perhaps the best-known names, gave rise in Scotland to such collections as those of James Watson, David Herd, Sir Walter Scott and, of course, Allan Ramsay himself.<sup>65</sup> Related to these studies in several respects, as is most evident in a consideration of the background to Allan's illustrations of songs and ballads, the concept of the Noble Savage - whether he dwelt among the wilds of America, the palms of Otaheite or the glens of Scotland - offered an idealised view of contemporary primitive societies. Such societies, as might be imagined, suggested some tempting prospects to writers throughout Europe. As has been shown, it was Ramsay's good fortune to have, literally just beyond his doorstane, a genuinely pastoral community which, perhaps with some judicious additions by the poet, spoke a language evocative of "that olden time which is uniformly conceived as more pure, lofty and simple than the present".<sup>66</sup>

Allan's just representation of Ramsay's poem began, as the Preface relates, with journeys to the Pentland Hills in order to study its





109, JAMES STEVENSON: "Monk's Burn and Glaid's House from the South-East" c 1808. Water-colour 13x19, Private coll.



110.  
ROBERT SCOTT after Alexander Carse: "The Harbour Craig near the Craigy Bield from the East", c. 1808. Engraving  $4\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{3}{4}$ . For Robert Brown's edition of *The Gentle Shepherd*, Edinburgh, 1808.



location.<sup>67</sup> While some of the charm of the piece resides in its occasional references to identifiable landscape features, the illustrations resulting from Allan's researches differ widely from those topographical engravings in an edition of *The Gentle Shepherd* dating from 1808, although his intentions partly corresponded to those of Robert Brown, who commissioned both this later set of plates and the invaluable *MEMOIRS of the late DAVID ALLAN, Painter in Edinburgh; commonly called the Scots Hogarth*, taken down from the reminiscences of Allan's widow and his half-brother James. According to Brown, who owned Newhall house, situated in the Pentlands to the north-east of Carlops,

"the design of these *illustrations*, is, to arrest the original appearances of the objects alluded to by Ramsay, before it is too late, and they have been irrecoverably lost," <sup>68</sup>

That is, the views he commissioned represent a project to record as exactly as possible the scenes that Ramsay traditionally "had in his eye" when composing the Pastoral, in the days before "the alterations effected by villages, factories, markets, coach roads and, above all, enclosures and the plough" changed utterly the appearance of the countryside.<sup>69</sup> Figures, where possible enacting the scenes of the drama, are often diminutive and always subordinated to the landscape. Patie briskly indicates a notable feature, the Harbour Craig, the situation of which, notwithstanding Brown's abjuring of "any alterations or improvements whatever", is made slightly more picturesque in the engraving than in reality, and jokingly addresses Roger, who is pining at Jenny's disdain:

"Saebins she be sic a thrawn-gabbit chuck,  
Yonder's a craig; since ye hae tint all hope,  
Gang till't your ways, and take the lover's lowp,"  
[Act I scene I] <sup>70</sup>

Allan's intention, on the other hand, was to "preserve the *COSTUME*, as nearly as possible" by his illustrations. In other words, his approach to the task, as described in his Preface, was precisely that of any artist endeavouring to amass "that exact knowledge of the habits, customs and local colour of various peoples and countries, that the critics in the name of verisimilitude insisted upon as necessary to the painter of history", <sup>71</sup> It was an approach he had already employed in Italy, in France and in the Scottish Highlands, and was to use for the last time in recording the vanishing custom of the Penny Wedding. In short, in his Preface to *The Gentle Shepherd*, Allan makes it clear that he had brought one of the activities of a Historical Painter - entirely appropriate to

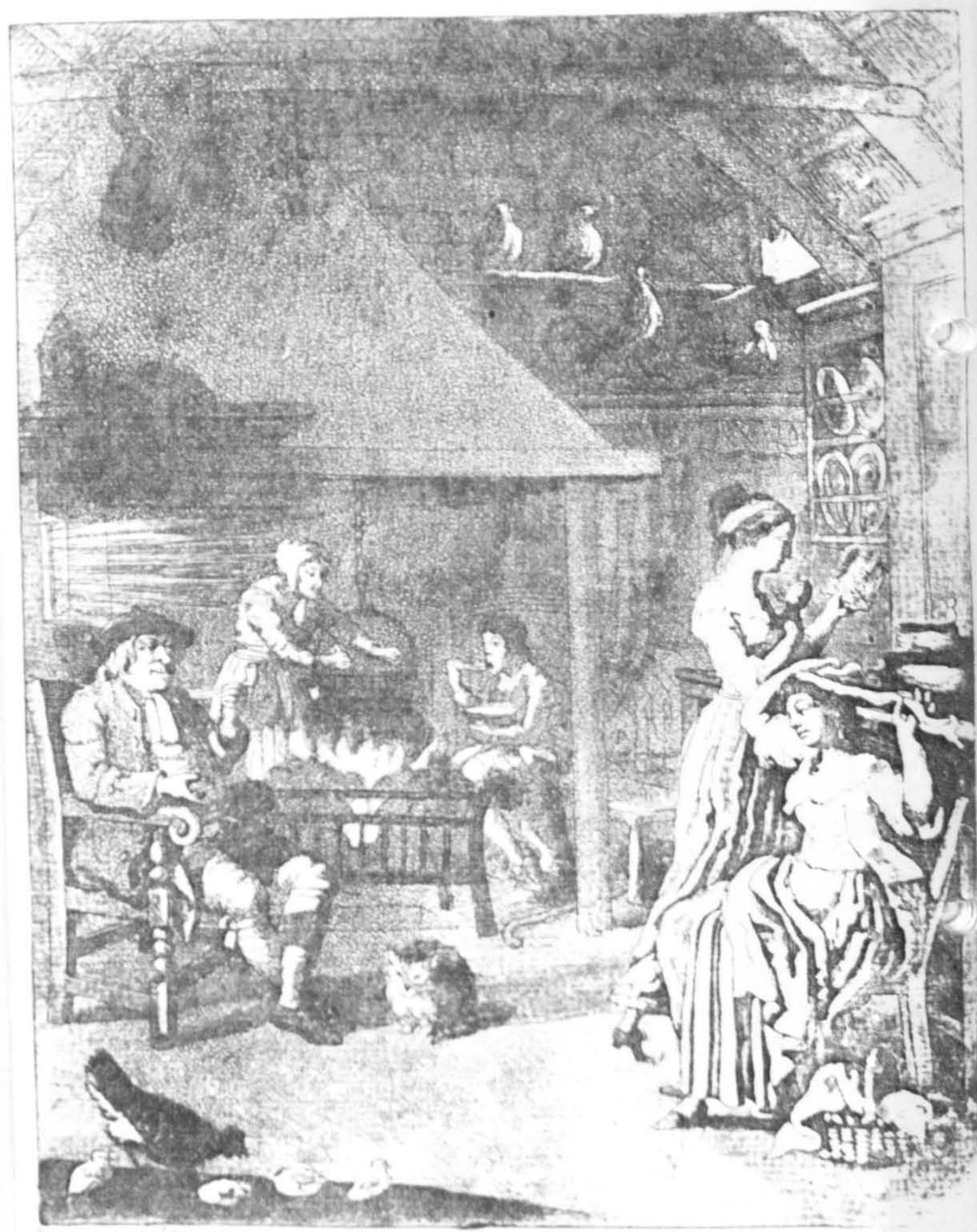
Figure 109

Figure 110





Detail of Figure 125,



111, [ Illustration to *The Gentle Shepherd* ], 1788, reworked (anonymously) 1796, Etching and aquatint, with subsequent engraving, 9 1/4 x 7 1/4 (platemark 10 1/4 x 7 1/4),



the illustration of literature - to material which might initially, and more obviously, be classed as Genre.

The illustrations which Allan prepared for his edition, of course, cannot properly be described as paintings, despite the fact that the medium of aquatint, combining etched lines with more softly defined areas of tone, allows effects similar to those created by watercolour washes to be achieved. Outlines are first etched on a polished copper plate in the usual manner, acid "biting" the metal where a protective layer of wax or varnish has been scratched with a needle, before areas of shadow are created by the application of resin particles, these being dissolved in volatile fluid or suspended in a cloud chamber. Sandby, for instance, used spirits of wine in laying his aquatint ground.<sup>72</sup> These grains fuse to the plate when it is heated and resist the acid, which bites the metal in pools around them. The resultant depressions retain ink when the plate is wiped, thus leaving an area of soft tone on the print.

The medium was still of some novelty in 1788, as might be divined from the final, modest paragraph of Allan's Preface, correctly defending his choice against the techniques of etching or engraving, more usual in book illustration of the time;

"I have engraved these designs in the manner called *AQUA-TINTA*, a late invention, which has been brought to much perfection by Mr. Paul Sandby, of London. A painter finds his advantage in this method, in which the pencil may be associated with the graver. It will be easily seen that I am not a master in the mechanical part of this art; but my chief intention was not to offer expensive and smooth engravings, but expressive and characteristic designs. How far I have succeeded, it does not belong to me to say. I submit the work with diffidence to the public; offering it under the sanction of your name, as a perfect judge, and a person to whom I owe every tribute of respect and gratitude."

As Allan noted, aquatint had been "brought to much perfection" by his friend Sandby, who is said to have learned of the technique from the Honourable Charles Greville, son of the Earl of Warwick, possibly during a tour of Wales made in 1773 with Banks the sculptor.<sup>73</sup> Several British artists may have known of the process before Sandby, Gainsborough among them.<sup>74</sup> Allan himself could have experimented with this "late invention" as early as 1769.<sup>75</sup> The prints he made for *The Gentle Shepherd* lack the luminous quality often found in Sandby's aquatints, although a nicely judged impression of sunbeams streaming through a window - achieved by the use of stopping-out varnish - may be seen in one plate. In editions of the Pastoral which were published with Allan's illustrations in 1796 and 1808, the original delicacy of this atmospheric effect is replaced by hard lines brutally cut into the plate, one of the passages most heavily reworked by some anonymous hand after Allan's death.



Even in the state in which they were originally published, Allan's aquatints must have given his subscribers and purchasers pause. Although large, as befitted the fine Foulis edition, and intricately worked in numerous tiny details of feature and background, their most immediate impression is one of roughness, almost of crudity. The nearest sheep and cattle in the first illustration, for example, are little more than silhouettes against the lighter landscape, and hills in these plates are seldom as fully modelled in light and shade as are those heights in the distance. In the fourth plate and the tenth, Allan employed resin grains of particularly coarse texture, and worked his needle with a touch more broad and free than elsewhere. It is hardly necessary to suppose that he chose such an illustrative style to accord with the innocent, artless way of life portrayed by Ramsay, or to suggest that his contemporaries recognised the fitness of these plates to the Pastoral drama. Robert Brown, for one, was later to set the plainness and truth of the prints in his own edition against a more conventional and picturesque presentation.

"With regard to the *views* . . . the sole object was to delineate the objects they contain with fidelity and truth, and to exhibit the scenes they represent exactly as they were seen when the drawings were taken, without using any freedoms, or making any alterations or improvements whatever. By a less scrupulous mode of proceeding, much finer and more dazzling and tempting pictures, to attract purchasers and draw money, might have been produced; but, in that case, they could not fairly have been referred to, as evidences of the resemblance of Ramsay's descriptions to the landscapes in nature; what they gained in glitter, they would have lost in value; all their effects would have ended with the first flash of their gildings, like the refined Italian pastorals, compared with the modest and durable intrinsic merits of *The Gentle Shepherd*, and Mr. Allan's designs for it." <sup>76</sup>

That is, Brown equated the topographical accuracy of these delineations with the truth to nature of Ramsay's play, and, significantly, with the simplicity of Allan's plates, modest in spite of their size and magnificent setting. Allan Cunningham, in his *The Lives of the most Eminent British Painters, Sculptors, and Architects*, and no doubt looking back with some condescension on the earlier days of Scottish art, was later to regard this homely aspect as unfortunate but unavoidable rather than deliberate and "characteristic". Taking Allan's apology for his lack of skill in aquatint at face value - and hence overlooking the implication that the artist had forgotten much in the four years since making his print of "Presbyterian Penance" - Cunningham commented,

"The artist was not mistaken; the engraving is rude and rough, and quite unlike the smooth and brilliant work produced now. It is, nevertheless, full of nature, which is a compensation for many defects." <sup>77</sup>

The criticism is, incidentally, a fair indication of the tone typical of Cunningham's assessment of Allan. The artist's contemporaries,



fortunately, were more kindly disposed towards him, and more receptive to the true import of his pictures. This group of aquatint illustrations, in effect, represents a resumption of the theme of simplicity explored in "The Highland Dance", with the advantage that the scale of these pictures was more manageable. The further benefit of prints, of course, even those prepared for a splendid quarto edition, had long ago been reaped by Hogarth in "small sums from many", and the "act of Parliament" according to which Allan's plates were published in July 1788 was in fact the same Engravers' Copyright Act for which Hogarth had agitated half a century previously.<sup>70</sup> Hogarth has also been seen as a precursor in this very matter of the style of Allan's illustrations to *The Gentle Shepherd*:

"Hogarth provides a precedent for the deliberate imitation of unsophisticated styles in, for example, the woodcut version of *The Four Stages of Cruelty*, but whereas Hogarth was adopting an unsophisticated style to reach an unsophisticated audience, Allan was presenting lack of sophistication as desirable to a sophisticated audience because it was more expressive."<sup>79</sup>

It is true that Allan's reason for adopting a deliberately simple style was not a desire to appeal to an "unpolished" market, the "common miscellaneous public", but the significance of his choice is only to be understood by close study and accurate interpretation of his words, in conjunction with his pictures and the text they illustrate.<sup>80</sup> Their style is not that of "expensive and smooth engravings", but neither is it truly crude or, especially in the figures, inelegant. Its simplicity is in keeping with the natural, apparently unstudied grace of Ramsay's Pastoral, and is quite as carefully judged and balanced. Allan, in short, when he mentioned in passing his not being a master in "the mechanical part" of aquatint before coming to the more important matter of "expressive and characteristic designs", was not claiming that "the authenticity of his expression lies in his lack of mechanic skill", but rather - as might be expected of a Historical painter of this time - that his powers of mere execution were not to be ranked with his Invention.<sup>81</sup>

Although Allan's concern in these illustrations was, as he put it, to "preserve the *COSTUME*" of the Pentlands farming community, the sketches which he made in the interests of verisimilitude, as distinct from the compositional studies he made later in his studio, would nevertheless have been largely devoted to landscape features typical of the area. He would, in fact, have already been as familiar with the items of furniture and the domestic utensils he depicted as with the articles of clothing, from Patie's breeks and woollen bonnet to Peggy's *fichu* and Madge's homespun reticule, which he faithfully recorded. Like his calculated



reference to the shepherds of the Pentlands continuing to sing Ramsay's songs long after the poet's death, Allan's claim to have "studied the same characters on the same spot" was made for effect. It is true that these pictures are the first of his to be published, or "finished" for presentation, actually to depict Lowland shepherds and shepherdesses, his earlier prints having been of Highlanders or of townsfolk. It is, however, quite inconceivable that he had not sketched the costume of his Lowland countrymen until he was past the age of forty. The passage describing his "model of imitation" is no ingenuous account of a personal preparation, to be understood literally and no more. The entire Preface was skilfully composed - the key words cleverly chosen, the argument carefully structured - to show how it is the artist's approach to his chosen subject which determines a picture's worth, rather than the choice of a great subject *per se*, however it be treated. Thus the implication that he had travelled to the Pentland Hills in almost the same spirit of discovery as artists had sailed with Captain Cook is, all exaggeration aside, really an indication of how an artist *should* prepare to illustrate any work of literature. Gavin Hamilton, keen archæologist as he was, would have appreciated that. Allan's account, in fact, was meant to be as comprehensive and instructive, indeed as thoroughly academic, as possible.

It was emphatically not meant to imply that, in Allan's estimation, every subject was equally worthy of Invention. He specifically points out that representing ordinary life was not at all synonymous with depicting the "mean and low objects" to which some painters, and some poets, had descended. A brave man, it may be reiterated, "can be as meritorious in Hodden-gray as in Velvet".<sup>62</sup> The opposite side of the same coin, of course, would show venerable subjects treated in a paltry or otherwise inappropriate manner. If he ever saw them, Allan must also have despised such travesties of Historical Composition as "The Origin of Painting: a fan", the kind of business to which both Bartolozzi and Benjamin West had stooped.<sup>63</sup>

A similar tension between apparent grandeur and innate worth, as encountered among people rather than among paintings, lies at the heart of Ramsay's pastoral, as it does in so much British poetry of the century, from Swift to Collins. In Scotland, Burns, as everyone knows, "inverted into rhyme" the thought that a man's social rank is but an accident of birth, one which gives no indication of either good sense or honesty, and Robert Fergusson laughed to see how a

". . . flunky braw, whan drest in maister's claise,  
Struts to Auld Reekie's cross on sunny days." <sup>64</sup>



Ramsay, for his part even more concerned to teach a moral in his Pastoral than either Fergusson or Burns in their poems, and doing so at greater length, has Sir William pass judgement on the "fine poems, histories and plays" which Patie carries in his pockets to the hills, a judgement with particular point in Scotland with its ideal of a school in every parish:

"Reading such books can raise a peasant's mind  
Above a lord's that is not thus inclined,"

[Act III scene iv]

Only if Allan's expression of his regret at the "little demand there is for public and great works in the historical line" is regarded as "a rather nominal declaration" can the similarity in principle and perception of his Preface to this truly democratic aspect of Ramsay's play be thought coincidental.<sup>85</sup> Allan had, after all, in a private letter† to the Earl of Buchan, already expressed just such a regret at the fate of "the nobles[t] part of Painting", and in that there was no need to strike an attitude. In the Preface, of course, he did have to direct his argument very persuasively indeed, if the polemic - for that is what it must then have amounted to - were to succeed. In essence, then, despite the fact that the action of the play does not take place on classic ground, involves not ancient heroes but near-contemporary shepherds, and is drama of a quiet and nostalgic kind, Allan points out how a painter or a poet, drawing upon such material, can still attain the "chief end" of his particular art though in a more gentle manner than the writer of Epic or the painter of the "HEROIC and SUBLIME". The heart and mind are not necessarily to be won by an assault on the senses, but by demonstration of a conviction that such hamely fare as *The Gentle Shepherd*, if treated justly and with sincerity, is a fit subject for any artist.

The most striking landscape feature in the series of illustrations is the waterfall which provides a picturesque backdrop to the first plate. Several locations might be claimed for the craigy bield near which Patie and Roger tented their flocks and of which Allan only provides a glimpse, but his treatment of the distant view in this print is necessarily more specific. In fact, he made a composite view from the numerous particular sketches he executed in the area in the late summer of 1786.<sup>86</sup> The waterfall is, in all probability, either based on "Mary's Lin", about half a mile from the Harbour Craig - although this narrow cascade, as depicted in Brown's edition of 1808, tumbles in three stages down a steep and densely wooded ravine - or on a torrent of the Monks' Burn, a mile to the north of the Craig and from that position entirely lost to sight amid the

† Appendix III





112. [A craigy bield near Newhall House, Carlisle], 1984, (photograph from the Harlaw Muir, facing north-eastwards).



hills. This waterfall is

"seen pouring down a rugged, broken, narrow chasm, in a deep bed of whinstone, with great velocity; brawling and foaming as it descends, amidst the stubborn points and breaks it has to contend with," <sup>87</sup>

Not only has he exaggerated the volume of water roaring down the barren heugh, Allan has compressed an undulating range of hills into a more striking prospect. The view is evocative of the Pentlands without being an exact topographical delineation devoted to a particular view. In being "a composition of the various draughts which he had previously made" rather than "a very faithful but very confined portrait", Allan's treatment of this scene, and of landscape throughout his plates for *The Gentle Shepherd*, is of a kind with his approach to Ramsay's *dramatis personæ*, and is founded upon general ideas and general nature.<sup>88</sup>

At the same time, the craigy biield of Allan's first illustration, *repoussoir* though it may be, is no conventional interpolation by the artist. During his walks in the area, he discovered a remote crag beside another small waterfall contributory to the North Esk, perhaps half a mile from the Harbour Craig; and it was this outcrop which he introduced to the composite view in his first plate, as

" . . . the south-side of a craigy biield,  
Where crystal springs the halesome waters yield".

It is of some interest that, of all possible locations for the first scene of the Pastoral, only this biield has "springs" literally splashing beside it rather than purling nearby. It is, however, more likely that both Ramsay and Allan thought artistic effect more important than strict topographical accuracy. How halesome these springs and burns are need not be determined.

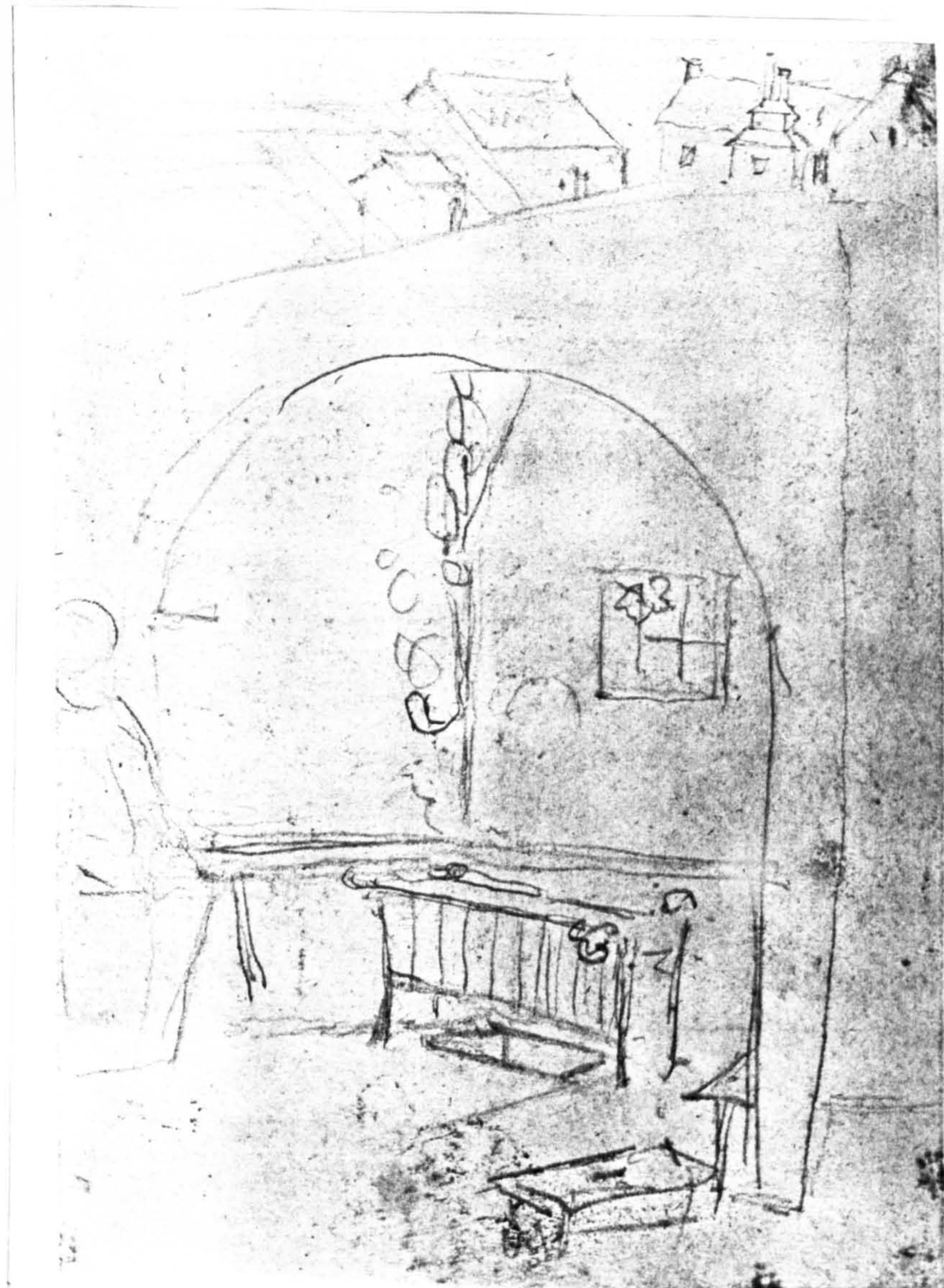
Later admirers of the Pastoral and of Allan's designs were more concerned with specific sights and details than he would have liked. Brown, as might be expected, criticised the illustrations largely with reference to their settings, warming to his task as he described how

"The out, and inside of 'Glaud's Onstead;' the *Monks' Burn*, and its lower or middle *lin*; were all drawn on the side of that stream; and his designs for the '*Washing Green*,' and '*Habbie's How*,' afterwards aquatinted for the second scene of the drama, were also delineated from the "howm" on the Esk behind New-Hall House,

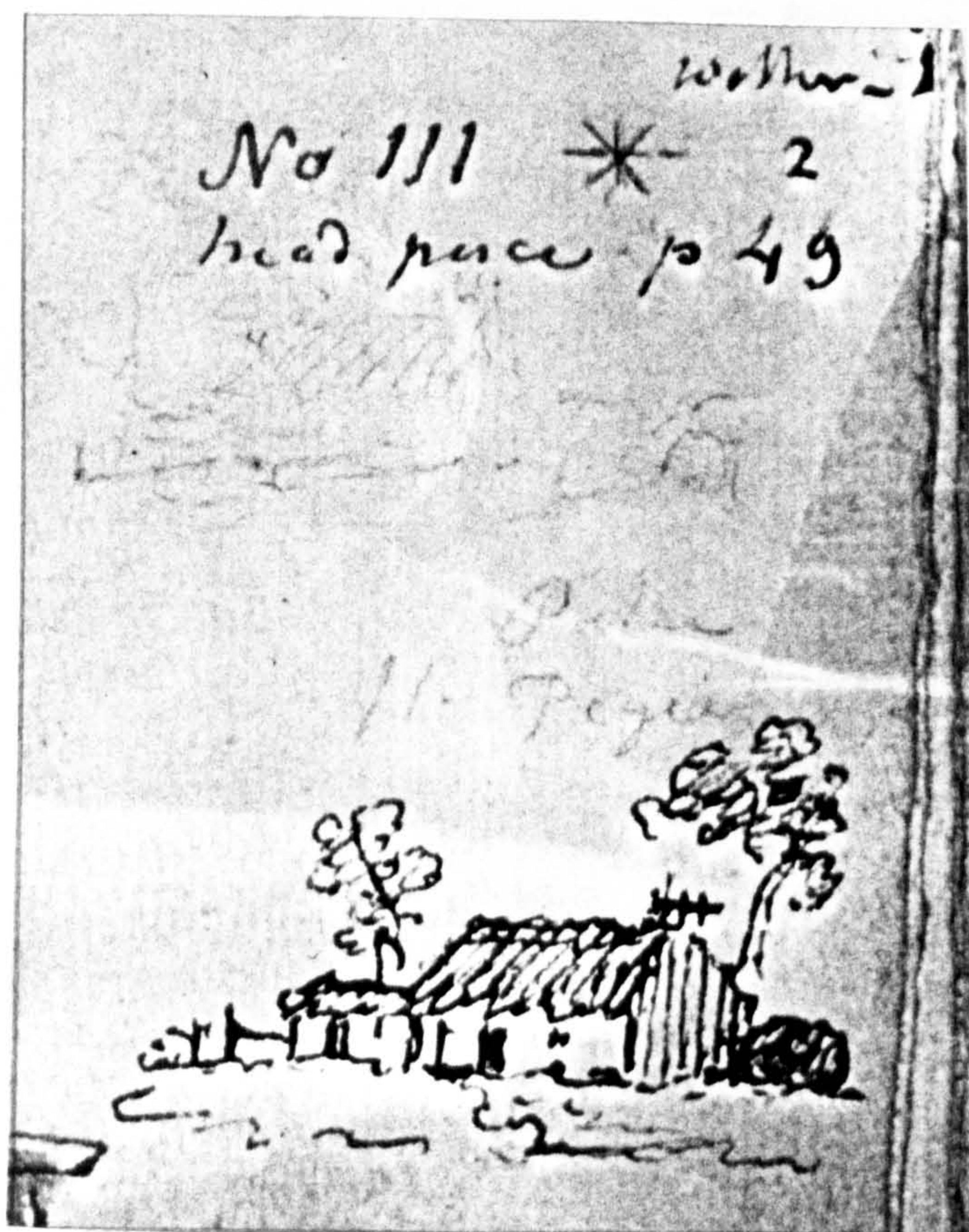
'Where lasses use to wash and spread their claiths,'  
and from the 'little lin,' between and the Carlops, which falls into the bason called *Peggy's Fool*, 'farer up the burn' in nature, as in the pastoral, than the 'howm.' " <sup>89</sup>

While an artist's depictions of landscape are more capable of being thus scrutinised, details such as the hens roosting in the laft of Glaud's





113, [Sketch of an ingleneuk and some houses]  
c. 1786, Pencil on paper 10 $\frac{1}{2}$  x 7 $\frac{1}{2}$  (approx  
verso of Fig. 135), Glasgow University Lib-  
rary, Special Collections.



Detail of Figure 181.



cottage, the onions and hams hanging from couple-baulks in company with a fiddle placed out of harm's way, the cauldron slung above a blazing turf fire and the ash-pit dug below it are all similarly suggestive of actual observation, as is the lattice-like chimney which Allan depicts in several views.<sup>90</sup> In one of his most approving remarks upon Allan,

Cunningham noted how, in illustrating *The Gentle Shepherd*, he

"began the right way; he visited New Hall, Habbie's How, and every hill, dale, tree, stream and cottage, which could be admitted into the landscape of the poet. He copied whatever seemed suitable, with fidelity; and as old men and women came wondering around him, he admitted their faces freely into his sketches, and made use of them afterwards, in his finished drawings." <sup>91</sup>

Cunningham seems to have been thoroughly convinced by Allan's persuasive Preface, but whether or no these old country folk did gaze with wonder upon an artist, it is certain that he did not take "nature as he found it", preferring to create characteristic portrayals rather than portraits of individuals, all "nature, oddity and originality" though they might be.<sup>92</sup> Little more need be urged in refutation of Brown's claim that every character in these illustrations was "copied from individual nature" than the evidence provided by the evolution of Glaucl from Allan's drawings to his final aquatints.<sup>93</sup> The features of Sir William Worthy, it is true, are said to be those of Captain Campbell of Glencross, Allan's companion on his excursions to Newhall. Reynolds for one may have deplored this kind of tribute "amongst those old painters, who revived the art before general ideas were practised or understood", but the authority of no less an artist than Raphael supported Allan's inclusion of one notable individual in his plates.<sup>94</sup>

The younger characters, particularly in those drawings which survive, are of a type nascent in Allan's work as early as the watercolours of 1769 showing the "Evening Amusements" of Rome and Naples, while for his depictions of Patie and Peggy he seems - significantly - to have drawn on a source far removed from the Pentland Hills, from Edinburgh, and from the eighteenth century.<sup>95</sup> Allan's draughtsmanship, in fact, changed very little in essentials throughout his career, either in his creating a head by delicately indicating the areas of shadow under the nose and mouth, with a pool of darkness for the eyes, or in his recording the gestures and grouping of a company of people with a few telling strokes. In his earliest Italian drawings, his training from engravings in the Foulis Academy reveals itself in the use of contoured cross-hatching to suggest the roundness of a cheek or the swelling of a shoulder, but this technique was soon abandoned in favour of one allowing greater freedom





Top Left, Detail of Figure 270,  
 Top Right, Detail of Figure 269,  
 Above Left, Figure 288, page 329,  
 Above Right, Detail of Figure 269.

Left,

114, (after Allan Ramsay junr, 1713-1784),  
 "ALAN RAMSAY SCOTUS". Etching and  
 aquatint 94 x 7 (platemark 104 x 8),  
 inscribed "A. Ramsay ad. viv. del.",  
 "D. Allan Sc. Edinr 1788", and "Pub-  
 lished according to Act of Parliament  
 by D. Allan Edinr July<sup>12</sup> 1788". The  
 Frontispiece to Allan's edition of  
*The Gentle Shepherd*, The Foulis Press,  
 Glasgow, 1788.



and spontaneity. Both in Italy and in Scotland Allan found pen and wash a favourite medium for compositional studies, one which permitted him to evaluate tonal relationships while developing structure and illusionistic space and depth. For hurried sketches made on the spot, of course, there could be no substitute for the lead pencil and notebook. Once again Allan soon evolved a manner which was to serve him for the rest of his life. A stooped gentleman leaving behind the "Evening Amusements at Rome" is drawn with a technique identical to that seen in a strip of figure sketches dating from some twenty years later. A portly merchant in the High Street of Edinburgh, passing the time of day with a smaller companion, was in 1793 derived from the brief but characteristic suggestion second from left. The Italian picture, that of the High Street, and others such as his views of the mineral well at Moffat, were all more carefully finished in Allan's studio afterwards.

Figure 13  
Figure 269

Figure 288

Allan's plates for *The Gentle Shepherd* are thirteen in number, one of which is a posthumous portrait of the author, seen in profile. The original likeness from which this frontispiece was etched, however, was attributed by Allan himself to Allan Ramsay the younger, and is itself now lost. It is possible that Allan ultimately gained access to this picture as the result of some earlier approach made to Andrew Foulis the younger by Ramsay, with his own thoughts of bringing out an edition worthy of his father's masterpiece.<sup>96</sup> Even without the Antique fillets and the comic mask which accompany a shepherd's crook and a stock and horn in the spandrels around the oval frame, and which serve still to link the world of classical Pastoral with that of Ramsay's play, this frontispiece would immediately have suggested just such an identification to Allan's contemporaries. The profile portrait itself, with its associations of antique medallions, had had very specific connotations since the Renaissance. In depicting a poet in this manner, as Kneller had Pope and Gavin Hamilton had the Jacobite poet William Hamilton of Bangour, who was probably one of the "ingenious young gentlemen" who assisted with *The Tea-Table Miscellany*, an artist did not simply compare him to his classical predecessors, he literally placed him among a band of brothers whose works were not for one age but for all time. It was, then, not only the "happy volumes" of the *Miscellany* which were to live as long as the Song of Homer and the Odes of Horace, but the author's likeness too, at least wherever an edition of *The Gentle Shepherd* was assured of a "favourable reception".<sup>97</sup> Allan, who numbered among his

Figure 114



# Gentle Shepherd



Patie.      Were your vein rooms as thinly stock'd as mine,  
 Lefs you wad lose, and lefs you wad repine.  
 He that has just enough can soundly sleep;  
 The o'ercome only fashes fowk to keep.

*Published according to act of Parliament, 1740, by the Author.*



"1                      Gentle Shepherd                      Act I Scene I"

Etching and aquatint 8- x 7 (platemark 10½ x 8).  
Inscribed: "Da. Allan invt et Aq. tint fecit Edinbr 1788",  
*"Published according to act of Parliament July 12 1788 by*  
*D. Allan,"* and four lines of verse;

Patie. 'Were your bein rooms as thinly stock'd as mine,  
Less you wad lose, and less you wad repine,  
He that has just enough can soundly sleep;  
The o'ercome only fashes fowk to keep.



"2                      Gentle    Shepherd                      Act I Scene II"

Etching and aquatint 8 $\frac{1}{4}$  x 6 $\frac{1}{4}$  (platemark 10 $\frac{1}{2}$  x 8).  
Inscribed; "Da. Allan invt et Aq. tint fecit Edinb: 1788",  
*"Published according to act of Parliament July 12 1788 by*  
*D. Allan."*, and four lines of verse;

Peggy. See yon twa elms that grow up side by side;  
Suppose them, some years syne, bridegroom and bride;  
Nearer and nearer ilka year they've prest,  
Till wide their spreading branches are increast





Peggy

See you two elms that grow up side by side;  
 Suppose them, some years agone, bridegroom and bride;  
 Nearer and nearer ilka year they've prest,  
 Till wide their spreading branches are increast





Simon

And tent me now auld boy,  
I've gather'd news will liddle your mind an' joy

*Published according to act of Parliament, 1719.*



"3                      Gentle Shepherd                      Act II Scene I"

Etching and aquatint 9 x 7 (platemark 10 1/4 x 8).  
Inscribed: "Da. Allan inv. et Aq. tint fecit Edinbr: 1788",  
"D. Allan, Published according to act of Parliament July 12<sup>th</sup>  
1788.", and two lines of verse:

Symon. \_\_\_\_\_ And tent me now auld boy,  
I've gather d news will kittle your mind wi' joy



"4                      Gentle Shepherd                      Act II Scene III"

Etching and aquatint 8½ x 7 (platemark 10½ x 8).  
Inscribed: "D. Allan invt et Aq. tint fecit Edinb: 1788",  
*"Published according to Act of Parliament 1788 by D. Allan."*,  
and four lines of verse:

Bauldy. And yonder's Mause: ay, ay, she kens fu' well,  
When ane like me comes rinning to the Deil,  
She and her cat sit beeking in her yard,  
To speak my errand, faith anaist I'm feard;





And yonder's Maister, ay, ay, she knew full well,  
 And one like me, comes running to the dell,  
 And here he sat, sitting, looking in her yard,  
 To push my errands, faith, against the wind.





When our feet are free

Edinb 378 B

Peggy.

Agreed.—But harken! you've tist'led my eye;  
I ken they'll wonder what can make us shy.

Edinb 378 B



"5

Gentle Shepherd

Act II Scene IV"

Etching and aquatint 8 1/2 x 6 1/2 (platemark 10 1/2 x 7 1/2).  
Inscribed: "D. Allan invt et Aq. tint fecit Edinbr<sup>o</sup> 1788",  
"Published according to act of Parliament July 12 1788 by  
D. Allan.", and two lines of verse;

Peggy.      Agreed,—— But harken! yon's auld aunty's cry;  
I ken they'll wonder what can make us stay.



"6

Gentle Shepherd

Act III Scene I"

Etching and aquatint 9¼ x 7¼ (platemark 10½ x 8),  
Inscribed: "Da. Allan invt et Aq. tinta fecit Edinbr 1788",  
*"Published according to act of Parliament 1788 by D. Allan."*,  
and four lines of verse:

Sir William.      Whisht; doubtfu carl, for e're the sun  
                         Has driven twice down to the sea,  
                         What I have said ye shall see done  
                         In part, or nae mair credit me.





Mr William.

Whisht; doubtless earl, for ere the sun  
Has driven twice down to the sea,  
What I have said ye shall see done  
In part, or use wair credit me.

*Revised according to act of Parliament 1788 by Thelwall.*





Jenny.

Oh, and a world of love, and of the world's great  
Oh, and a world of love, and of the world's great



"7

Gentle Shepherd

*Act 3 Scene 3"*

Etching and aquatint 9 x 7½ (platemark 10½ x 8).  
Inscribed: "D. Allan invt et Aq. tint fecit Edinb: 1788",  
*"Published according to Act of Parliament 1788 by D. Allan."*,  
and two lines of verse:

Jenny.      And what would Roger say if he could speak?  
              Am I oblig'd to guess what ye' re to seek,



"8                      Gentle    Shepherd                      *Act 4 Scene 1*"

Etching and aquatint 9¼ x 7 (platemark 10¼ x 7¼).  
Inscribed; "D. Allan invt et Aq. Tinta fecit Edinb<sup>r</sup> 1788",  
"*Published according to Act of Parliament July 12 1788 by*  
*D. Allan.*", and a line of verse;

Madge.      Auld Roudes! filthy fallow I shall auld ye.





D. Allan inv. & sculp. fecit

Edinb. 1788

Madge. Auld Roudes! filthy fallow I shall auld ye.

Published according to Act of Parliament, 1784, by D. Allan.



# Gentle Shepherd



I'll be unobtrusive

Patie

Edinb<sup>r</sup> 1798.

My Peggy why in tears?  
Smile as ye wunt, allow nae room for fears,  
Tho I'm nae mair a shepherd, yet I'm thine.

Published according to the original in 1798. D. Walker.



"9

Gentle Shepherd

Act IV Scene II"

Etching and aquatint 9¼ x 7¼ (platemark 10½ x 8).  
Inscribed: "D. Allan invt et Aq. Tinta fecit Edinbr 1788",  
*"Published according to act of Parliament 1788 by D. Allan."*,  
and three lines of verse;

Patie.

My Peggy why in tears?

Smile as ye wont, allow nae room for fears,  
Tho I'm nae mair a shepherd, yet I'm thine.



"10

Gentle Shepherd

Act V Scene I"

Etching and aquatint 9½ x 7½ (platemark 10½ x 7½).  
Inscribed: "D. Allan invt et Aq. tint fecit Edinbr 1788",  
*"D. Allan, Published according to act of Parliament July 12*  
*1788."*, and four lines of verse:

Bauldy. Ah! Sir the witch ca'd Mause,  
That wins aboon the Mill amang the haws,  
As she had tristed, I met wi'er this night  
But may nae friend o' mine get sic a fright!





Baudy,

He's the witch and Maase,  
 But when I saw the Mill among the haws,  
 (He had told me, I met, over this night,  
 But now I'm afraid a' mine get sic a fright!





Green-birds in the tree.

While Peggy lazes up her bonnet fair,  
 A blue-bird's song winds up her hair,  
 Glad by his morning lullaby to be,  
 The rising sun shines merrily thro' the tree,  
 A pipe his mouth, the ladies please his ear,  
 And now and then his pipe man intervenes.

Copyright, 1884, by the Author. Published by the Author.



"11

Gentle Shepherd

Act V Scene II"

Etching and aquatint 9¼ x 7¼ (platemark 10¼ x 7¼).  
Inscribed: "D. Allan invt et Aq. tinta fecit Edinbr 1788",  
*"Published According to Act of Parliament 1788 by D. Allan."*,  
and six lines of verse:

While Peggy laces up her bosom fair,  
Wi a blue snood Jenny binds up her hair.  
Glaud by his morning ingle takes a beak,  
The rising sun shines motty thro the reek,  
A pipe his mouth, the lasses please his een,  
And now and then his joke maun interveen.



"12

Gentle Shepherd

Act V Scene III"

Etching and aquatint 9 x 7½ (platemark 10½ x 7½),  
Inscribed: "Da. Allan invt et Aq. tint fecit Edinb: 1788",  
*"Published According to Act of Parliament 1788 by D. Allan."*,  
and two lines of verse:

Sir William. I give you both my blissing; may your love  
Produce a happy race, and still improve.





*Sir William. I give you both my blessing; may your love  
 Produce a happy race, and still improve.*



collection of *objets d'art* "9 Roman Medals, 7 of them Heads of Emperors, in bronze", was well aware that

"The Medal, faithful to its charge of fame,  
Thro' climes and ages bears each form and name;  
In one short view subjected to our eye  
Gods, Emperors, Heroes, Sages, Beauties lie." 98

He therefore welcomed the opportunity offered by Ramsay's portrait to show the poet *sub specie æternitatis*, as James Tassie in his paste medallions occasionally did his most distinguished sitters, the man as in himself he essentially was, in the "simplicity of the antique air and attitude" and freed from the trappings of contemporary fashion.<sup>99</sup> Even the poet's hair is modelled in the formal style seen in Roman sculpture.

Of the fifteen scenes in *The Gentle Shepherd* itself, Allan illustrates all but three. Two scenes separated on stage but dramatically continuous are included in a single plate, showing Bauldy hesitating in superstitious dread before his meeting with Mause, a picture the depth of which is quite alarmingly compressed.<sup>100</sup> The sequence begins with a scene of the hearty Patie showing off his new whistle to Roger before rebuking him for meekly suffering "dorty Jenny's pride". The following two scenes are also of conversations between friends; Peggy compares married life to a couple of elm trees, each sheltering the other, as she and Jenny bleach their linen beside a "trotting burnie", and Symon brings Glaud the news of Sir William's return. Meanwhile, the credulous Bauldy sleekitly approaches Mause to request that she cast a cantraip on Peggy, who has paused for a moment with Patie as they return from the morning's work, although Madge is already calling her hame. Sometime later, the first interior scene depicts the disguised Sir William spaeing Patie's fortune, while Symon's wife throws up her hands in a classical gesture of astonishment at his uncanny knowledge.<sup>101</sup> When the "knight in masquerade" leaves with Symon, "Jenny pretends an errand hame", Roger dutifully follows, and eventually confesses that she is "never frae [his] thoughts, baith e'en and morn".

In the text, the scene which follows is that in which Sir William removes his disguise and questions Symon about Patie. Oddly, Allan did not illustrate what is technically the moment of *peripeteia*, and the most overtly theatrical episode in the drama. Instead, his eighth illustration is of the "stout battle" fought between Madge and Bauldy, with Mause endeavouring to redd them. One further scene of Patie and Peggy together, in which the young laird vows that, for all his fortune, he is still her "heartsome Pate", intervenes quietly before Bauldy again causes a disturbance, and Allan depicts him bursting into Symon's house in the early hours of the morning with a tremulous tale of a ghaist. Madge, as



the audience knows, had found a white sheet as effective in frightening him as the distaff she wielded that afternoon.

The eleventh plate shows the interior of Glau'd's cottage, with Peggy and Jenny preparing themselves to visit Patie and bid him farewell before he begins his Grand Tour to foreign cities and courts in order to shake off his landwart cast, while the twelfth and final illustration closes the action with Sir William's blessing of the betrothed couple in the presence of the assembled company.

In those illustrations with a landscape setting, figures are generally arranged across the picture plane, and placed before a lighter background the forms of which often echo and reinforce the main composition. The device is most apparent in the ninth plate, that of Patie consoling Peggy. This placing of a pastoral couple, reinforced by a flanking *coulisse*, was to be frequently repeated in Allan's later illustrations for a number of Scottish songs, but the same compositional massing had already appeared in "The Highland Dance" of 1780, admittedly containing more figures. Just as the foreground shelf to which the main characters of *The Gentle Shepherd* are confined is invariably provided with a few items of anecdotal staffage - Patie's whistle, Sir William's spae-buik, Jenny's empty laiglen - so too the middle ground is populated by grazing sheep and ambling kye, with a lively impression of a cowherd and his dog in the third plate. When Roger's dog looks away from his supplicatory master in seeming embarrassment, by so doing he not only imparts more humour to the scene, he also initiates a movement into depth which traverses the sunlit middle ground before swooping into an implied glen, beyond which rises the dark mass of a mountain. The recession suggested by two groups of cows in the ninth plate is continued by the swiftly slipping linn, as characteristic of the Pentlands as is the sudden drop implied earlier in the scene of Roger and Jenny, before winding away into the hills and the evening shadows as "the green swaird grows damp wi' falling dew".

Often the view past the foreground figures has a supplementary narrative function. Peggy and Jenny set down their boin for a moment on their way to the burn, where two other barefoot lasses are already busily treading the morning wash. This manner of washing linen was not reserved for sunny days, but was employed "in the hardest frosty Weather, when their Legs and Feet are almost literally as red as Blood with the Cold", a source of interest to more than one contemporary traveller.<sup>102</sup> Later, Peggy reminds Patie that she is called home by Madge, whom Allan

PLATE I

Figure 121

Figure 123

Figure 116





127. [Sir William, Symon and Bauldy]. Pencil on paper 10½ x 8. Study for Plate 10 (Fig. 124). Glasgow University Library, Special Collections, Wylie Collection.



Figure 119

depicts in a vignette separated from the main action by the dark mass of a tree.

Figure 127

Figure 124

Figure 125

The four interior scenes typically present an even more obviously frieze-like arrangement across the picture plane, with subsidiary details in the middle ground. When Bauldy "roars up Symon frae his kindly rest", he is confronted by the astonished householder and a massively dignified Sir William, resplendent in a patterned silk robe, while in the shadows Elspa blinters sleepily from the curtained bed.<sup>103</sup> A similar alcove bed is seen in the eleventh plate, in which illustration a Genre scene in miniature is framed by the sturdy ingle-bield:

"Though day has only begun, an old female domestic is making porridge; a shepherd, who must be early to the hill, has filled his bicker, which, half asleep as he is, he is emptying again, in all the haste that food as hot as liquid fire will allow. His dog begs in vain for a mouthful . . ." <sup>104</sup>

Figure 120

Figure 126

In the fortune-telling scene Patie stands in the centre of the floor, his right hand extended to the supposed spaeman, who, being seated at left, is balanced by Glaud sitting opposite. Behind them, four secondary figures react with varying degrees of incredulity to Sir William's prophecies. A rather more complex spatial arrangement is seen in the final plate, where the highlighted central couple is flanked not only by the seated figures of Sir William and Glaud, the latter for once having doffed his bonnet, but also by Symon and Mause, whose movingly rendered countenance demonstrates why Cunningham thought Allan's old women "as good as Gerard Dow's".<sup>105</sup> Formally, Patie and Peggy are enclosed by the protective arc created by the four flanking characters, each group consisting of one seated and one standing figure. Spatially, however, the three older men form one distinct row, with Mause, Peggy and Patie standing behind. Each of the two rows thus formed has motion incipient in the differing arrangements of its figures' heads. The movement implicit in Symon's glance down to Sir William is carried across the central space towards Glaud's firmly positioned hands and contented visage, while a counter-movement over Peggy's head is initiated by her old nurse's raised hands and intent gaze. The combined effect of these two impulses is to generate a stable circle, aesthetically satisfying, symbolic of the resolution of the plot, and having as its centre the union of Patie and Peggy, emphasised by the *silhouette* of Sir William's arm. It is a development of the enclosed compositions favoured by Allan, already used in his depictions of Highland weddings, but achieved more



subtly in this print by the involvement of several characters engaged in actions appropriate to the dramatic situation.

This assembly of figures is woven together by their interlocking gestures and resonant expressions, powerfully creating the space in which the final scene of *The Gentle Shepherd* is enacted. The linear perspective of ceiling and wardrobe more immediately suggests the illusionistic volume of the room, but the central group, almost sculpturally, defines and occupies its own space independently of this orthodox, pictorial device. Two balanced groups of characters in the background, meanwhile, form a literal counterpart to the symbolic central *tableau*, as the entire cast is brought on stage. The loutish Bauldy discovers, or claims, that he is "now fu' blythe, and frankly can forgive" Madge, with Elspa looking on, while Jenny, keeping a wide and watchful eye on her father, is led forward by Roger, confident and cheerful at last.

In recognising that these subordinate actions are essential to the general resolution of the plot, Allan also ensures that

"neither each in particular, nor all together, come into any degree of competition with the principal; they . . . merely make a part of that whole which would be imperfect without them." 106

Almost without exception, his illustrations follow the text meticulously, a precision which is nowhere more evident than in the plate showing the meeting of Glaud and Symon. This takes place beside

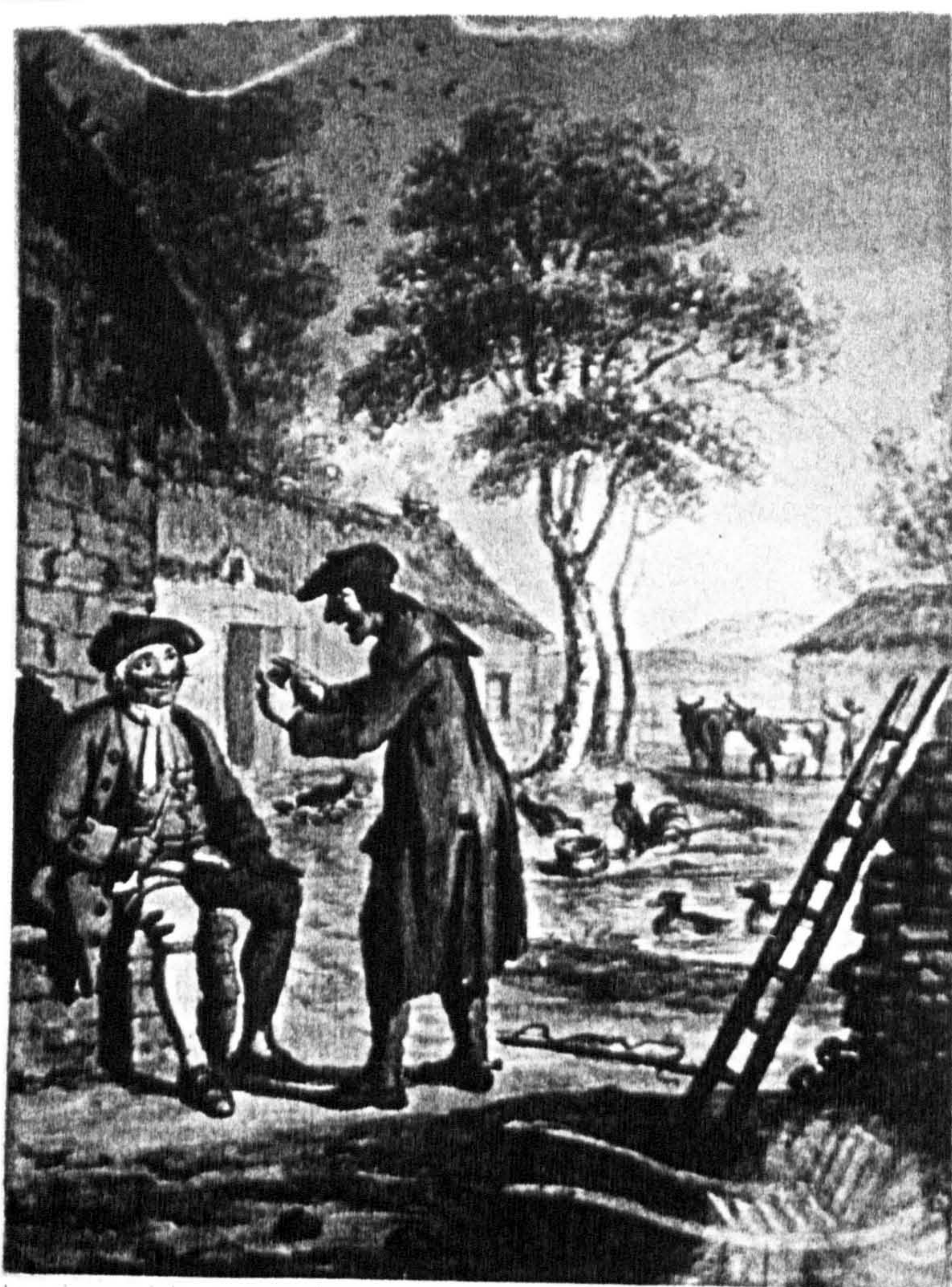
*"A snug thack house, before the door a green;  
Hens on the midding, ducks in dubs are seen,  
On this side stands a barn, on that a byre;  
A peat stack joins, and forms a rural square."*  
[Act II, scene i: s.d.]

His eye fixed evidently on Ramsay's text, Allan deftly suggests a deuk squattering in the pond, with a hen and rooster busily scratching and pecking over the midden behind. Nevertheless, he did not depend only on the scene-setting of Ramsay's stage directions, being well supplied with sketches from his own observation:

"The courtyard at the homes of smaller lairds was usually formed by the house having a projecting granary and byre on one side, a projecting stable and barn on the other, while in the open space stood the midden, in which the midden-fowls feasted and nursed their broods among nettles and docks growing all around." 107

Glaud's house and onstead, though more humble than this, are clearly built on the same pattern. The relevance of the sketchy group of cattle, dog and cowherd — probably Cunningham's sleepy shepherd and collie — now becomes apparent, as the miry beasts are driven into the byre across the yard from the barn. In an early version of this picture in watercolours,





128. [Glaud and Symon] c 1786/88 Watercolours over pencil on paper 9 $\frac{1}{2}$  x 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ . Yale Center for British Art, New Haven.



Auld Goudies' filthy fallow I shall

# THE Gentle Shepherd A SCOTS PASTORAL COMEDY

By Allan Ramsay.



GLASGOW

Printed and Sold by James Steell, Glasgow, Saltmarket.

129. ANON: "Auld Roudes! Filthy fallow I shall auld ye"/ "and what wad Roger say, if he coud speak", c. 1800. Engravings 4 $\frac{1}{2}$  x 2 $\frac{1}{2}$  and 2 $\frac{1}{2}$  x 2. Edition of *The Gentle Shepherd* published by James Steell, Glasgow, its frontispiece and title-page derived from Allan's edition, Plates VIII and VII (Figures 122 and 121).



Figure 128 and actually more authentically if the Act is truly intended to begin "at eleven in the forenoon", the laddie had already begun to ca' the kye down the loan. Almost pedantically, Allan proves the location of the barn by including a ventilation slit in the wall above Glaud's head, while a rustic ladder and wicker creel indicate the peat stack completing the modest rural square which the artist delineates as legibly as an architect might plan the great squares of Edinburgh's New Town.<sup>108</sup>

His portrayals of Glaud and Symon in this print are closely based upon the text in a like manner, in that Symon's spurs suggest that he has ridden over to the farm on the grey mare he mentions in a later scene, Glaud meanwhile holding his pipe ready to try the "pound of cut and dry" Symon has coft in town. In this observation, at least, Allan's plate is not unique, since the Glaud of 1758, in the second of "The Five Cuts", has already lit up and is smoking contentedly as Symon holds forth.

Figure 104 On only one occasion does Allan truly forsake the text, and in a very minor point.<sup>109</sup> By the time Madge utters the stirring words inscribed below the eighth plate, she and Bauldy have already been parted. Allan was clearly drawn to the rattling exclamation, so appropriate to the action he depicts. More frequently, he pieces out and enriches the given dramatic facts with supplementary details which, though not specifically mentioned by Ramsay, might well have been present. In exercising his Invention in this manner, Allan was doing no more than might have been expected of a Historical Painter illustrating a work of literature:

"BEING determined as to the History that is to be painted, the first thing the Painter has to do, is *To make himself Master of it as delivered by Historians, or otherwise; and then to consider how to Improve it, keeping within the Bounds of Probability.* Thus the Ancient Sculptors imitated nature; and thus the best Historians have related their Stories."<sup>110</sup>

Figure 102 The example which springs most readily to mind is, of course, the determined little dog in the fight scene, a clear proof that Allan knew Sandby's etchings and appreciated that such an event not only might have taken place, it ought to have done. Not to be upstaged, Allan adds a touch of his own. Glaud and Symon gleefully watch the brief encounter from behind a dyke, an interpolation which Cunningham noted with approval.<sup>111</sup> Nor was he alone in thus recognising the contribution made by these two onlookers. Among several plagiarisms of this evidently popular scene - surely a high point in any performance - one includes a couple of primitive faces grinning broadly from an upstairs window at the unholy tulzie below.<sup>112</sup>

Figure 129 In Sandby's version of the scene, movement is in one direction only. Bauldy staggers backwards as Madge wrenches at his hair, Mause limps



towards the affray, and even the dogged little terrier is unable to restrain the furious onslaught. In Allan's, however, where both Madge and Bauldy, arms flailing and roke lashing, seem to brainge out of the picture, the counter-movement of Mause clarifies her rôle in the conflict. Whereas Sandby's Mause might as easily be intent on joining Madge in setting her "ten sharp nails" to Bauldy's face, to flype the skin of his cheeks out-owre his chin, Allan makes plain the old lady's bid to redd the antagonists.

Not only is the story told through the grouping of the figures, their gestures are equally eloquent. Bauldy's left hand gropes wildly at the vacant air as his right strives vainly either to disentangle Madge's grip or to protect himself from the unsparing rod. There is an effective interplay between the essentially planar arrangement of these figures' arms, slanting diagonally into depth, and the intercepting hands of Mause. Aided by her restraining arm, Bauldy's dog seems partially to have hindered Madge's furious career - accounting for the strangely static nature of her posture, whatever her intent - at the same time as he rescues his master's bonnet. Yet, however bloody the "stout battle" becomes, the two laughing figures mitigate the violence. Allan demonstrates both Ramsay's vitality and his humour. He draws the scene as the poet wrote it, "a' for fun".<sup>113</sup>

As the long-suffering Bauldy later stumbles over Symon's threshold after having seen "a ghaist or deil", from the back wall a print of "Sir Wm. Wallace" glares fiercely down upon him.<sup>114</sup> The contrast between the undaunted knight and the trembling sot is intentionally ludicrous, and is one example of a device that Allan employs no less than three times in his series of plates.<sup>115</sup> This use of a picture on the wall to comment upon the action may have been directly derived from the symbolic paintings and statues in Hogarth's "modern moral subjects", or from similar examples in French book illustrations. An engraving by Pauquet for Prévost's translation of *Clarissa* includes, above Richardson's swooning heroine, a Chardinesque painting of a schoolmistress and her pupils, doubtless as a reminder of how Miss Harlowe would "leave lessons for the boys, and cautions to the elder girls" in happier days.<sup>116</sup> The peak of illustrative engraving in the eighteenth century was achieved in France, and Allan's drawings of the shepherd lads and lasses of many a Scottish lyric, for all their bonnets and plaids, are as reminiscent of *fêtes champêtres* as are his pictures of Patie and Peggy. The most likely source of any French influence upon his style would be the circulation of



prints. On the other hand, Allan may simply have taken from contemporary portraiture the device of including references to a sitter's interests, or, as he put it when writing of his own full-length of Sir William Hamilton, "his Character as a man of taste", and adapted it to the purpose of reinforcing the meaning of his illustrations.<sup>117</sup> Thus "Sir Wm. Wallace" makes an instantly comprehensible satirical thrust at the quaking Bauldy, just as the print of the "Admirable Crichton" in the final plate identifies Patie, the "world's delight", with

"the perfectest result of the joint labours of Pallas, Apollo, Mars, Mercury, Venus and Bacchus, that hath been since the days of Alcibiades." <sup>118</sup>

A similar technique is used in the fortune-telling scene. Allan has

"indicated the birth of the Gentle Shepherd by hanging the ballad of Gill Morice on the wall, and the antiquity of his lineage by the song of Chevy Chase". <sup>119</sup>

"Gil Morice", a ballad of which Allan later made several illustrations, is indeed the tale of a noble youth raised secretly in "the gude grene wood", though it ends less happily than does *The Gentle Shepherd*.<sup>120</sup> By including references to these two ballads, which would have been as familiar to his contemporaries as any more modern song in, for instance, *The Tea-Table Miscellany* or Herd's collection of songs and ballads, and by doing so almost as a gloss on the action of the play as a whole, Allan successfully conveys to the viewer the import of Sir William's prediction that Patie will soon be "a bra' rich laird". The effect of this implied commentary is not simply reinforcement, it is virtually dramatic irony.

Of two versions of this scene held in the National Gallery of Scotland, one is a pen and watercolour copy made in 1789, the year after the publication of Allan's plates, while the other, though neither signed nor dated, was equally clearly made before July 1788, since it is an etched outline embellished with watercolour. Allan had already thought of using this technique of "doing them slightly on copper and wash[ing] them in watercolour" in order to lessen the tedium of producing multiple copies of his Italian figure studies, and did in fact prepare several views of Edinburgh in this way, as may be established from catalogues of sales from his studio in 1797 and the following year.<sup>121</sup> At the first of these sales, more than a hundred of his prints for *The Gentle Shepherd* were advertised, either as loose sets of aquatints, as sets of outlines "for colouring", or as sets already coloured. Very few remained unsold.<sup>122</sup> One intriguing lot was the twenty-seventh, "The twelve original Drawings or Designs for the Gentle Shepherd, bound up in a copy of the work in Turkey, valuable, 1 vol. quar."<sup>123</sup> While Allan's practice of duplicating





130. [ Patie ], Pencil on paper 10 $\frac{1}{2}$  x 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ . Study for Plate 6 (Fig. 120). Glasgow University Library, Special Collections, Wylie Collection, 1138-1921 Bh. 14-x.13.



figures and entire compositions either speculatively or at the request of friends, is well attested and frequently in evidence, his purpose in completing the fortune-telling scene and several other pictures of the series in this manner was almost certainly to establish tonal values before finally, and irreversibly, biting the aquatint version. That is, these etchings with watercolour, often hastily worked as they are, represent a variation on his use of pen and wash drawings in the early stages of preparing a composition. A touch of Genre humour in an early state of the eleventh plate - a kitten chewing on a wooden luggie - was omitted in the published illustration.<sup>124</sup> The experimental version of the fortune-telling scene, on the other hand, its range of colour confined to pale brown, green and blue, differs in detail only slightly from the monochrome print upon which Allan settled; the cabalistic designs of Sir William's book do not correspond, Glaud's pipe is not yet etched in position, nor are the two ballad sheets pinned to the door.

Figure 108

It is interesting that this plate, with the specifically Scottish references to the ballads, should also contain Allan's clearest quotation, in this series, from a pictorial prototype. The similarity of Patie, both in the print and in a preparatory study, to an equally youthful but certainly more gullible gallant in Caravaggio's painting of another fortune-telling scene could be thought entirely coincidental. The pose, right hand extended, head slightly inclined, left hand resting on the weight-bearing hip, is supremely natural, despite an unconvincingly proportioned left arm and, particularly in the drawing, some ambiguity in the torso. Allan, however, had copied one of Caravaggio's pictures of the subject, which suggests that this is one version of "other mens' work, whether in oil or in crayons", which cannot be dismissed "without further remark", as Cunningham would have wished.<sup>125</sup> Allan evidently found the pose congenial, since he adopted it, with only slight modifications, in later illustrations to Scottish songs and ballads.<sup>126</sup>

Figure 130

Such identification of recurrent motifs throughout Allan's work is illuminating, in that it demonstrates his essentially illustrative instinct. Once he had established the form which perfectly conveyed a particular meaning, he quite properly used it again whenever similar content warranted his so doing.<sup>127</sup> That the convenience of the mannerism was also attractive can hardly be doubted. These figures are invariably so well integrated with a scene and so in accord with its subject that the repetitions, while having the quality of familiarity, never suggest carelessness. Thus, whether or no he actually derived the





131. [Peggy and Jenny]. Pencil on paper 10 $\frac{1}{4}$  x 8 $\frac{1}{4}$ .  
Study for Plate 11 (Figure 125). Glasgow  
University Library, Special Collections,  
Wylie Collection.



figure of Patie from the suggestion of a painting by Caravaggio, it is virtually certain that Allan had few difficulties in deciding upon the stance, simply because this posture is so perfectly suited to the purpose. The pencil study is conceivably the only one he made for this particular figure.

Where a number of different studies exist for a finished piece, however, it is clear that the artist has worked from several ideas towards a satisfactory result, and in some cases the actual process of development can be followed. If no preliminary drawings exist, it is, of course, not necessarily an indication that the final version has sprung fully formed from the artist's mind, but rather that no such studies have survived. Of Allan's studies for his edition of *The Gentle Shepherd*, those which do survive, while revealing an evolution towards the finished illustrations, also demonstrate the precise manner in which he executed his figure drawings.

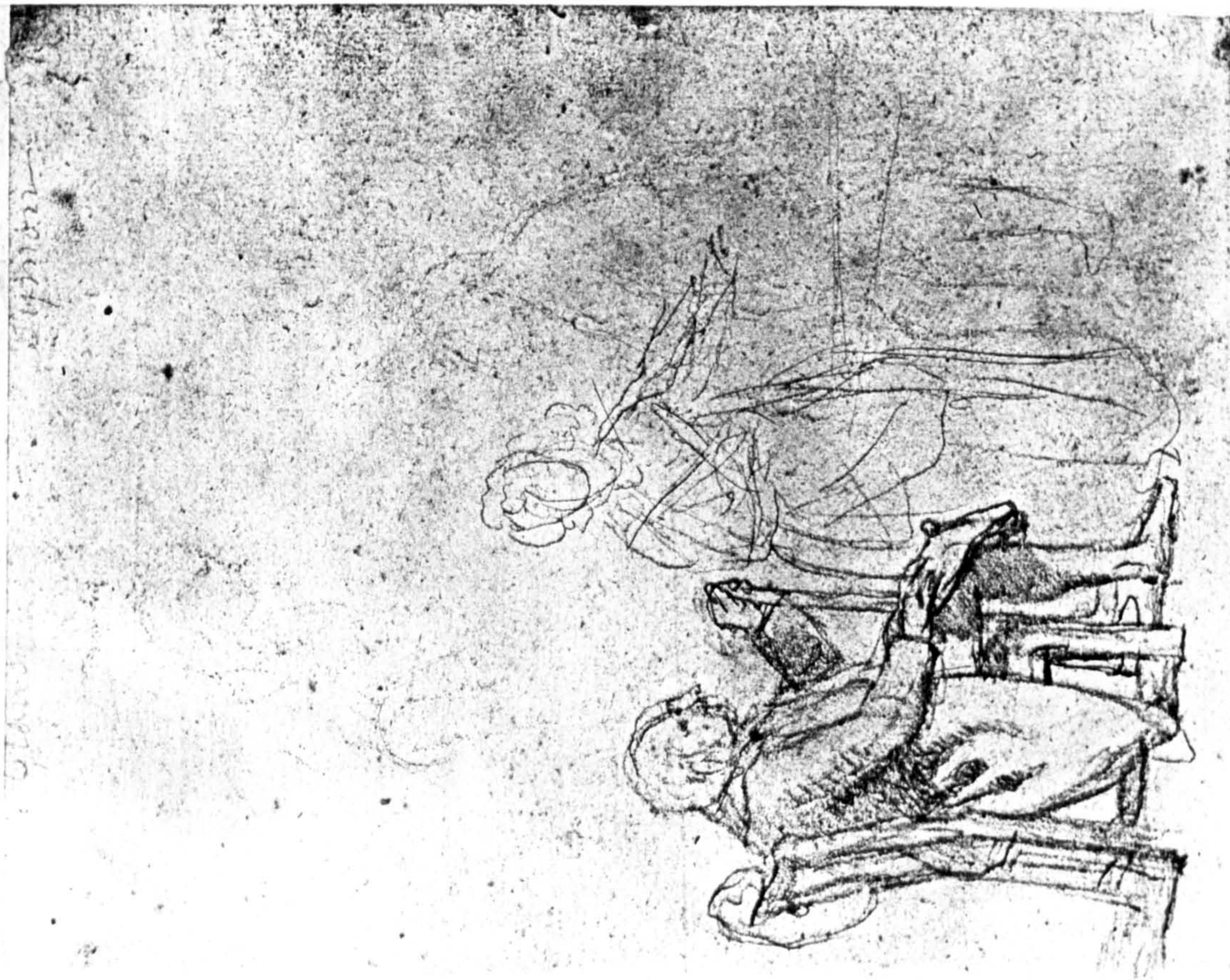
It is immediately apparent from a comparison of these studies that some are more highly worked than others. Those which were soon abandoned - often those actually closest to the final versions - provide glimpses of the earlier stages in the development of a drawing. Thus it is possible, by collating information gleaned from a number of these studies irrespective of their various subjects, to reconstruct Allan's characteristic drawing technique and to follow certain motifs or entire figures from conception to resolution.

*Pentimenti* in two preliminary studies of Patie reveal the artist's first light touches. In one, the original lines of the relaxed left leg are readily seen; in the other, the supporting right arm has twice been altered before Allan was sufficiently satisfied with it finally to reinforce its contours with heavier outlining. The same delicate approach is apparent in the brief suggestion of the standing figure of Peggy in a drawing for the eleventh plate. The roughing-in of her head is quite tentative, in contrast to the assured handling of Jenny's economically indicated features. Once he had quickly sketched in the elementary structure of the two figures, Allan evidently then began to suggest their volume with internal pools and channels of shading which, in a manner reminiscent of glyptic sculpture, seem to chisel into the loosely suggested mass in order to model the forms of the drapery. The next stage would undoubtedly have been a strengthening of the outline and major passages with those heavier strokes which, though reinforcing the larger masses, often preserve the freedom of the earliest light touches,

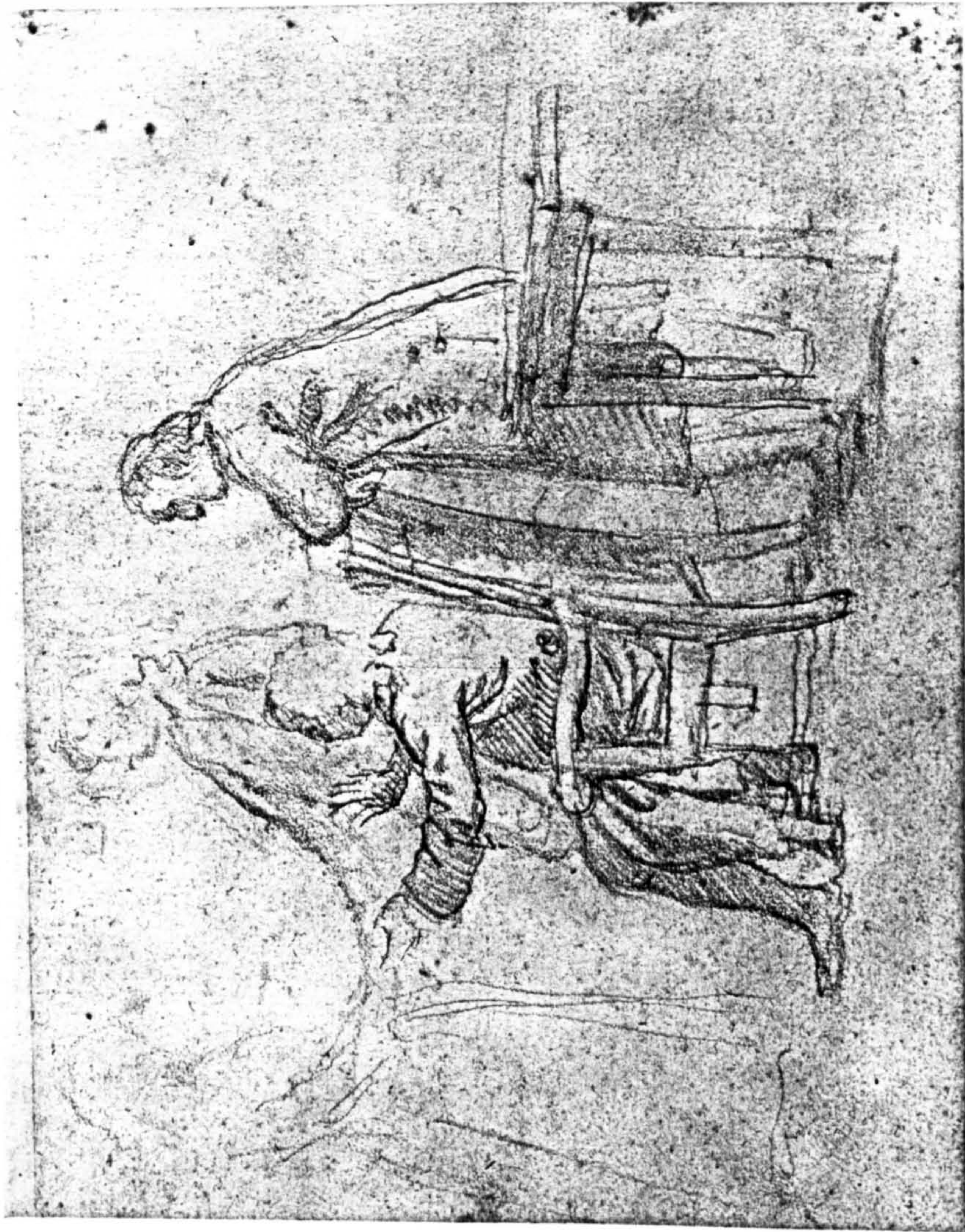
Figure 142  
Figure 143

Figure 131





133. [Glaud and two other characters], Pencil on paper 10 1/4 x 8 1/4 (approx; verso of Figure 131), Study for Plate 12 (Figure 126) Glasgow University Library, Special Collections, Wylie Collection.



132. [Peggy, Patie, Sir William and Symon J.], Pencil on paper 10 x 8 (approx; verso of Figure 140), Study for Plate 12 (Figure 126), Glasgow University Library, Special Collections, Wylie Collection.



as in the typically sketchy form so often adopted for characters' hands, seen to advantage in the study of Patie.

Figure

Both this particular study, and that for the two girls, are very close to the appearance of the finished plates. In each case, the actions of Allan's characters had already been decided for him by Ramsay, either in his rhyming stage-directions or in spoken descriptions of how Sir William, as a spaeman, tents each villager's loof. On the other hand, the actual relationship of one figure to another had not. That Allan should so quickly have found a solution to the arrangement of the two girls might be thought merely fortuitous. It was not, and for two reasons. Firstly, it is not solely the lightness of this study which suggests it was the first Allan made for this passage. His other drawings for *The Gentle Shepherd* invariably demonstrate the sureness of his instinct for the positioning of figures. Secondly, although the girls' places could probably be interchanged - Jenny standing to bind her hair while Peggy sits - without much detriment being caused the composition when it is considered in isolation, while that plate forms part of Allan's coherent series of illustrations it is imperative that Peggy be depicted standing and in profile, with Jenny sitting and in three-quarter view.<sup>128</sup>

Not only is the positioning of the figures in Allan's drawings generally close to that in his finished plates, in all but one of seven separate cases their gestures and stances are already immediately recognisable. It is noteworthy that numbers in Ramsay's scenes are generally limited, and that an illustrator's difficulties in organising groups are therefore commensurately slight. Perhaps as an echo of the classical theories of drama on which the Pastoral is partly based, on only two occasions are there more than three characters on stage at once, with most scenes being "carried" by two players. Even so, another of Allan's brief sketches, in this instance for the complex last scene, indicates that it was conceived as an organic whole from the outset rather than being an assembly of several more highly finished but separate studies.<sup>129</sup>

Figures 132-33

Just as a faithful adherence to the text had informed his depiction of Glau'd's onstead, so too Allan's drawings immediately express the general tone of each particular scene, that atmosphere which a reader, as opposed to a theatre-goer, can only appreciate after diligent study of circumstance, character and dialogue. The excitement aroused by the rumour of Sir William's return is admirably conveyed in the third plate by Symon's animated posture as he literally points out the situation to the rapt Glau'd. As Cunningham enthused, "his very hands seem to say, put

Figure 117

PLATE XII





134. [Glaud and Symon]. Pencil on paper 11 $\frac{1}{2}$  x 8  
Study for Plate 3 (Figure 117). Glasgow  
University Library, Special Collections,  
Wylie Collection.



135. [Symon]. Pencil on prepared paper 10 $\frac{1}{2}$  x 7-  
Study for Plate 3 (Figure 117). Glasgow  
University Library, Special Collections,  
Wylie Collection.



that and that together".<sup>130</sup> The gesture occurred to Allan from the very first, being present in a sketch in which Symon's unmistakable physiognomy has not yet been established and Glaud's face is little more than half a dozen scribbles surmounted by a Kilmarnock bonnet.<sup>131</sup> Of three more surviving pencil studies for this scene, two show Glaud and Symon together, the remaining one being devoted to Symon alone. Each of the compositions involving two figures is very similar to the published print, which probably owes something of its origin to the "cut" of 1758, and all three sheets reveal the care with which Allan ensured that secondary details are contributory but strictly subordinated. Thus, while Glaud in one study raises his pipe to his mouth, the movement was seen to be potentially distracting, and in a subsequent one both his hands rest in approximately their final positions. Between these two drawings, that of Symon with a staff in his hand intervened. The stout blackthorn is a natural *accoutrement* for an elderly shepherd, and Allan must have felt this inclusion to have been of some value. Reynolds too had been

"well aware that a judicious detail will sometimes give the force of truth to [a] work, and consequently interest the spectator." <sup>132</sup>

The stick was in this case an enrichment which detracted from the isolated urgency of Symon's gesture, and in the next study the cudgel has become a riding crop tucked under his arm, a development of a detail from a fully realised watercolour made at some point in the evolution of this group. In this idea of the whole composition, a whip has been cast aside by Symon in his haste.

Almost as though the artist were concentrating solely on resolving the conflicting demands of anecdote and clarity, both the face and hands in the last study of Symon are perfunctory, the greatcoat briefly indicated, his feet a mere confusion of scribbles. For the plate, Allan returned to the tensely inclined figure of the intervening sketch, emphasising his stoop by gathering the coat at the waist, and accompanying it with the swift motion implied in Symon's having apparently just whisked the switch under his arm. Although the stark *silhouette* of Symon's hands against the dark cottage is undeniably striking, the gesture seems to be too obviously posed, too contrived when compared to the upward flicking index finger in the study on prepared paper, or the hands in the watercolour itself, hands which accord best with Cunningham's appreciation, though he never claimed to have seen any picture but the published aquatint.

That chosen for the final illustration is nevertheless an effective gesture, one which Allan had, in fact, already used in a sketch of a conversation made in Italy, and one which was to be copied in an

Figure 134  
Figure 135

Figure 128





138, ROBERT SCOTT after David Allan; "Auld Roudes; filthy fallow I shall auld ye", [Mause, Madge and Bauldy], c. 1804, Engraving  $3\frac{1}{4} \times 2\frac{1}{2}$ , with a decorative frame and a line of verse. In editions of *The Gentle Shepherd* published by Oliver and Boyd of Edinburgh.



136, ROBERT SCOTT after "J.B." (?John Burnet); [Glaud and Symon], c. 1804, Engraving  $3\frac{1}{4} \times 2\frac{1}{2}$ , with a decorative frame and two lines of verse. In editions of *The Gentle Shepherd* published by Oliver and Boyd of Edinburgh.

### FRONTISPIECE.



Two youthfu' shepherds on the gowans lay,  
Tenting their flocks ae bonny morn in May;  
Poor Roger granes till hollow echoes ring,  
But blyther Patie likes to laugh and sing.

## THE GENTLE SHEPHERD:

A  
Scots Pastoral.

By ALLAN RAMSAY.



Edinburgh:  
Published by OLIVER & BOYD, Netherbow.

Price Sixpence.

137, ANON; [Patie & Roger, and Patie & Peggy] c. 1810, Engravings  $3\frac{1}{4} \times 2\frac{1}{4}$  and  $2\frac{1}{4} \times 2\frac{1}{4}$ . Edition of *The Gentle Shepherd* published by Oliver and Boyd of Edinburgh, its title-page vignette derived from Ritson's *Scottish Song*, London 1794.



engraving which appeared in several editions of *The Gentle Shepherd* published by Oliver and Boyd of Edinburgh.<sup>133</sup> As might be expected, Allan's illustrations were often adapted or - notwithstanding the Engravers' Copyright Act - plagiarised in later volumes. In addition to prints from the copperplates themselves being reissued in 1796, 1808, 1865 and 1880, these plates having suffered various degrees of reworking in the meantime, the designs from some were engraved as simple outlines, on a reduced scale and with acknowledgement, for two editions published by Adam and Charles Black of Edinburgh, with an edition published in 1798 by Reid and Son - which claimed to be the "only copy of *The GENTLE SHEPHERD* between the two extremes of diminutive meanness and gigantic splendour" - boasting five elegant engravings by D. Allan, designed from the most remarkable scenes in the pastoral.<sup>134</sup> The abjectly sprawling Roger appears, once faced by a stern and tutelary Patie, as a frontispiece to yet another edition issued by Oliver and Boyd, and once with Jenny as a vignette on the title page of one published by James Steell of the Saltmarket, Glasgow. A variety of Bauldys is thrashed through a number of volumes, and another Glasgow edition, published by Lumsden, has as its frontispiece an unacknowledged transposition of Allan's tenth plate, in which the foreground organisation is preserved but the background detail is lost. Of course, the influence of these aquatints would not have been confined to illustrations for editions of *The Gentle Shepherd*. Burnet recorded Wilkie's admiration for the works of David Allan, and it is likely that he, particularly in the early part of his career, would have looked to Allan's pictures in general as a source of inspiration for both subjects and expression. A hand gesture made to reinforce a point, similar to Symon's but even more emphatic, appears in the more voluble setting of "The Village Politicians", the first of Wilkie's paintings to be exhibited at the Royal Academy, and the one which "at once established his reputation".<sup>135</sup>

In one of his studies for the third plate, Allan turned aside for a moment to develop Symon individually once the basic relationship of one figure to another was established. An identical technique is apparent, and even more obvious, in his studies for the print of Roger and Jenny. One drawing of the couple reveals typical adjustments to the line of Jenny's shoulders and the position of her right arm, with Roger hovering uneasily between a kneeling posture and a lying. So uncomfortable appears this figure, and so awkward seems his right arm, that it is tempting to imagine that Allan originally conceived Roger as actually kneeling before his scornful lass. A brief indication of a lowered right





139. [ Roger and Jenny ]. Pencil on paper - 10 $\frac{1}{2}$  x 8 $\frac{1}{4}$ , Study for Plate 7 (Figure 121). Glasgow University Library, Special Collections.



140. [ Roger ]. Pencil on paper 10 x 8, Study for Plate 7 (Figure 121), Glasgow University Library, Special Collections.





141. [ Patie and Roger, and a drapery study ].  
Pencil on prepared paper 7 $\frac{1}{2}$  x 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ . Study  
for Plate 1 (Fig. 115) National Galleries  
of Scotland, Department of Prints and Draw-  
ings (D.4614).





143. [ Patie ], Pencil on paper 9 $\frac{1}{4}$  x 5 $\frac{1}{4}$ , Study for Plate 1 (Figure 115), Glasgow University Library Special Collections, Wylie Collection,



142. [ Patie ], Pencil on paper 13 $\frac{1}{4}$  x 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ , Study for Plate 1 (Figure 115), Glasgow University Library, Special Collections, Wylie Collection,



arm interrupting the flow of Jenny's pinafore might support this idea, although the lines emerging below Roger's left shin probably represent a plaid rather than the shoe they closely resemble. At all events, Allan stayed his hand before he had "driven his subject into the debateable land that lies between truth and fiction", a fault which, it seems, Cunningham frequently encountered in his works.<sup>136</sup>

At least one further study intervened before Allan was satisfied with the shepherd's pose. As in an earlier drawing of Symon, established details are minimally depicted - a dozen lines and a few shadows indicate the face and hands - as Allan works towards the supplicatory figure Roger cuts in the plate. In the print, the fold of plaid which covers the shepherd's legs ensures, by interrupting the sinuous line flowing towards his feet which is seen in the second study, that attention is concentrated upon the exchange between the two characters. Despite the broad humour apparent in the scene, there is considerable subtlety in Jenny's calculating expression as she sits half inclined towards the sheepish Roger, the shrewish disposition she has assumed forcibly conveyed by her firmly placed right arm, but equally clearly undermined by her left, seeming to rest carelessly within his reach.

Both Roger's posture and his expression inevitably recall the first plate, and in fact a reciprocal borrowing seems likely between two groups of preparatory drawings. The same conception of Roger informs both passages in the play, and so he is depicted in a similar manner in each plate. In those drawings for the seventh plate he slips gradually lower, whereas in those for the first his development is in the opposite direction, though he loses nothing of his sad, leaden, downward cast. Dissatisfied with Roger's initial pose, slumped before the standing figure of Patie, Allan, as a right-handed artist naturally would, scribbled another version to the right of the original.<sup>137</sup> Again, the study was abandoned as soon as Allan had briefly settled the final pose, which is in any case little more than the first study rotated through a few degrees, with the position of the left arm altered. Before turning to what was the next major undertaking, the development of Patie from the rather awkward figure in this study, the artist paused to establish Roger's expression. The comparatively highly worked face of the second figure corresponds exactly to that in the plate, although Allan reverted to the higher set bonnet and supporting hand of the first.

Two further drawings of Patie, originally on a single sheet, complete his metamorphosis from the ungainly youth awkwardly rebuking Roger for his whingeing way to the elegantly commanding figure of the first

Figure 140

Figure 115

Figure 141

Figure 142

Figure 143



plate.<sup>138</sup> In the first of these, Patie is more relaxed, both weight and structure more convincingly portrayed, than in the earlier drawing. His raised arm is less constricted by his plaid, but Allan sensibly avoided the distraction of having the drapery wound around Patie's waist when he executed the final, largest version immediately afterwards. Similarly, the whistle which had in earlier studies been sketchily shown in his right hand is moved to his left, Patie's encouraging gesture gaining from this combination the immediacy it lacked when his carelessly outflung arm and the "dainty whistle wi' a pleasant sound", each symbolic of a different part of his advice to Roger, competed for the viewer's attention and thus dissipated the focus of interest.

For all that, the posture now seems unbalanced again, and awkward. The crook, held by the unfortunately stunted right arm, complicates the composition unnecessarily, and the languid, cross-legged pose seems more appropriate to one of Allan's portraits than to the lively scene he is illustrating. It is for precisely this reason, the desire to show Patie as relaxed and elegant while he instructs, that the figure seems unbalanced. The stance was imposed upon the design from without rather than having been allowed to grow naturally, intrinsically, with the meaning of the figure. This adaptation of a *motif* much used in contemporary portraiture works well in the first individual study of Patie, but the most immediate suggestion of that figure is one of carefree relaxation.<sup>139</sup> Allan's conception of Patie is properly of Ramsay's resolute and cheerful hero, and the gentility implied by the cross-legged posture detracts from that "firm look, and a commanding way", which is the keynote struck by the opening scene and by the first illustration. It is, in short, a combination of influences and intentions which for once does not harmonise convincingly.

Already, however, a more purposeful stance is suggested in the *pentimento* beside the left shin. These few scratches, barely visible at first glance, rather than being one of Allan's typically light first explorations of which he "repented" before returning to the forms of a previous drawing, most probably represent an afterthought, dashed down immediately he recognised the incongruity of pose and gesture. In the version finally printed, the shepherd's kent is entirely omitted, as are those extra folds of drapery which strengthen Patie's presence in the study but which would have compromised the reinforcing wave of his right hand in the plate. Sufficient additional prominence is granted him in any case by the craggy bield before which he stands, an effect anticipated in the heavy shading of Allan's drawing. Not only is Patie's double gesture





144. [Patie and Peggy], Pencil on paper 10 1/2 x 7 1/2  
Study for Plates 5 and 9 (Figures 119 and  
123), Glasgow University Library, Special  
Collections.





145, [Patie and Peggy], Pencil on paper 10 $\frac{1}{2}$  x 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ .  
Study for Plates 5 and 9 (Figures 119 and  
123), Glasgow University Library Special  
Collections.





146

[Patie and Peggy]. Pencil on paper 10 1/2 x 14 1/2  
Study for Plates 5 and 9 (Figures 119  
123), Glasgow University Library Special  
Collections.



Detail of Figure 181.



expressive of his attempt to rouse Roger from his despondency, by indicating the stock and horn lying neglected on the sward it is both a secondary contrast between the happy and the fretful shepherd, between the youthful jollity of the one and the sodden sorrow of the other, and a reminder of the latter's vow to break his reed, and never whistle mair.

In this case, as with most of the other studies for *The Gentle Shepherd*, both the gestures seen in the plate and the positions of the principals are already nascent in the first drawing. From one group of drawings, however, it is clear that Allan experienced difficulty in deciding upon an appearance both in accord with the sense of Ramsay's pastoral, and expressive of his own interpretation of it.

Figure 144  
Figure 119  
Figure 145  
Figure 146  
Figure 103  
Figure 181

These drawings are for a scene of the hero and heroine together, and for once it is obvious that some studies are lost.<sup>140</sup> The earliest drawing to survive of the series is an undistinguished and uncharacteristically confused depiction of Patie embracing Peggy, his right arm about her waist, as she clutches a laiglin in her left hand and flaps her right in protest. Meanwhile, a third right arm points into the distance. Admittedly, it is an early thought, but even without this added *gaucherie* the drawing is disappointing. It is probably a study for the fifth plate, the first scene of Patie and Peggy together, as is a more rational but almost equally graceless version with an uncomfortably wooden shepherd and a similarly unwilling milkmaid. The comically awkward effect is better suited to the hesitant Roger than to his friend. With a few alterations in Peggy's posture, and a Patie who is at once more mobile and yet clearly more restrained, Allan created a much more elegant scene somewhat reminiscent of Sandby's version, and one which, seemingly at the same time, he considered as a *vignette* for a collection of Scottish songs. His trials with this smaller drawing, typical as they are of his cannily killing two birds with one stone, are also of some importance in dating his first venture into this kind of illustration.<sup>141</sup> All that is retained of this composition in the fifth plate, with the exception of a few cows in the middle distance, is Peggy's shyly inclined head and the tender handclasp, a detail for which a separate, and very lightly executed study survives.<sup>142</sup>

Figure 187

Closer to the composition of the fifth plate is that in another small drawing, like the first *vignette* only about half as large as the other surviving drawings for *The Gentle Shepherd*. As in the other *vignette* too, Allan has essayed a number of postures and gestures in pencil before marking the chosen outlines and details in pen, finally adding a few





147. ANON (?Parker) after David Allan; 1790s, the original drawing c. 1788. Engraving 24 x 24, vignette in Ritson's *Scottish Song*, London, 1794.



Detail of Figure 187.



Detail of Figure 181.



strokes and dabs of grey wash. He clearly hesitated before deciding the best position for Patie, the Gentle Shepherd being initially seen complimenting Peggy from both left and right simultaneously, and beating time with his whistle:

"Our Jenny sings saftly the *Cowden-broom-knows*,  
And Rosie lilts sweetly the *Milking the ewes*;  
There's few *Jenny Nettles* like Nancy can sing;  
At *Thro' the wood*, *Laddie*, Bess gars our lugs ring.

But when my dear Peggy sings wi' better skill,  
The *Boatman*, *Tweedside*, or the *Lass of the Mill*,  
'Tis mony times sweeter and pleasing to me;  
For tho' they sing nicely, they cannot like thee."

[Act II scene iv ; SANG X, ]

Eventually, Allan cancelled one of Peggy's two lads with a decisive ripple of wash, presumably obeying the stage-direction by allowing the remaining Patie to place his "left hand about her waist". Nevertheless, he found the posture of the shepherd to Peggy's left more pleasing, the elegant grouping more to his mind, and by the simple expedient of reversing the composition arrived at the basis of the central couple for the fifth plate. The evolution of Peggy is far from complete, but the position of Patie's legs and the rudimentary fall of his plaid are sufficiently similar to the print for Allan's further developments to be readily envisaged, though no more drawings of this grouping are known.

At the same time, he was reluctant entirely to reject the other jovial singer, and it was he who, in 1794, accompanied Peggy as a vignette in *Scotish Song*, a collection of both words and music selected by the English antiquarian Joseph Ritson, and by him provided with the most scholarly of introductions. He may have come to know Allan, of whom he had a high opinion, during one of his "repeated visits to different parts of Scotland for the purpose of obtaining materials or information" for his volumes.<sup>143</sup> Seven more of Allan's drawings were sent to Ritson with that of Patie and Peggy, one, showing a piping shepherd, being used as a title-page embellishment for the whole collection, four of the others meanwhile standing as characteristic of each of the "classes" of Scottish song Ritson distinguished.<sup>144</sup> Patie and Peggy, not surprisingly, represented Pastorals. By coincidence, this couple, certainly derived from *Scotish Song*, actually did appear in their proper characters as a rather sorrowful title-page vignette in one edition of *The Gentle Shepherd* published by the prolific house of Oliver and Boyd.

The scene of Allan's fifth aquatint illustration takes place "*Behind a tree upon the plain*", and this feature forms part of three of these

Figure 147

Figure 181

Figure 177

Figure 137





148. [Patie and Peggy]. Pencil and red chalk on paper 10 $\frac{1}{4}$  x 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ . Study for Plate 9 (Fig. 123). Glasgow University Library, Special Collections, Wylie Collection.



Figure 146  
Figure 123  
Figure 119

Figure 148

preliminary drawings. That in the most elegant one, showing hero and heroine walking together hand in hand, bears a closer resemblance to the tree in the ninth plate, which depicts their second meeting, than to the tree seen in the earlier picture. In addition, it requires few alterations to derive the Patie of the later print from the figure in this study. The plaid hangs in a similar fashion, his gesture is merely transferred from one hand to another, and the half-kneeling half-standing posture is necessary for the convincing relationship of a standing figure to one sitting. The final drawing in this group, and one of the few in the collection related to *The Gentle Shepherd* to be touched with red chalk, is, in fact, of this particular arrangement, and differs only slightly from the couple in the print.

By the adoption of this grouping, Allan not only contrasts Patie with the less assertive Roger, he offers a pictorial accompaniment to the former's vow to raise Peggy's station, and to the thought expressed in one of her sweetest songs:

"Whilst thou wast a shepherd, I priz'd  
No higher degree in this life;  
But now I'll endeavour to rise  
To a height that's becoming thy wife.

For beauty that's only skin deep  
Must fade like the gowans in May,  
But inwardly rooted, will keep  
For ever, without a decay."

[Act IV scene ii : SANG XVIII ]

Allan derived both plates, to say nothing of Ritson's vignettes, from one group of studies with a common origin, retaining elements from various drawings as they suited his purpose. Even that additional arm gains some point in that Peggy reminds Patie, in the fifth illustration, that they are "baith cry'd hame". In this plate, far from having "failed in delineating with elegance 'two true lovers in a dale'", Allan has created the most truly charming and harmonious version of the scene, one which is static without stiffness.<sup>145</sup> In the other, he evokes perfectly the stillness and pathos of the moment, making Cunningham's dismissive, and somewhat breathless criticism all the more remarkable: "the merit, whatever it amounts to, belongs, however, to the lady: the lover is a lout".<sup>146</sup>

This latter scene depends more for its effect on the simple and unequivocal action of Peggy than on the expression and slightly theatrical gesture of Patie. The theory that grief, when portrayed in works of art, is to be concealed rather than openly demonstrated,



Snooded Lassie



Quoth she, I've lost my silken snood,  
and aye mair can look sae cheary.

149

"The Silken Snooded Lassie", c. 1790/96, Pen and wash 5 1/4 x 6 1/2 (oval), National Galleries of Scotland Department of Prints and Drawings (D.4493).



The childe of Elle

The Baron, "Thy father once mine honour wrong'd  
In days of youthful pride,

150. "The childe of Elle", c. 1790/96, Pen and wash over pencil 3 1/4 x 5 1/4 (oval), Royal Scottish Academy,



appealing to the imagination rather than directly to the senses, is fully in accord with the dictates of History painting and would be particularly attractive to a Neoclassicist. The device seen in this plate was used liberally by Allan throughout his oeuvre as a convenient and readily appreciable symbol of sorrow, in works ranging from large Historical compositions based upon "the life of the unfortunate Queen Mary" to small illustrations of Scottish songs like "The silken-snooded lassie", Ramsay's "Wae's my heart that we should sunder", or even the richly comic "Woo'd and married and a".<sup>147</sup> It is clear from these and other such repetitions - the first depiction of Roger reappears as a wash drawing for a song by Burns - that Allan was in the habit of deriving these finished illustrations from a pool of studies or a vocabulary of types.<sup>148</sup> Once he had found the perfect expression of, for example, despondency comforted, he repeated it several times with only slight variation, principally in the accompanying male figure.

It is peculiarly appropriate that Peggy be accorded this *motif* derived from academic theory, and probably building on Ancient authority.<sup>149</sup> She is as gently born as is Patie himself, and throughout Allan's series of illustrations both these characters are associated with an appearance which is palpably more graceful than that of their companions, and which is also remarkably classical. It is for this reason that, in the eleventh plate, Peggy must be depicted standing and in profile, while Jenny sits beside her.<sup>150</sup> Their respective postures are already decided in the drawing, but whereas Jenny's has undergone little alteration during the preparation of the plate, Peggy's stance is made more elegant by the simplified depiction of her drapery. There is no interruption of the undulating flow from head to heel, no heaviness or encumbrance, in contrast to the stolid and practical Jenny. Cunningham would have "liked Peggy better had she been lacing her bodice instead of putting a rose in her bosom", doubtless because he knew Wilkie's more literal rendering of Ramsay's six descriptive lines.<sup>151</sup> Allan, recognising that it must be difficult to maintain an antique disposition while struggling to lace a bodice, substituted the more graceful gesture of pinning on a flower.<sup>152</sup> That the depiction of a whole-length figure in profile, in addition to the more statuesque presence of the view, was associated with nobility in Allan's art may be deduced from his repetition of Peggy, this time from the final plate, as a baron's daughter in a scene from "The Childe of Elle", one of his song illustrations which is more obviously a History painting in miniature.





151, ANON ?after Nikias; (Perseus liberating Andromeda), Museo Nazionale, Naples; wall-painting from Pompeii.



Figure 115

Patie's stance in the first plate, in addition to its being perfectly expressive of his cheerful confidence, may also represent Allan's most specific reference in these prints to a particular Antique prototype, though not to one of the better-known statues, the usual source of such derivations. Allan seems in this instance to have drawn inspiration from a figure-type seen in the murals of Herculaneum, one which appears no less than three times. Closest of these to his portrayal of Patie is the depiction of Perseus liberating Andromeda, said to be based upon an original by Nikias. Bearing in mind his friendship with both Gavin Hamilton and Sir William the British Envoy, and judging from the sketchbooks Allan carried with him in Italy, he must have taken a keen interest in the archaeological discoveries at Pompeii and Herculaneum. His annual designs for the Trustees' Academy prove that these discoveries, and his own drawings of them, were of relevance to his later practice, as do his panels for Kinniard House.<sup>153</sup> Even if restrictions were imposed on the recording of scenes from the *fresci* themselves, the eight volumes of Balardi's *Antichità di Ercolano* had commenced publication in 1755, and Allan made liberal use of them.<sup>154</sup> His own copies from these engravings, a "Volume of outlines of Figures and Groupes", remained in his studio until his death, as did a "Book of prints from the Herculaneum, 91 prints, 1 do. [vol. fol.]", together with several copies in oils of ancient pictures.<sup>155</sup> A figure similar to that of the "Perseus" type, itself published in *Tomo IV, Tavola vii* of the *Antichità*, appears in a pen and wash drawing of a Historical subject dating from Allan's years in Italy, when memories of the original wall-paintings would have been fresh and when, just possibly, sketches made surreptitiously and under difficult conditions could have provided a supplement.

Figure 4  
Figure 6

Although such a theory is not capable of definite proof, this particular connection between a plate for *The Gentle Shepherd* and an ancient fresco is hardly as tenuous as might at first appear. Allan's inveterate habit of self-plagiarism makes it all the more likely that he resolved the portrayal of Patie in this illustration by adapting a character from one of his earlier works, one containing figures possessed of a firm and commanding appearance.<sup>156</sup> The reference, typically, is not made purely for itself. It is a striking pose the effectiveness of which exists independently of its derivation.

From the very first picture, then, Allan hints not only at Patie's character, but also, for those possessed of the requisite knowledge, at his true origin. The suggestion is in keeping with the remainder of the series, since he continues the pictorial references with the broadsheets



of "Gil Morice and "Chevy Chase" and the print of "The Admirable Crichton".<sup>157</sup> In short, when Allan depicts the hero and heroine, he

"paints so as to need no inscriptions over his figures, to tell what they are, or what he intends by 'em", <sup>158</sup>

Whatever his experiences with actors, Ramsay depended ultimately upon words to create the world of his play, and there is thus an appreciable alteration in the discourse when the speech of Patie and Peggy, from being that of country lass and swain, switches to the accepted dramatic language of their eventual station. Even if the associations with the Antique and, in the frequent use of a profile view, with nobility in general pass unregarded, by his consistently depicting these two characters in more elegant poses than their companions Allan prepares for the *dénouement* without making any blatant distinction between the actual bodily appearance of peasantry and gentry, and thus avoids having to employ any sudden and obtrusively disjunctive variation as a means of bringing aspect and identity into accord. As Patie himself says, having become the laird of an estate rather than, as he was earlier in the day, of "twa good whistles and a kent", with a couple of curs as his only "tenants",

"What was my morning thought, at night's the same;  
The poor and rich but differ in the name,"  
[Act IV scene ii.]

The subtlety of the interpretation lies in Allan's wise decision not to portray Patie as simply being more handsome than Roger. Immediately to differentiate the two shepherds in this way is both crass and quite out of keeping with the text, for Roger, even if he says so himself, is not "mair unlikely to a lass's eye" than his friend. Bauldy, of course, remains a gowk from first to last in both play and plates, but Roger's appearance, once he has succeeded in thawing his lassie's heart, shows Jenny's disdain to be all the more thwart, and Peggy's earlier advice to her to be sound.<sup>159</sup> Nevertheless, and not entirely because he is seen in the background of the last illustration, he still lacks the commanding presence of Patie. Allan distinguishes the two youths by means of an almost subliminal effect, operating concurrently with the more ostensible meaning of his plates. Previous depictions of Patie and Roger had certainly contrasted the two. There had been Beugo's frontispiece, or even the anonymous roundels of the Perth edition.<sup>160</sup> In addition to this elementary conception of Patie's actively encouraging his melancholic companion, Allan makes a supplementary distinction, one which retrospectively shows not only that Roger is "resolved to be miserable"



while "blyther Patie likes to laugh and sing" , but that the latter is indeed a gentle shepherd.<sup>161</sup> Only when the plot of the drama is known can the true import of the associations Allan employs be appreciated. That is, a full knowledge of the subject is essential to a proper "reading" of each picture. Allan's approach is a model of the practice of the Historical Painter.

At the same time, he may have enjoyed a wry smile in remembering how he had acted upon his own advice, made in a quite different and more conventional sense in the Preface. Artists generally drew upon "the assistance of ancient models" in order to acquire "that idea of excellence which is the result of the accumulated experience of past ages".<sup>162</sup> With the very first sight of such plaster casts as Allan commended,

"the Student receives, at one glance, the principles which many Artists have spent their whole lives in ascertaining; and, satisfied with their effect, is spared the painful investigation by which they came to be known and fixed."<sup>163</sup>

Not only had Allan devoted much time to the diligent study of the art of the past, he had in the case of his edition of *The Gentle Shepherd* discovered in the Antique a means of subtly endowing his illustrations with greater resonance and increased significance. Nevertheless, the plates do not depend entirely for their effect upon any such searching after hidden significance. It is true that they operate on many levels, from the demonstration of how the most popular subject may be made almost classical by an artist's honesty and dedication to an ideal, to the correlation of their rough, "unpolished" style with a "A Vision of Pastoral Simplicity".<sup>164</sup> Yet Peggy's elegant profile is immediately communicative of a grace which can be understood without any reference to the associations with antique statuary and reliefs suggested by such a depiction. These associations are enrichments of an already effective illustration, for each plate is itself a fully independent picture while still forming part of a coherent whole. Their import need not be spelt out in full for the series to make its impression, one which is "not to be defined: it can only be felt".<sup>165</sup>

In all things, then, from the natural grace of Peggy to the more exuberant instances of jest and youthful jollity, Allan's plates are quite in accord with Ramsay's descriptions and intentions. They are in addition more truly integrated as a series than is *The Gentle Shepherd* itself, in the matter of concealed gentility. Admittedly, Allan's task was less difficult than Ramsay's in this respect. Were Patie actually to speak a refined and bookish language from the outset, the device would prove even



less acceptable than his later unnatural change in speech, for it would be a certain method of losing sympathy for the hero. He would be an insufferable prig rather than "the darling of baith auld and young", the fendie lad of the lasses' opinion and the engaging enthusiast of Symon's account:

"I sometimes thought he made o'er great a phrase  
About fine poems, histories, and plays,  
When I reprov'd him anes, — a book he brings,  
Wi' this, quo' he, on braes I crack wi' kings."  
[Act III scene iv]

After such familiarity throughout the play, the audience, kindly disposed towards him, may be more prepared to make allowances for Patie's less spontaneous *lexis* in the final scene, and to agree with Peggy's words to Sir William once her own gentility is revealed:

"Patie, 'Tis now a crime to doubt — my joys are full,  
Wi' due obedience to my parent's will,  
Sir, wi' paternal love survey her charms,  
And blame me not for rushing to her arms;  
She's mine by vows, and would, tho' still unknown,  
Ha'e been my wife, when I my vows durst own . . .

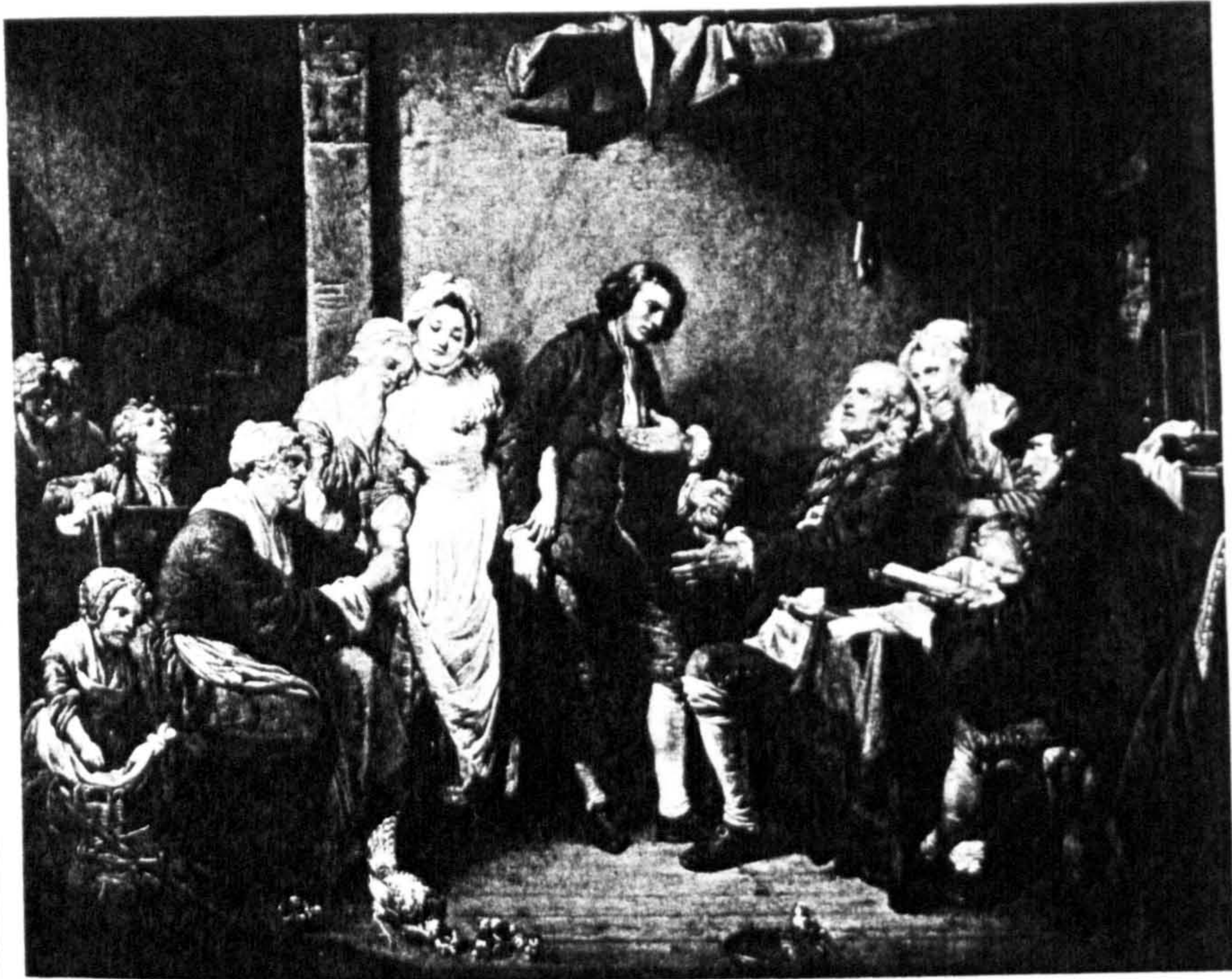
Peggy. To me the views of wealth and an estate,  
Seem light when put in balance with my Pate:  
For his sake only, I'll ay thankful bow  
For such a kindness, *best of men*, to you."  
[Act V scene iii, lines 112-117, 143-146.]

In the closing scene of *The Gentle Shepherd*, then, Patie speaks as dramatic convention demanded a laird should, and in Allan's final plate he decidedly looks the part. His formal speech, it is true, is noticeably different from his earlier rural dialect, which was more appropriate to the shepherd he then appeared to be. The physical appearance of Allan's hero, however, is just as markedly identical from the first illustration to the last, and what was recognised as characteristic of the man in the one is accepted as suitable to his rank in the other. Only his clothes have changed.

Figure 126

In thus avoiding any such ambiguities, Allan did not neglect Ramsay's awareness of the social divide which determined that Peggy would indeed have lost her jo had she remained a shepherdess. In the final plate, two pictures hang prominently on the back wall of Symon's spence, each of an eminent character from Scottish history and neither inappropriate to the scene of a cottage interior.<sup>166</sup> "The Admirable Crichton", proffering an open book, is clearly a reference to the wisdom Patie has derived from "sic silent friends", and to his character and lineage in general. The other print, of "K. Robert Bruce", is just as specific a reference to an earlier and memorable passage in the Pastoral, when Patie's true origin is





152, JEAN-BAPTISTE GREUZE: "L'Accordée de Village", Oil on canvas 35½ x 46½, Musée du Louvre, Paris.



known but Peggy's is not. Mause, Peggy's old nursemaid and the character who holds the secret of her gentle birth, hints that marriages between nobles and commoners have been known, but Madge, knowing only that "a tocherless dame sits lang at hame", ripostes,

"Sic nonsense! love tak root, bot tocher good,  
'Tween a herd's bairn and ane of gentle blood!  
Sic fashions in King Bruce's days might be  
But siccan ferlies now we never see,"

[Act IV scene i]

In Ramsay's days or in Allan's, such wonders would never have been seen in reality, nor were they often represented on the stage or in literature generally, and Allan, with this reprise, firmly recalled and reinforced Ramsay's point.<sup>167</sup> Thus, even when illustrating the typically Sentimental, indeed truly mythical ending, Peggy "equal with Patrick", their love a "well-match'd flame", in a scene slightly reminiscent of *"L'accordée de village"*, Allan did not lose sight of any of the more serious import of Ramsay's frequently didactic poem.<sup>168</sup>

Figure 152

The inclusion of these two prints or paintings is but one more instance of the necessity of reading Allan's pictures with attention to more than their superficial appearance and readily appreciable humour. Once more, this plate is an illustration of a popular subject which nevertheless makes use of communicative techniques more often associated with Historical Painting, the noblest part of the art indeed, but one more often neglected than properly honoured. Reynolds remarked that in a few cases "the lower [style] may be improved by borrowing from the grand", but Allan's approach to the various styles he practised was invariably one of assimilation and combination rather than of self-conscious or ostentatious "transplanting" into his own work.<sup>169</sup> Thus he brought the classical training of the Accademia di San Luca to the illustration of material more suited to the taste of the age in which he lived than were subjects from classical mythology or from ancient history. David Allan's illustrations of Scottish literature, no less than his subsequent cycle of Historical paintings based on the story of Mary Stuart, belong to a venerable artistic tradition, in the same way as does *The Gentle Shepherd* itself, a Scots pastoral in which Allan Ramsay brought the classical unities of place, action, time and idea to a tale of "shepherd lads on sunny knowes".



## Chapter V

### Painting our own History.

Allan's cycle of Historical Compositions  
from the life of Mary, Queen of Scots.

1788-1791

*Allan's ambitions as a Historical Painter—Robertson's "History of Scotland" and other sources—contemporary paintings from British History—Hamilton, Runciman, and other forerunners—Allan's researches—Buchan and the Scottish Society of Antiquaries—the quest for historical accuracy—Allan's preparatory drawings—the surviving paintings—themes and motifs—the cycle reconstructed—contemporary interest in Mary, Queen of Scots—the purpose of Allan's Historical cycle.*



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## Painting our own History.

*"I woud have wrote your lordship long ago ... but has been taken up intirely with your Family of Stuart that I paint it & has hardly time to eat or sleep, I only wish your Lordship was oftener before my Eyes to assist me with true advice so few I find to converse in this way of Painting our own History".*

David Allan to the Earl of Buchan, 1790. <sup>1</sup>

Soon after the Foulis edition of *The Gentle Shepherd* was published in 1788, Allan must have begun work on his "peices from the life of the unfortunate Queen Mary", his only series of Historical Compositions extant.<sup>2</sup> He had already painted and exhibited the individual scenes from Greek and Roman fable and history, and the "capital subjects" of Scripture, which were the acknowledged province of the Grand Style. All his series of scenes and characters typical of Scottish and Italian life had, by their very nature, been conceived on a modest scale. The "Colection of Italien & french dresses", and the set of "Cries and Employments common in Edinburgh", are essentially composed of single figures in the tradition of Lauron's *Cryes of the Citie of London*, while the scenes of the Roman Carnival, for all their profusion of character and incident, hardly exceed fifteen inches by twenty.<sup>3</sup> Even the plates for *The Gentle Shepherd*, representing subjects from literature though they do, were expressly intended to illustrate a quarto edition of the play, just as around thirty small etchings and engravings depicting Ossianic episodes and "Illustrative of some Celebrated Scottish Songs" were later to appear in several publications of the 1790s. Alone among his recorded oeuvre, then, Allan's scenes from the life of the tragic queen bear witness to his intention of painting a cycle of Historical works around a major and coherent theme.

In one sense, these Historical scenes can themselves be considered as illustrations to a specific, and influential, work of letters. When William Robertson's *History of Scotland* was published "with great



applause" in 1759, David Hume remarked that the author had "impudently squeezed" himself into a higher position on "the historical summit of Parnassus" than Hume himself had occupied since the writing of his own *History of England*.<sup>4</sup> It was by no means a unique recognition of the Professor's genius, however idiosyncratic the philosopher's humour. Walpole, Warburton and Sir Gilbert Elliot commended the work no less highly, and the expatriot Scot Mallet—originally Malloch—told Hume that "he was sure there was no Englishman capable of composing such a work", a verdict which was relayed to the author with alacrity and delight. Also included in Hume's account was a remark which indicates the low opinion of his native land then held in the south no less surely than it does the high regard generally attained by Robertson's *History*: "the town will have it that you was educated at Oxford, thinking it impossible for a mere untravelled Scotchman to produce such language".<sup>5</sup> Most gratifying of all to the author, perhaps, was the fact that he saw his work pass through fourteen editions before his death in 1793, and retain its popularity to the last.<sup>6</sup>

In attempting scenes from the life of Mary Stuart, therefore, Allan was choosing a theme which was both well known and popular. Notwithstanding this popularity, however, it is by no means as certain as has been assumed that he ever anticipated seeing plates after his designs actually accompanying a subsequent edition, as was the avowed intention of Bowyer's almost contemporary scheme to add lustre to Hume's *History of England*, and of the later Galleries of Boydell, Macklin and Fuseli.<sup>7</sup> Allan, who corresponded with Robertson, certainly consulted his volumes—indeed, the most recent republication of 1787 may have acted as an encouragement to his plans—as is indicated by a specific holograph reference on a drawing of Mary's arrival at Leith.<sup>8</sup> This in itself is, of course, no proof of any intention to provide book illustrations, even in an artist as familiar with this kind of work as was Allan. He made a similar note of a page number in Granger's *Biographical History* beside drawings of Dundee at the battle of Killiecrankie. Robertson's *History* was for long the standard work on the period in question, and it would have been quite inconceivable for a serious artist to have ignored it. Reading, whether undertaken as a "deep study" or as the favourite recreation of leisure hours, and "the conversation of learned and ingenious men" had been properly recommended to all artists, and Allan cultivated both.<sup>9</sup>

Stressing his concern for the impartial rendering of documented facts (albeit interspersed, as they often are, with his own interpretations and reflective digressions) and comparing this to the



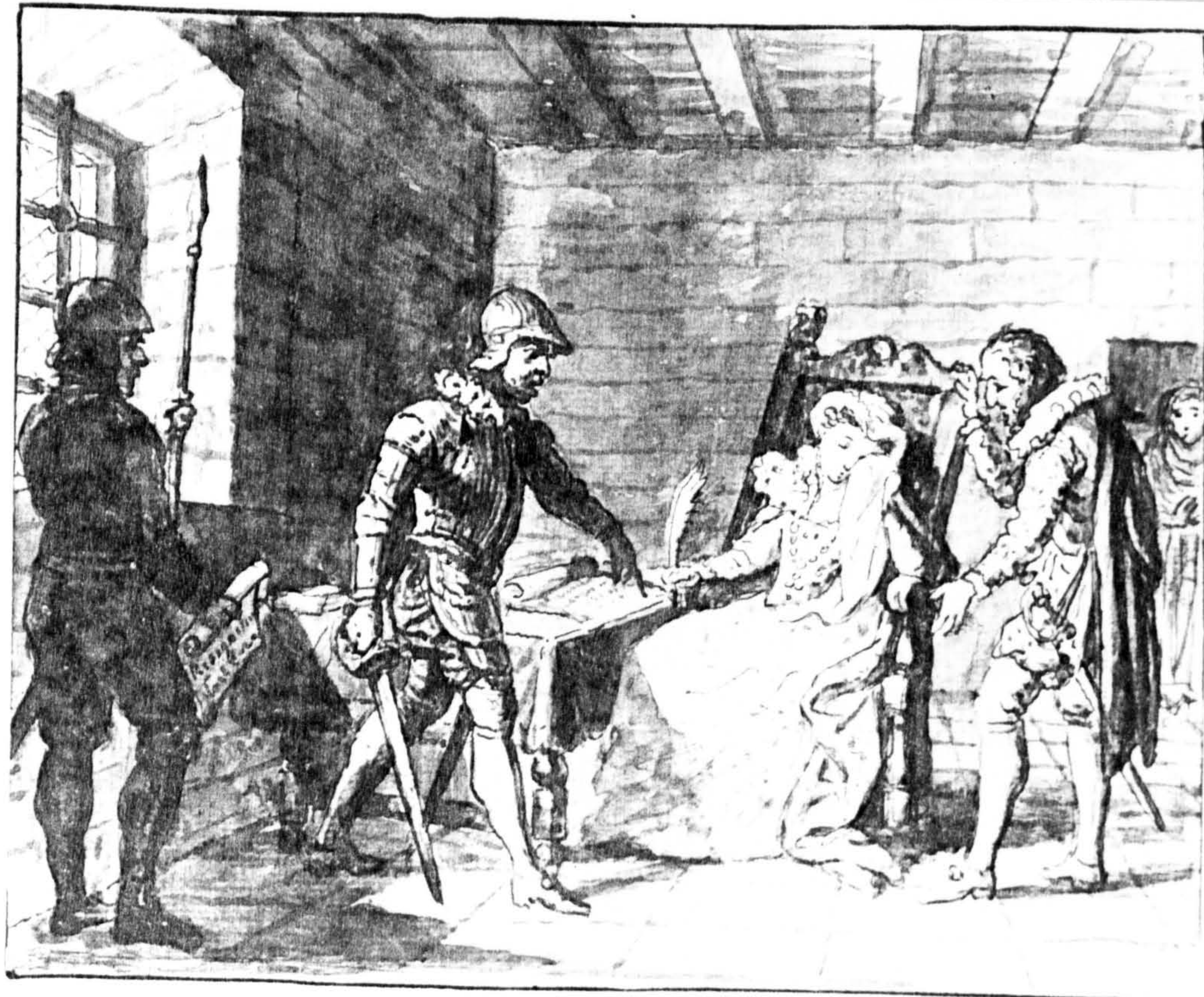
less disinterested motives of earlier writers, Robertson wrote in a Preface to the first edition:

"Truth was not the sole object of these authors. Blinded by prejudices and heated by the part which they themselves had acted in the scenes they describe, they wrote an apology for a faction, rather than the history of their country."<sup>10</sup>

Allan, in his own search for the facts of Mary Stuart's life and times, seems to have ranged widely among a variety of sources other than Robertson's *History*, including one of the most notoriously partisan and "heated" works of these times. He transcribed a passage from Knox's *History of the Reformation in Scotland*, noting the composition of Mary's Privy Council for the fifth of December, 1564, when such specific details were largely omitted from Robertson's general account.<sup>11</sup> Not only did he consult published material, he apparently solicited opinions and information from interested parties, and may have ventured into the field of contemporary documents.<sup>12</sup> When Robertson does include particulars, or append documents containing them, Allan follows these sources precisely, from the horrific appearance of Lord Ruthven "in complete armour" bursting into the queen's cabinet, to the depiction of the hapless Rizzio "with his capp upon his head."<sup>13</sup> Nor did he confine his reading of later historians to Robertson alone. When his *History of Scotland*, somewhat ambiguously, mentions only "spectators" at Mary's execution, Allan follows an alternative source, possibly Hume's *History of England*, in which the hall at Fotheringay is described as having been "crowded with spectators".<sup>14</sup>

Had all this effort, in addition to the "firriving out" of contemporary portraits in country houses,<sup>15</sup> been directed to the illustration of a particular text, a more even distribution of subjects throughout the volumes might have been expected than that which Allan envisaged. As it stands, the collection of drawings depicting Mary herself—which may well be incomplete, and certainly falls short of the artist's original, written intention—commences with her return to Scotland in 1561. Nor is there a drawing of any event preceding this, though, for instance, to his unusually detailed account of the first battle of Pinkie Robertson had appended a contemporary note on Scottish arms, armour and tactics.<sup>16</sup> Allan did jot down page references for events anterior to 1561, but none of these belongs to that lengthy stretch of Scottish history "previous to the period" of Mary's life. She is, according to these notes, "sent to france" on page 104, while the iconoclastic riots in Perth, 1559,





[Figure 173, page 219.]



are laconically noted as "146 Knox destroys".<sup>17</sup> The artist's interest, it seems, was neither the life of the unfortunate queen alone, nor the illustration of all Robertson's stimulating *History*, but the course of events in Scotland at the time as exemplified in the life of one individual. Even so, he further simplifies and condenses the visual narrative in order to present an uncomplicated and unified drama of early success, swift reversal, humiliation, a brief rally after the escape from Lochleven, and ultimate catastrophe. The fall of princes must have struck him as a particularly suitable theme for tragedy.

With one exception, all surviving pictures from this series based on Robertson's writings are concerned with events actually involving the queen in person. Allan wisely eschews any extended independent treatment of the machinations of the nobles, that interminable, nationally debilitating history of internecine faction and conspiracy, as potentially monotonous to view as it is dispiriting to read. Only when the consequences are visited upon the monarch are the various plots presented. This principle informs Allan's depiction of the exception in this series, the curious and fascinating "Gowrie Plot" on the life of James VI, which may thus act as a reminder that the troubles of Mary's reign lived after her. The existence of this drawing may simply be an indication that Allan did in fact read his history thoroughly, ever alert for a good subject, rather than a proof of any theory that he was preparing a set of plates. The Gowrie Plot, affording the opportunity of depicting a few figures in desperate struggle, and despite its being a relatively obscure—certainly unusual—subject, might simply have struck him as one suitable to an independent Historical Composition.

Perhaps the strongest evidence that the designs were seen as preliminary drawings for book illustrations would be their style. Such an uncompromising representation as the drawing of Mary's abdication, however mitigated the brutality is by the delicacy and freshness of the penwork, seems ideally suited to such a purpose, with each of the three main figures acting an immediately obvious rôle. Nevertheless, this was one of the sketches from which Allan painted a "large historical piece" in 1789, the painting, now unlocated, being hung at the last exhibition of the Society of Artists two years later.<sup>18</sup> It was accompanied on its journey south by two others painted later, the "Death of David Rizzio" and the reading of Mary's own death-warrant in Fotheringay Castle, while at least one more, depicting the escape from Lochleven Castle, remained in Scotland. Allan's cheerful remark in a letter to Lord Buchan, that he





*Queen Mary Forces the Castle of Inverness to Surrender*

[Figure 165, page 209.]



Detail of Figure 185.



intended "doing several pieces" had, at least in part, been substantiated.<sup>19</sup>

At the other stylistic extreme, drawings such as that of the surrender of Inverness castle, or, even more emphatically, of Mary's own surrender after the battle of Pinkie, suggest a conception on the grander scale of the typical History Painting. Yet the closest parallel with the energetic besiegers and horses clashing in the middle distance of the former is to be found in Allan's contemporaneous drawings of the battles of Sheriffmuir, Killiecrankie, or, earliest of all, Largs, these drawings being expressly intended for small book illustrations.

The question of whether or no Allan hoped to see one more book published with illustrations from his hand is, in truth, a relatively minor one. These comparisons of style, however, far from merely establishing that it is impossible thus to determine Allan's purpose, actually reveal a significant fact about his art as a whole. In his mature years he would admit of no essential difference—in respect of immediate and crucial narrative and emotional capacity—between the largest depiction of a crisis in the life of a queen, and, for example, the most intimate scene of a rustic couple, the subjects of the simplest country song. Needless to say, in the final resolution and execution of finished works Allan would adopt styles the most appropriate to each, but it is the techniques learnt in the study and practice of the grander art which lend depth and poignancy to his exercises in the more humble.

Of necessity, details minor and incidental must largely be excluded from the smallest engravings. There is simply not the possibility of depicting in such works the same variety of reaction and emotion as can be identified in Allan's drawing of the surrender after Pinkie, itself only six inches by eight. Even in a Historical Painting, the Grand Style on a grand scale, secondary incidents must, in accordance with decorum, be subordinated to the significant drama, the central event which stands clear of any degree of competition with subsidiary "actions and lights". In Academic theory, as expressed in Reynolds's *Discourses* with which Allan had long been familiar,

"The general idea constitutes real excellence. All smaller things, however perfect in their way, are to be sacrificed without mercy to the greater. . . subordinate actions and lights, . . . should merely make a part of that whole which would be imperfect without them."<sup>20</sup>

It is, in fact, probably best to regard the unsubstantiated possibility of Allan's illustrating Robertson as itself just such an incidental detail in the consideration of the series as a whole. The

Figure 165  
Figure 171

Figure 178  
Figure 185





*Queen Mary Queen of Scots at Pinkie carried to Edinburgh*

[Figure 171, page 216.]



events of Mary's life had an existence in fact prior to their literary rediscovery, and Allan had been nurturing an ambition to continue the career as a Historical painter he had begun at Rome. He could do worse than choose a subject from the life of the unhappy queen:

"With respect to the choice, no subject can be proper that is not generally interesting. It ought to be either some eminent instance of heroick action, or heroick suffering. There must be something either in the action, or in the object, in which men are universally concerned, and which powerfully strikes upon the publick sympathy."<sup>21</sup>

On his return from Italy, however, Allan soon found, "like many others", that artists could not necessarily "pursue [their] natural turns for want of encouragement". By the close of 1780 he was lamenting to the Earl of Buchan,

"It is deplorable to think that great Britain in Generall has not sooner begun to incourage her young ones in the Study of History the nobles[t] part of painting. S<sup>r</sup> Joshua Rynolds aims with with his pamphlets or academick discourses to corect their tast, this is praiseworthy but a dificult task."<sup>22</sup>

Nor had the situation improved by the end of the decade, when Allan, in dedicating his plates of Ramsay's pastoral to Gavin Hamilton, made public a grievance deeply felt by many artists of his own time and later:

"It must be a subject of just regret to every lover of the art of Painting, to remark how much its progress is retarded in Great Britain by the little demand there is for public and great works in the historical line."<sup>23</sup>

Hamilton's standing as the foremost Scottish Neoclassicist was unchallenged. Allan states quite frankly that he had "justly acquired the highest reputation in the present age for the heroic and sublime of painting", and assuredly knew thoroughly the older artist's first series of paintings from the *Iliad*. They had both been occupied with the subject of Hector's leave-taking within a few years of each other—Allan probably observed the progress of several of the Homeric works during his sojourn in Italy—and, even after his return to Scotland, Allan would have seen at least two of the series "in the paint", quite apart from the availability of Cunego's engravings, a set of which he owned. "Achilles lamenting the death of Patrocles" was owned by Sir James Grant, for whom Allan painted several portraits in the 1780's, while the "Parting of Hector and Andromache" itself belonged to the Duke of Hamilton, whose "lodgings" at Holyroodhouse Allan visited on at least one occasion.<sup>24</sup> Always ambitious of "improvement in that fine art of Painting", and knowing the Hamilton series as he did, Allan must have thought of emulating, though perhaps not of rivalling, the friend of his Roman years. There is, of course, one





MARY Queen of SCOTS.

153, SIR ROBERT STRANGE after Isaac Oliver; "Mary, Queen of Scots," Circular Engraving published in Tobias Smollett's *History of England*, 1757.



154, HOUBRAKEN after Isaac Oliver and Bernard Picart; "Mary, Queen of Scots". Engraving, with decorative frame and vignette, the whole 8 x 5, Published in Thomas Birch's *The Heads of Illustrious Persons*, (1738; two vols. in one, 1743).



significant difference between the themes chosen by the two artists; Allan's Historical saga is Scottish.

By the late 1780's there was ample precedent for the depiction of scenes from the British past. It was fifty years since William Kent had painted the first of his scenes from the life of Henry V, the Society of Artists had paid its first annual premium for a subject from British history in 1760, and "from about 1770 onwards there appeared a whole succession of histories which, however wildly inaccurate and feeble their illustrations, must have done much to accustom the public to the idea of 'seeing' the past."<sup>25</sup> Prior to this succession of imaginative "history engravings", the many volumes of Rapin's *History of England* had been embellished with a more sober scheme of "*Heads and monuments of the kings*", this edition being published between 1743 and 1747, twenty years after the work first appeared.<sup>26</sup> Smollett's *History of England*, published in 1757, was similarly though more plainly illustrated. A less wide-ranging work, *Heads of the Illustrious Persons of Great Britain*, containing both engraved portraits and illustrative vignettes, and with biographical notes by Thomas Birch, had appeared in 1738, being republished in 1743.

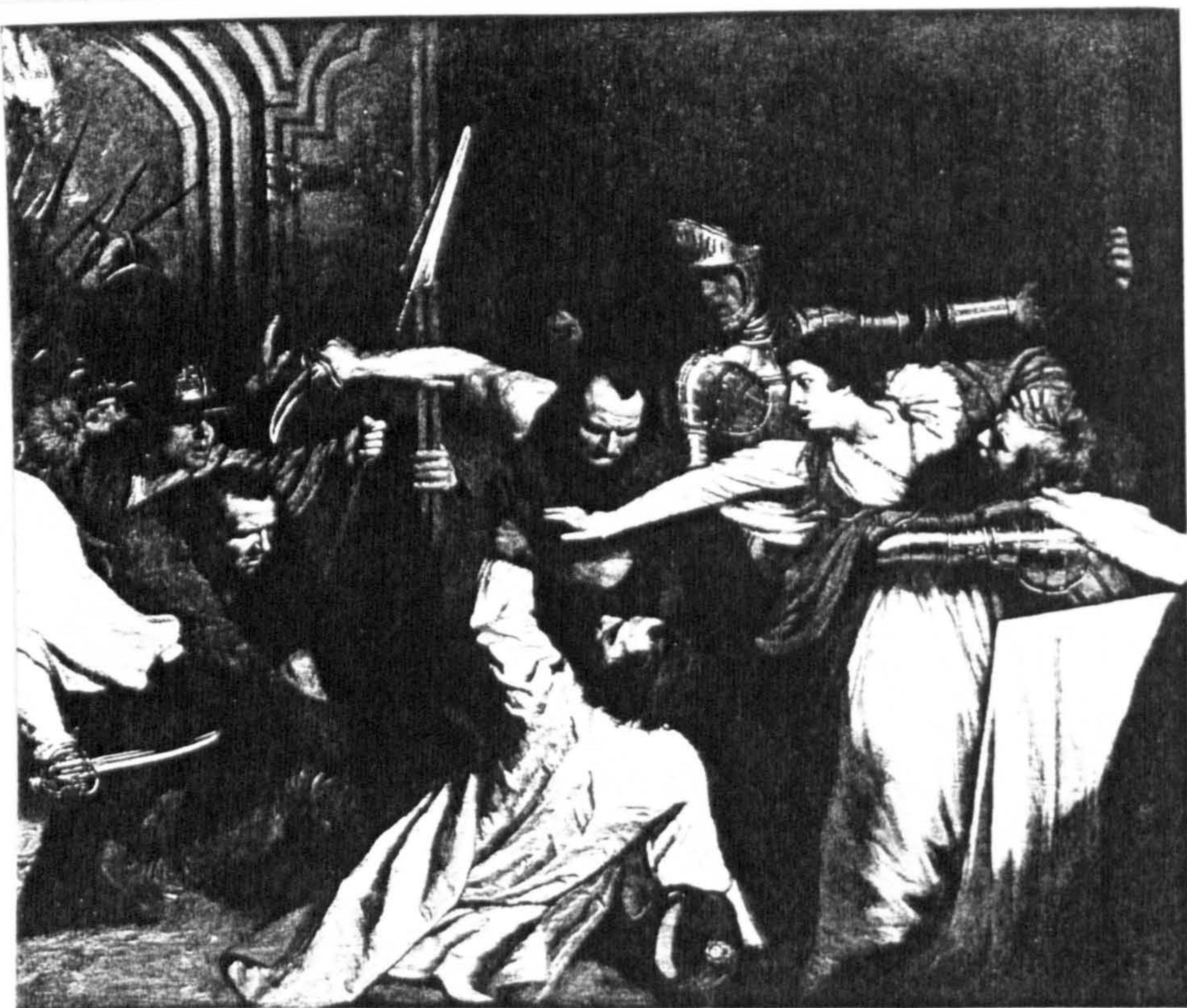
Figure 153  
Figure 154

The 1760 premium at the Society of Artists had been awarded to Robert Pine for a painting of the surrender of Calais to Edward III. An engraving by Aliamet, entitled "'The Surrender at Calais'(After Mr. Pine)" was exhibited there two years later. In the thirty years between then and David Allan's exhibiting three Historical compositions in London, paintings of subjects involving monarchs from British history appeared regularly at the exhibitions of the Free Society of Artists, the Society of Artists, and at the Royal Academy itself.

In these early decades certain themes enjoyed particular popularity. Boadicea inciting her people to rise against the Romans is balanced by Caractacus brought captive before Claudius, Vortigern and Rowena present a couple as unfortunate as Edgar and Elfrida, while Edward III and his son Edward Prince of Wales, "commonly called the Black Prince", disport themselves much more nobly in a whole series of paintings by West, Westall, and John Francis Rigaud.<sup>27</sup>

Nor was "North Britain" entirely neglected. *The British Mercury* of May 1787 noted that since "Scottish history abounds in the most interesting subjects, the artists of the present day seem disposed to avail themselves of it", and recorded that Opie, Westall, and the Scot John Graham had already done so.<sup>28</sup> The earliest painting from Scottish





155.

JOHN OPIE; "The assassination of David Riccio", exh. Royal Academy 1787, British Institution 1817. Oil on canvas 94½ x 113½ (cut down from 107 x 144), Guildhall Art Gallery, City of London.



J. F. Rigaud R.A. Pinx. **MARIE REINE D'ECOSSE DANS SON ORATOIRE.** *del. J. J. B. Sculpt.*

*La reine ayant donné les derniers adieux au monde se retira dans son Oratoire, se mit à genoux, et ne s'occupa d'autre chose, que de son Dieu. Peu de tems après, elle vit paroître à la Porte le haut-Sheriff Thomas Andrews, accompagné de ses gar- des. A peine l'eut-elle aperçu, qu'elle se disposa tranquillement à sa destinée. Elle demanda seulement d'être suivie par une de ses Servantes, qui lui apportât son Crucifix d'ivoire, et partit d'abord avec l'air le plus ferme et le plus paisible.*

156. ANTONIO ZECCHIN after J. F. Rigaud; "Marie Reine D'Ecosse dans son Oratoire", c. 1793. Original picture exh. Royal Academy 1792. Stipple engraving 7½ x 9½



history exhibited by any of these artists strikes an ominous, and dominant, note. In 1786 Opie presented "James the First of Scotland assassinated by Graham, at the instigation of his uncle the Duke of Athol", helpfully adding a reference to Buchanan's *History of Scotland*. The misty north seems to have inspired scenes of violence; that same magazine could have included Benjamin West among its list of names, since he gave them two chances with his "Alexander the third, king of Scotland, rescued from the fury of a stag by the intrepidity of Colin Fitzgerald, the ancestor of the present Fitzgerald family", exhibiting it both in 1784 and 1786, though without any literary reference.<sup>29</sup> To judge from West's practice on other occasions, the earlier picture may have been a sketch. Even Angelica Kauffmann had ventured into the realms of Scottish fable in 1773, with an Ossianic scene.<sup>30</sup>

There was, of course, one more popular Scottish theme, one which offered the opportunity of depicting violent or "affecting" scenes in about equal measure. The article in *The British Mercury* had specifically noted Opie's "Assassination of David Riccio", the subject also taken by Graham in that year. Westall, on the whole, seems to have been of a more gentle nature, choosing the lachrymose scene of "Mary, Queen of Scots, taking leave of Sir Andrew Melville on her way to execution" for his painting of 1787, and two years later depicting "Mary. . . when a child, embarking for France" and "The flight of Mary Queen of Scots", possibly from Lochleven, this subject having been exhibited by John Graham in 1788. By the time Westall exhibited his final picture from the story of the Queen of Scots, showing her at the battle of Langside, a veritable industry had sprung up in the shape of John Francis Rigaud, who abandoned Edward III with the king of France in Westminster Hall and devoted himself instead to the north, producing four paintings in one year and displaying a disconcerting single-mindedness in his choice of subject-matter. "Mary Queen of Scots going to the place of execution" is followed by "Mary Queen of Scots at Prayer on the Scaffold", "Mary Queen of Scots at the Block" and "Mary Queen of Scots beheaded". Nor had he relinquished either the subject or the theme by the following year, relentlessly exhibiting in 1792 "The sheriff entering the chapel of Mary Queen of Scots the morning of her execution", "The funeral procession of Mary Queen of Scots", and, literally pursuing his subject into the ground, "The Entombing of Mary Queen of Scots". Here Rigaud's concentration upon Mary ceased, he being disinclined to paint any scenes from her earlier years and, short of an "Ascension", unable to paint any more from her last days.<sup>31</sup>

Figure 155

Figure 156





157. GAVIN HAMILTON: "Mary, Queen of Scots resigning her crown", 1765-73, exh. Royal Academy 1776, Oil on canvas 69 x 63½ (cut down on both sides), Hunterian Art Gallery, University of Glasgow.



One scene from Mary Stuart's life which did not attract these prolific painters of the eighties and nineties was her forced abdication. With the exception of two paintings, both by Scots, from these years, this subject was not to be seen again until Sir William Allan's representation of 1824. Yet this was the event depicted in the very first painting based on the queen's life to be hung on the walls of the Royal Academy, the canvas by Gavin Hamilton which was exhibited in 1776.<sup>32</sup>

Figure 157

The painting had been commissioned by Boswell, in Italy, as early as 1765, and Hamilton had taken the opportunity to recreate a sixteenth-century Scottish interior with as much care as he had already begun to lavish upon his Homeric series. To the artist-antiquarian, such an approach must have appeared the most logical, perhaps the only acceptable one. It was the "Comparison of past Ages" no less than the study of foreign countries which excited the curiosity of many of his contemporaries.<sup>33</sup> The presence of the exiled Stuart court in Rome not only lent poignancy to the thought of historical dispossession, it enabled Hamilton to borrow from Andrew Lumisden, secretary to Charles Edward, a miniature of the queen to assist with the preparation of his own picture.<sup>34</sup> To the young David Allan, in Rome during the painting's lengthy gestation, the methods of constructing accurately such an authentic view were a valuable example of Neoclassical rigour applied to a scene from Scottish history. Considered, for the moment, simply as exercises in using available historical data to supply an authentic framework for works of art, Allan's paintings of Mary Stuart began with a great advantage over Hamilton's. He had access to a much wider range of material than had his mentor.

Gavin Hamilton and John Graham were not the only Scottish predecessors in painting episodes from the life of Mary, Queen of Scots. Two other artists, John Alexander and Alexander Runciman, had earlier had ambitions in that direction. As early as 1710, in London, John Alexander had been "copying portraits of Mary Queen of Scots and other Scottish historical figures". He attempted at least one scene from her life in his undated "Escape of Mary. . .from Lochleven Castle", in which the setting was said to have been painted from nature.<sup>35</sup> This painting could date from soon after Alexander's return to Scotland from Italy in about 1720, assuming the tradition of his having painted the landscape on the spot to be authentic. Alexander must at least have conceived this subject by 1718, at which time he was planning a group of paintings around the queen's life, and based upon a famous artistic prototype. He wrote from Rome to





158.

ALEXANDER RUNCIMAN: ["Mary, Queen of Scots signing the papers in Loch Leven Castle by which she resigned the crown"], 1782. Sketch for the painting exh. Royal Academy 1782. Pen & wash 7 $\frac{1}{4}$  x 9 $\frac{1}{4}$ . National Galleries of Scotland, Department of Prints and Drawings D 316 (inscribed 'A. Runciman inv.')



159.

ALEXANDER RUNCIMAN: "death of Oscar" 1772. Pen and wash over pencil 13 $\frac{1}{4}$  x 19 $\frac{1}{4}$ . National Galleries of Scotland, Department of Prints and Drawings, D 316 (inscribed 'A. Runciman inv.' and "4 feet high 5 feet wide", the dimensions of the painting at Penicuik House).



the Earl of Mar, then in exile at Urbino following the unsuccessful Jacobite Rising,

"when you command me, I shall undertake anything, though never so difficult, because I surpass myself when I labour for those I esteem and love, for which reason I hope to succeed in the life of Mary Stuart, that great queen, for, if my performance could equal my love and esteem for her glorious memory, I am confident I should equal Raphael and Titian,

I am ambitious to be able one day to represent her glorious actions and sufferings as Rubens has done that of Mary de Medici."<sup>36</sup>

It was one scene of this cycle, the "Coronation", which may have influenced Picart's painting of Mary's execution, seen as a vignette in Birch's *Heads of Illustrious Persons*. Alexander, on the other hand, seems to refer to Rubens's paintings not as potential models but simply as an earlier series following the successes and misfortunes of a monarch, and David Allan probably regarded the "Marie de Medici" cycle in the same way. Nothing further is known of Alexander's plans than the "Escape from Lochleven", unfinished in his lifetime and now unlocated.

Only slightly more is known of a scene of Mary Stuart's abdication painted by Alexander Runciman, Allan's forerunner as Master of the Trustees' Academy in Edinburgh. This work was exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1782, the catalogue containing a reference to Crawford's *Memoirs*, and with Allan's own later painting of the event it was the last abdication scene to be shown for thirty years and more. Contemporary events may have made such a theme unwelcome.<sup>37</sup>

Although Runciman's painting is lost, its appearance may be imagined from a characteristically vigorous sketch. Both this and Allan's later treatments of the scene bear some similarity to Hamilton's version. All three emphasise the harsh conditions under which Mary was restrained, all three make reference to the threats by which she was induced to resign the government of Scotland, but only Runciman makes explicit the importance of religious turmoil during her reign.<sup>38</sup> In contrast to the dirk grasped by one of the lords standing at the table, Mary delicately holds a small cross to her breast, while a Protestant clergyman looks on impassively from a window seat.

While it is only probable that Allan knew of this picture, it is virtually certain that he knew of Runciman's major undertaking at Penicuik House. Dating from 1772, and located not far south of Edinburgh, these murals would have attracted Allan's attention for reasons beyond their obvious artistic importance. Here was an artist working on a monumental scale in subjects from Scottish history- the life of Queen Margaret- and from a mythology which, though Irish in origin and truly



"common to all Gaels", was nevertheless seen as particularly Scottish in Macpherson's amplified translation, notorious in both the contemporary and modern sense of the word.<sup>39</sup> Remembering the seamless quality of Allan's art from the lowliest etching to the grandest Historical painting, and bearing in mind his capacity for infinite adaptation, it is tempting to speculate whether his ambitions for compositions based on Ossianic subjects ever extended beyond the small engravings and modest wash drawings or watercolours which survive.

Allan's preparation for his own cycle of paintings from Scottish history was as thorough as even Gavin Hamilton could have wished. His literary research, probably carried out largely in his "back Room, little disturbed by strangers", had been meticulous; his amassing of visual material was no less exacting. It was a task he found particularly congenial- the 1808 *Memoir of the Scottish Hogarth* told of his delight in discoursing on the antiquities and literary history of his country- and one in which he found himself once more in concert with David Stuart Erskine, the Earl of Buchan.<sup>40</sup> Buchan's *Discourse* of 1780, from which developed the Scottish Society of Antiquaries, included under its seventh heading,

"That the objects of the Society be the antient, compared with the modern state of the kingdom and people of Scotland, . . . the antient dresses, amusements and music of the people . . . biographical gleanings of illustrious persons, with drawings of their unengraved portraits, and proofs of their authenticity."<sup>41</sup>

In these and other objects, of course, Buchan was urging emulation of the Society of Antiquaries established, largely by the influence of William Stukeley, in London, which commissioned Vertue to copy and engrave historical portraits. Vertue continued this work, with Gravelot and Grignion, on the folio edition of Rapin's *History of England*, and with Houbraken on Birch's *Heads of Illustrious Persons*, mentioned earlier. Ancient dresses had been partially covered in Strutt's *The Regal and Ecclesiastical Antiquities of England* of 1773, and were to be more fully treated in his *A Complete View of the Dress and Habits of the People of England*, which commenced publication in 1796. In the intervening years, with *A Compleat View of the Manners, Customs, Arms, Habits etc. of the Inhabitants of England*, he had dealt with most other aspects of English social history both wisely and very well.<sup>42</sup> All Buchan had to do was the same for Scotland.

He certainly devoted himself keenly to the drawing of portraits of illustrious Scots, whether unengraved or not, above a score of these



copies being preserved.<sup>43</sup> There is a touching preponderance of members of the Erskine family among the group. When copying from prints Buchan recorded the fact; when he drew from an original he both noted the painting's location and added detailed information about eyes, hair and dress, a habit possibly picked up from Allan.<sup>44</sup> Several of these drawings — of the Stuart kings, of the "Admirable Crichton", and of Sir William Wallace of Elderslie — are of historical characters who also figure in copies by Allan; a few, like that of Maitland of Lethington, have instructions for an engraver written upon them. Although notes such as these, and, in some cases, the direction "To Mr Pinkerton for his series of Scottish Portraits" were added in 1794, as early as 1781 Buchan had drawn up a "Catalogue of Portraits of Illustrious or Learned Scots".<sup>45</sup> The research, at least, which came of his own interest in the "antient . . . state of the kingdom and people of Scotland" thus predates Allan's cycle of Historical Compositions, as well as his work for the Society of Antiquaries.

Allan's contribution to this society was not restricted to the copying of "unengraved portraits" — he made a print in aquatint of a Roman relief, and a few of his topographical works were published in the society's *Transactions* — but one example of his activity in this field offers a pleasing glimpse of his having cannily combined the execution of commissioned employment with the pursuit of personal studies.<sup>46</sup> In September of 1789 he wrote, evidently in response to an enquiry from Dryburgh Abbey:

"My Lord

Your Lordship may be asured I am not intirely negligent in my Duty, for I have been in pursuit of your P<sup>icture</sup> of King James V, an excelent one Busto I have found according to order at Pitfirrane & S<sup>r</sup> John is so good as to send it to me at Ed<sup>r</sup> to copy for your Lordship —

I found likewise an excelent P<sup>icture</sup> size Busto of Lodovic 2 duke of Lenox, the date on it is 1623 with order of the Thistle with a brown beard, I thought it nessesary to inform your Ld<sup>sh</sup> that in case you wanted this likewise they might both be sent at the same time, Begs your Lordship will inform me if you want only James V or both shall then write & get them over & do them soon. I like the bussines well as I love the Erskines & Stuarts & particularly the latter for whom I have been Exercising my brush & brains for some time if your Lordship had done me the honor when last in town to have seen my poor study woud have seen to large historical peices from the life of the unfortunate Queen Mary, my mind is upon this History, & intends doing several pieces, I have with some dificulty found out many of the old Scottish dresses, I shall aim at character and costume, I am only sory there are so few whose knowledge & conversation are improving to Painters, I wish m<sup>r</sup> ] for your Lordships good Remarks when convenient to be in town.

Good Mr, Hamilton is here from Rome he is upon the whole in good health, I offer My humble respects to Lady Buchan & has the honor to be respect[fully]

My Lord,

Your Lordship's

most obedient

humble servant

D Allan" 47

Ed<sup>r</sup> Sep<sup>r</sup> 2, 1789

My adress

Dicksons Close





160. "Ld Darnley," c.1789. Pen over pencil on paper 9 $\frac{1}{4}$  x 5 $\frac{1}{4}$ , the figure 6 high. Scottish National Portrait Gallery PG 2461, SPD 621 (inscribed with details of features, costume, and location in Holyrood house).



In June of the following year, still wielding his brush in the service of the House of Stuart, Allan sent Buchan an outline sketch from another portrait of James V, and revealed once more a concern for precision of costume, in the limited sense of "dress", rather than a willingness to accept an appearance only approximately correct:

My Lord

I rec<sup>d</sup> the honor of yours long ago, About the authenticity of James 5- you know he was found out in france, by means of a Picture which was in his sweet hearts hand whither it had a Ruff or not I shall not determine, I woud have wrote your lordship long ago & sent the inclosed but has been taken up intirely with your Family of Stuart that I paint it & has hardly time to eat or sleep, I only wish your Lordship was oftener before my Eyes to assist me with true advice so few I find to converse in this way of Painting our own History

The inclosed- inclosed is the James <sup>5</sup> in Small at Hopt<sup>n</sup> House which agrees well wilth<sup>l</sup> the Coin, I hope your Lordship & Lady Buchan are well, & I am sure your Lordship is always well imployed I hope to be pardoned for this scrall in haste

I have the honor to be

My Lord

your Lordship's  
most obed<sup>t</sup>  
humble Servant

Ed<sup>r</sup>, Jun 15  
1790

D Allan <sup>4e</sup>

Those curious opening phrases, presumably alluding to the picture owned by Sir John Halkett of Pitfirrane (for whom Allan had painted a couple of portraits, and a large family group, a few years previously), suggest that Buchan had queried the credentials of the piece and been directed by the artist, with less than his customary deference, to a historical anecdote in support of its being genuine, perhaps - if Allan, ever the enthusiast, were in temporary possession of a *miniature* "Busto" - even the very picture which figures in the story, with or without a ruff. The "inclosed" remains with the letter in which it was sent, and is of a kind with about a dozen other copies, several cut from the same sheet of paper, made by Allan with the obvious purpose of recording details of clothing and physiognomy.<sup>49</sup> Having "found out many of the old Scottish dresses", he would hardly have neglected the characters who wore them. A rather epicene "L<sup>d</sup> Darnley" was swiftly jotted down "In Duke of Hamilton's Lodging Holyrood house", and a more robust "Sir Ja<sup>m</sup> Douglas E. of Morton Regent of Scotland" was taken from the "Picture Large as life at Damahoy". This latter portrait was, incidentally, also the source for Morton in Sir William Allan's "Murder of David Rizzio", dating from 1833.

Both Morton and Darnley have the colours of their costumes and — a typical feature of Allan's portrait-sketches — details of hair, eyebrows, eyes and beards noted. Among his other copies are portraits of the





161. "Q. Mary at Alloa", c.1789. Pen over pencil on paper 9 1/4 x 5 1/4, the pencil frame 4 x 3 approx, Scottish National Portrait Gallery PG 2461, SPD 623 (inscribed with details of costume & location),



162. R. SHEPPARD after Isaac Oliver: "Mary, Queen of Scots", Engraving from a miniature in the Mead collection,



163. ANON.: The Morton portrait of Mary, Queen of Scots, Oil on canvas 40 x 29. Glasgow Art Gallery and Museum,



Earl of Pembroke and Sir James Hoy of Smithfield, both from Dalmahoy and both with details of their decorations- orders of the Garter and of the "Red Lyon"- added to the usual descriptions of their clothing. Allan may also have had recourse to books of engravings for "Dresses of 1500" and "Siclotch Guards at Paris 14 or 1500", this last probably being connected with the reference "104 Mary sent to france" on the verso of one of his drawings.

Dalmahoy provided this collection with one of the two copy-portraits of Mary herself, the other being the briefest of sketches of "Q. Mary at Alloa". This painting had been noted by Pennant in 1769 as "a remarkable full-length of Mary Stuart, on copper, in a gauze cloak, crown on her head, and passion-flower in her hand."<sup>50</sup> Both of Allan's drawings have the usual details of clothes added, those for the latter being "Westcoat, apron & gown Black & lined with Brown furr." Of scant value purely as works of art, sometimes of apparently inept penmanship, all these hasty sketches prove nonetheless that Allan's approach to this kind of Historical painting, the subject being drawn from British history rather than from the Classics, was more mature and responsible than that of many artists then practising in Britain. Of artists concerned with a similar quest for accuracy, the names that come most readily to mind, in addition to that of Gavin Hamilton, are those of the Americans Benjamin West and John Singleton Copley.

From all these drawings, other portraits, and engravings, Allan derived a vocabulary of costume for the participants in his scheme of paintings. It is certain that some of his preparatory sketches and studies are lost, very likely that many are.<sup>51</sup> No individual figure studies, such as those for *The Gentle Shepherd*, are known for this series. It is quite inconceivable that none was made. Nor did Allan restrict himself to a handful of copies. Both the Alloa Mary and that from Dalmahoy, for example, wear black; only in the execution scene, appropriately enough, does Allan's Queen Mary do so.<sup>52</sup> Similarly, he mercifully does not condemn Mary to sporting the same headgear for more than twenty years. A dark hat with an elaborately knotted ribbon, which she wears in the first picture of the series, has been derived from a miniature in the famous Mead collection, engraved in both Birch's *Heads* and Smollett's *History*. So too the variety of white, frilly caps he allows her gives way to a more robust hat for the escape by night from the Castle of Lochleven.

In addition to such details of dress, accurate representation of items of contemporary furniture in these pictures was aided, incidentally,

Figure 161

Figure 162

Figure 153

Figure 154

PLATE XIII



Reproduction Vol 1 p 218  
Q. Mary Arrives at Leith  
& Conducted to Holyrood house



164. "Q. Mary Arrives at Leith & Conducted to Holyrood house", c.1789/90, Pen and wash over pencil 7½ x 10½. National Galleries of Scotland, Department of Prints and Drawings (D4597).



by a favourite pattern for full-length portraits of Mary's time, their subjects typically standing with one hand resting on a small table. Surviving examples of old furniture may also have been studied in the country houses which supplied Allan's pictorial sources and demanded his portraits. Although in truth such items are very scarce in his Historical interiors, the artist clearly preferring not to encumber his stage with incidental detail, when a carved wooden table, a studded chair or a weighty hanging do appear they certainly reinforce the authenticity of a piece, seeming to have the "true rust of the barons' wars" about them.<sup>53</sup>

Most interestingly of all, the drawing of Mary's progress to the Provost's house in Edinburgh, following her defeat at Pinkie, is a remarkable attempt accurately to recreate the High Street of the capital as it would have appeared in the sixteenth century. St. Giles' Cathedral alone is seen as it was in Allan's day. For the rest, crowstepped gables, overhanging upper storeys and balustraded balconies predominate.<sup>54</sup> Had this drawing been worked up into a full-scale painting, and visitors such as Lord Buchan, Captain Riddell the amateur antiquarian and musician, or Gavin Hamilton himself, stepped into Allan's studio in Dickson's Close, they would have enjoyed seeing the High Street which they had just left as it must have looked two hundred years before. The unruly crowd jostle, shout and display their banners in an ancient Scottish setting as firmly founded and assured as the Grecian backgrounds in Hamilton's series from the *Iliad*.

Old Edinburgh figures in the first composition of Allan's own series. The scene of Mary's arrival in Scotland has, strictly speaking, two backgrounds. To the right, the eye travels down the shore road to where the boat rocks at the pier of Leith, the harbour town indicated by a cluster of small houses and a church.<sup>55</sup> Further away and to the left, Allan has included a distant view of Edinburgh itself, the steeply sloping spine of the Royal Mile from the Castle to the Palace being suggested with a series of tiny pen strokes and punctuated by the instantly recognisable outlines of St. Giles' and the Netherbow, with Salisbury Crags in the background.<sup>56</sup> Allan has judiciously availed himself of a measure of artistic licence in order to make clear the objective of the small procession.

Mary's arrival in her realm, after a journey shadowed by regrets at leaving France and by the danger of interception by English ships, was hardly auspicious. The few clouds in Allan's sky hardly suggest the

Figure 171

Figure 164



"grand brouillard" mentioned by Brantôme, far less the almost eschatological phenomena dreamed up by the Reformers. According to Knox,

"the myst was so thick and so dark, that scairse mycht any man espy any other the lenth of two pair of buttis. The sun was not seyn to schyne two dayis befoir, nor two dayis after."<sup>57</sup>

Not only was the weather depressingly typical of the country, Mary had arrived almost a fortnight earlier than expected, and the Scots

"were obliged to conduct her to the palace of Holyrood-house with little pomp. The Queen, accustomed from her infancy to spendour and magnificence, and fond of them, as was natural at her age, could not help observing the change in her situation, and seemed to be deeply affected with it."<sup>58</sup>

By a fine economy of means, even in a sketch measuring seven inches by ten, Allan has indicated the surprise occasioned by Mary's premature landing and the consequent lack of any preparation. The procession hardly merits the name of a cavalcade- Mary's attendants had to scour the countryside for horses while their queen shivered in the rain- and it is clear that no-one was aware of her arrival. A sixteenth-century Newhaven fishwife might easily be imagined strolling along the path that winds towards Holyrood. More skilful than either of these quite straightforward indications, however, is Allan's demonstration of the Queen's feelings on her arrival. A mounted attendant, presumably one of her Guise uncles, waves his hat to point out either the appearance of a few startled subjects or the first sight of her capital city, but Mary seems not to see him. She gazes silently away from both subjects and city, back along the Firth of Forth, clearly rapt in her own thoughts and regrets. It is a fittingly ominous beginning to the story.

In this as in most of the other compositions from the series, Allan's intentions must be extrapolated from a small preparatory drawing. Only two of the four large Historical pieces he painted for this series are now known.<sup>59</sup> In addition, a small oil painting of one of these subjects, that of Mary resigning the government, probably repeats the large version seen by Robert Riddell in 1789 and exhibited in London two years later. Yet it is surprisingly easy to grasp Allan's meaning from those drawings and paintings which remain, and at least partially to reconstruct his most ambitious scheme. It should be emphasised that he intended the compositions to be seen as part of a series, not as a number of individual works based on different events in the life of one historical character. His pictures gain significantly from comparisons on both thematic and formal grounds.

Chronologically, the second design in the group is of Mary's forcing the Castle of Inverness to surrender. An appreciation of the drawing does





*Queen Mary Forces the Castle of Inverness to Surrender*

165, "Queen Mary Forces the Castle of Inverness to Surrender", c. 1789/90, Pen and wash over pencil 5½ x 9½, National Galleries of Scotland, Department of Prints and Drawings (D4593).



not depend upon any thorough knowledge of the subject matter. It is not necessary to follow the historical reasons—extending at least to the reign of James III, even to that of Robert Bruce himself—for the jealousy felt towards the Earl of Huntly, nor is it essential to account for his unsuccessful rebellion, or to know its result. It is enough to accept the situation depicted. Allan was concerned to show Mary's early successes, and a battle scene enabled him to paint the Queen in a guise with a long iconographical tradition. Here, she is the monarch in command of an army, confidently mounted on the field of battle. A courier doffs his bonnet as she pauses to indicate the breach through which a fresh assault is to be made, or to detail the terms on which she will accept the surrender of the garrison. Meanwhile a squadron of cavalry has formed up behind her, a gunner on the plain below prepares to touch off a heavy piece of ordnance, and a small skirmish develops as a party of defenders makes a sally in the middle distance. Mary is calm and assured, as fully in command as any armoured king, the northern counterpart of Bess Tudor boasting of having the heart and stomach of a king of England.

Indirectly, a precise knowledge of the action can contribute some additional meaning, though this reinforces rather than replaces the obvious one of a triumph of arms. Huntly, goaded by the loss of an estate when Mary created the prior of St. Andrew's the Earl of Mar, hoped to kill or capture her advisors Morton, Maitland and Mar himself during the Queen's northern tour in the summer of 1562. The Cock of the North ordered the governor of Inverness castle to deny her entry, and Mary was forced to lodge in the town, which was soon surrounded by Huntly's men.

"The utmost consternation seized the queen, who was attended by a very slender train. She every moment expected the approach of the rebels, and some ships were already ordered into the river to secure her escape. The loyalty of the Munroes, Frasers, Mackintoshes, and some neighbouring clans, who took arms in her defence, saved her from this danger. By their assistance, she even forced the castle to surrender, and inflicted on the governor the punishment which his insolence deserved."<sup>60</sup>

That is, it was by the loyalty of her subjects that Mary was able to turn potential disaster into triumph. Not only has Mary a control over her army as absolute as that over her noble and classical horse, its similarity to that of Marcus Aurelius in the Piazza Campidoglio by no means coincidental, she has in addition the loyalty of her people. Or rather, she has the loyalty of some of them. At the very core of this image of victory there is the hint of something rotten. Mary's military victory is on Scottish soil, against her own people, and as a result of the disaffection of a powerful nobleman. In Allan's picture, the Queen is



elegantly poised on the brow of a gentle hill; in historical reality, she was already on the brink of a precipice.

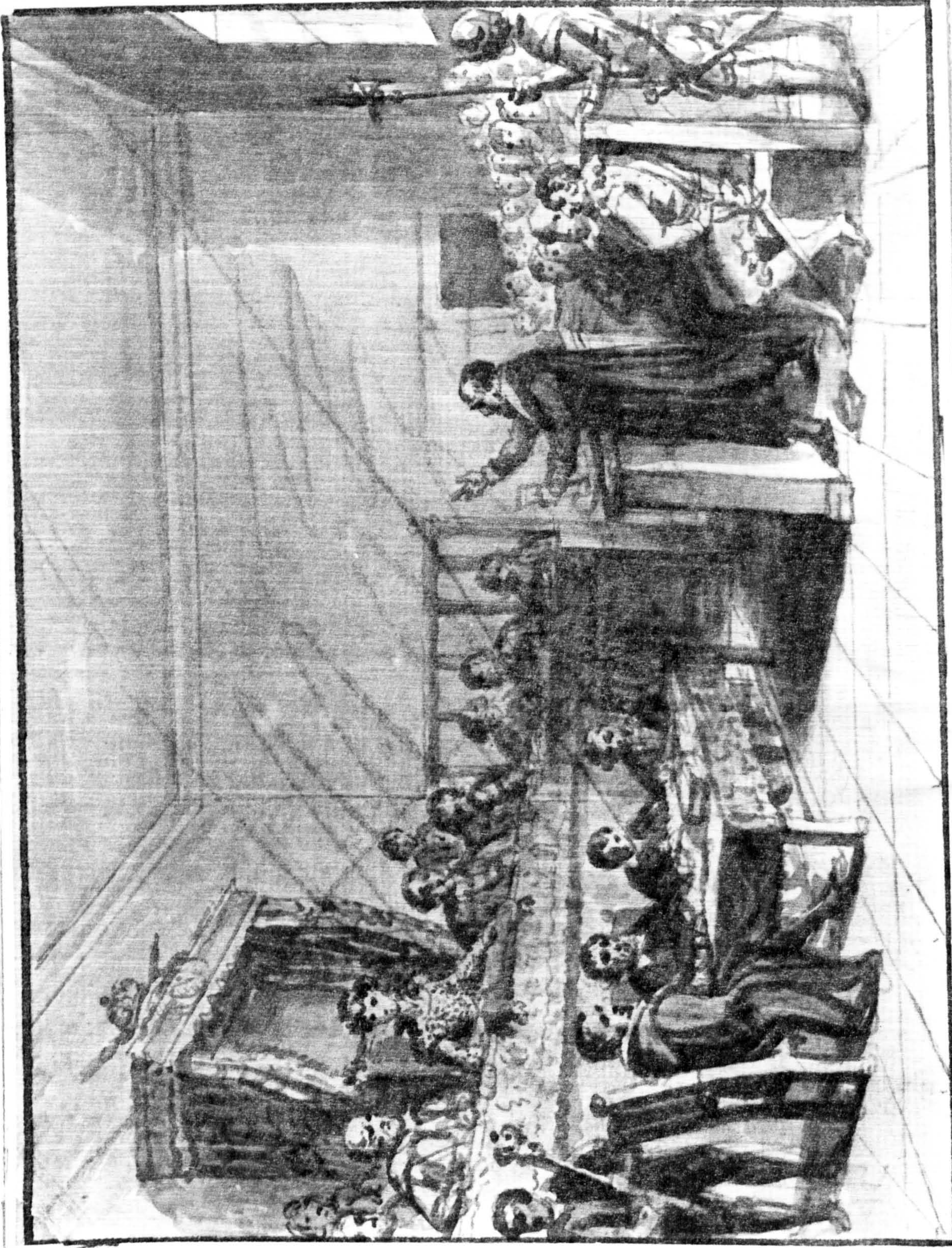
The third subject treated in the series continues the theme of a land divided, being that of John Knox brought before the Privy Council in December, 1563. Again, although every contemporary viewer would have known something of the historical situation, the effectiveness of the drawing does not depend greatly upon a precise knowledge of the events which occasioned the hearing. Nevertheless, some indication of the background to Knox's being arraigned for treason both clarifies the action of Allan's picture and offers a general view of the state of the country at that time.

Mary's first Parliament had been held in May, 1563. No attempt had been made to gain her assent to the laws establishing the reformed religion. She had, nevertheless, agreed to tolerate Protestantism, but her being "passionately devoted to the Romish religion" did not give the Reformers any reason to believe that this tolerance was for other than temporary political ends. As Robertson succinctly expressed it, "the moderation of those who professed it, was the best method for reconciling the queen to the Protestant religion. Time might abate her bigotry".<sup>61</sup>

Moderation, however, was never a conspicuous attribute of the Reformers. When John Knox, for example, described how "the potent hand of God from above [sent] unto us a wonderfull and most joyfull deliverance: for unhappy Francis, husband to our Soverane, suddandlie perissheth of a rottin ear", he could not resist glossing the unfortunate event as "the death of the yong King of France, Husband to our Jesabell".<sup>62</sup> Their zeal and eagerness, called "more sincere than prudent" by Robertson and otherwise known as rabble-rousing, excited the people to "rash and unjustifiable acts of violence".<sup>63</sup> Allan had recognised the importance of the events in which "Knox destroys", and Doctor Johnson, walking in the echoing cloisters of the ruined Cathedral of St. Andrew's, told Boswell that "Knox had set on a mob, without knowing where it would end . . . differing from a man in doctrine was no reason why you should pull his house about his ears".<sup>64</sup> Eventually, during the Queen's absence, the Mass which was held at Holyrood House was interrupted by a riotous assembly of citizens. Two of the ringleaders were arrested and a day appointed for their trial.

Knox immediately issued a circular urging all who professed "the treuth" to afford comfort and assistance by their presence, *en masse*, on the day of the trial. According to the Protestant side, their Brethren had only passed by to note who attended the "devilish ceremonie (yea even the





166, [John Knox before the Privy Council, 1563]  
c.1789/90, Pen & wash over pencil 6¼ x 8¼  
(trimmed; cancelled with red chalk) National  
Galleries of Scotland Department of  
Prints and Drawings (04612)



conjuring of thair accursed watter)", and had, moreover, done so "in maist quyet maner". Understandably, even without Knox's unenviable reputation, such an exhortation to assemble, without the authority of the Queen and in direct opposition to her, was interpreted as treasonable.<sup>65</sup> Knox was summoned before the Privy Council.

"Happily for him, his judges were not only zealous Protestants, but the very men who, during the late commotions, had openly resisted and set at defiance the Queen's authority. It was under precedents drawn from their conduct that Knox endeavoured to shelter himself. Nor would it have been an easy matter for these counsellors to have found out a distinction, by which they could censure him without condemning themselves. After a long hearing, to the astonishment of Lethington and the other courtiers, he was unanimously acquitted." <sup>66</sup>

The immediate impression in each of Allan's drawings of this event is clearly one of unease. In the earlier of these, the unsettling device of exchanged, sidelong glances - which he was later to use in another scene of defiance offered to royalty, the ballad of "Johnie Armstrang" - appears frequently, while one pair of courtiers whisper nervously together. Even Mary turns towards the tense figure of the Master of Maxwell, as though seeking support and reassurance. Only one figure displays any confidence. Knox is positively arrogant as he stands reading, or rather declaiming, the circular which he issued. Later in that long hearing, which he was to describe in great detail and with obvious relish, having denounced the "pestilent Papistis" as sons of the Devil, Knox was reminded by one courtier that he was not then in the pulpit:

"'I am in the place,' said the uther, 'quhair I am demandit of conscience to speik the treuth; and thairfoir I speik. The treuth I speik impung it quoso list.'" <sup>67</sup>

The preacher's words can readily be imagined ringing around the austere chamber depicted by Allan. Well might the counsellors be so obviously uneasy; Knox's speech was not merely a tirade against Catholicism, in itself insulting to the Queen however expected of the zealot, but a caution to her to beware "the counsall of flatteraris".

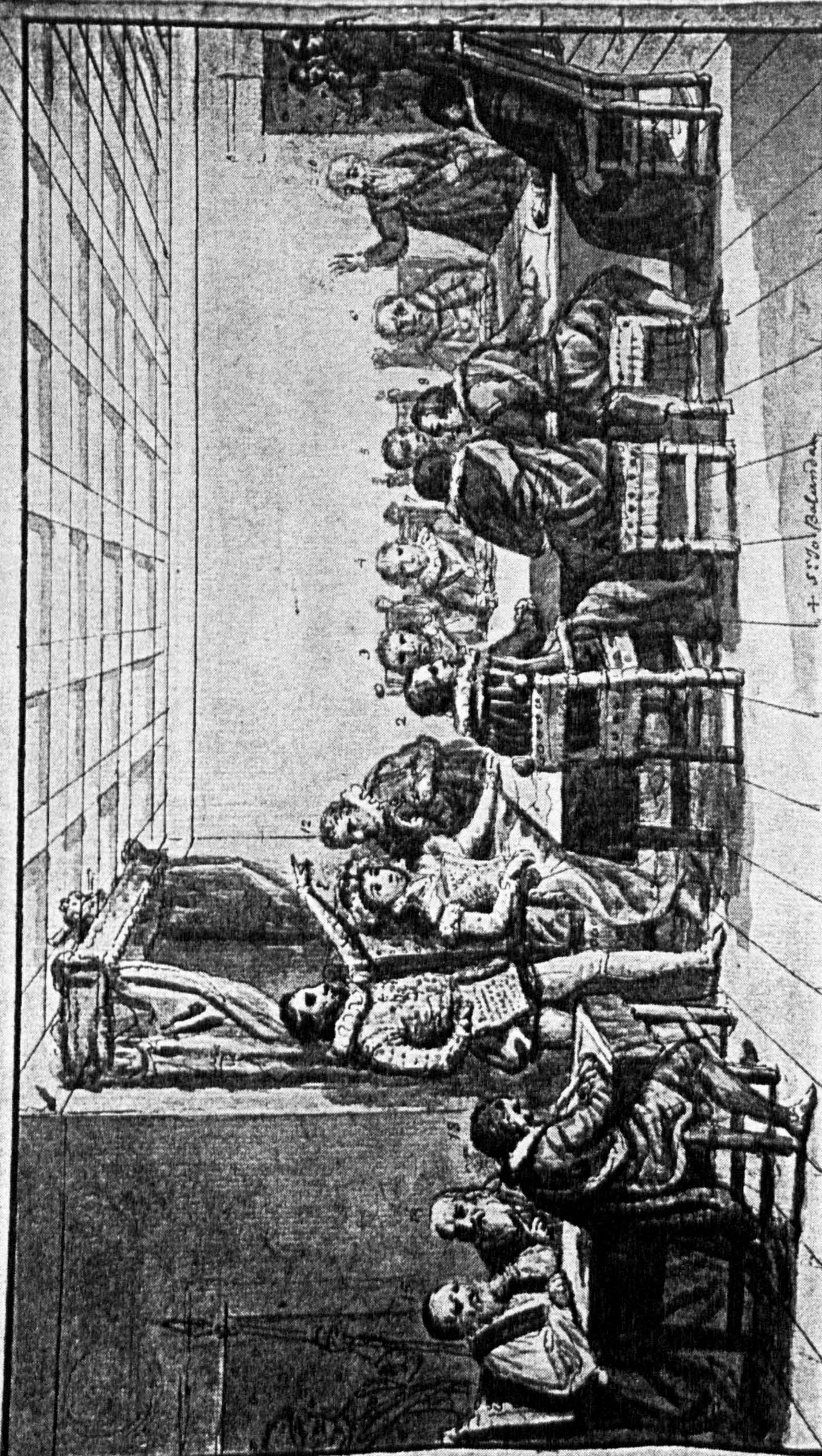
Allan seems to have found Robertson's dryly related account of the proceedings a little too spare. At any rate, he had recourse to Knox's less impartial but much fuller version, copying out a list of those present and including Mary's opening remark, "Younie man gart mi gritt, & grat nevir a teir himself I will see if I can caus him gritt."<sup>68</sup> Not only did Knox remain obdurate, not only did he speak fearlessly the dictates of his own conscience, warning the Queen to beware false counsel, he - according to his own account - also advised her to purge her heart of Papistry. In Allan's second drawing, or at least that which he finally approved, it is with this admonition that Knox turns to go, though quite

Figure 166

Figure 167

Figure 225





1. Queen Mary, 2 Duke of Chatuhervault 3 Earle of Argyle 4 E Murray 5 E Glencairn 6 E Marchill 7 justice clerk 8 L<sup>d</sup> Ruthven 9 Spens of Condi Advocate, 10 J Knox  
11 Secretary Lithington 12 Maister of Maxwell 13 Mr J McGil clerk register, 14 Father of Lithington, Sinclair Bishop of Ross.

*John Knox. called before the Privy counsell and acquitted, but advises the Queen to Purge her hart frae Papistrie*  
*Knox's History of Reformation*  
 1599

+ Sr Jo Balundun  
 1 Queen Mary 2 Duke of Chatuhervault 3 Earle of Argyle 4 E Murray 5 E Glencairn 6 E Marchill 7 justice clerk 8 L<sup>d</sup> Ruthven 9 Spens of Condi Advocate, 10 J Knox  
 11 Secretary Lithington 12 Maister of Maxwell 13 Mr J McGil clerk register 14 Father of Lithington, Sinclair Bishop of Ross.

John Knox called before the Privy counill and acquitted, but advises the Queen to Purge her hart frae Papistrie  
 Knoxis History of Reformation  
 No 59

167. "John Knox, called before the Privy counill and acquitted, but advises the Queen to Purge her hart frae Papistrie", c. 1789/90, Pen & wash over pencil 8 1/4 x 15 1/4 (sheet 10 3/4 x 15 3/4, inscribed with a reference to "Knoxes History of Reformation" and a numbered key), Dunimarle Album, f. 25, on loan to the National Gallery of Scotland, Prints and Drawings.



contemptuous of the order of his dismissal from Maitland of Lethington, Mary's secretary. The chamber in this picture is even more austere than that in the first, the spatial organisation less complex. By seating most of the participants around a long table, Allan was able to dwell much more fully upon their various reactions without risking any fragmentation of the composition. The scene is, in fact, a faithful reconstruction of that described by Knox, from the Earls of Argyll, Moray and Glencairn on one side of the table to the little group at left, where

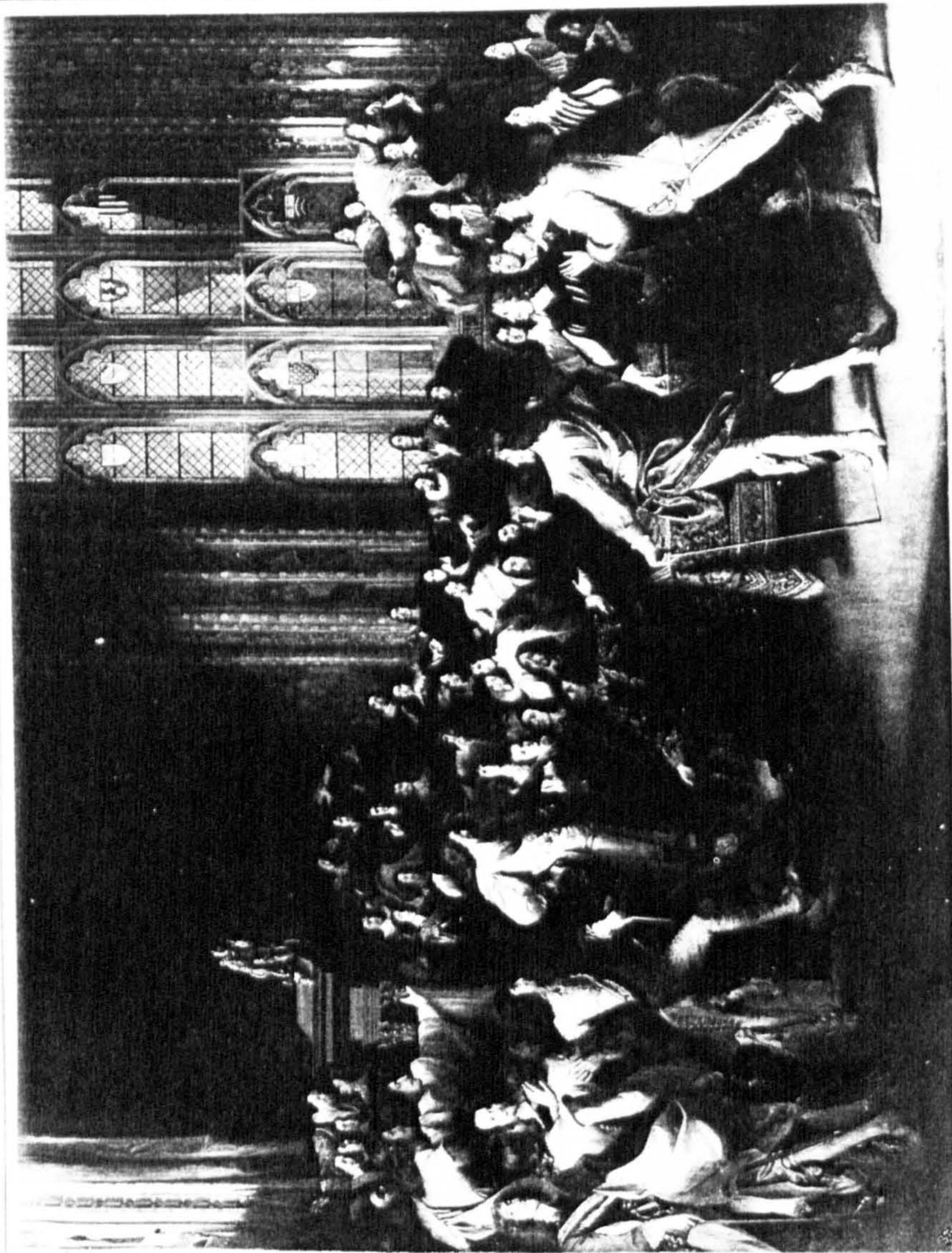
"removit from the Table sat auld Lethington Father to the Secretary, Mr Henry Sinclair Bishop of Ross, & Mr James M<sup>c</sup>Gill = Clerk of Register", <sup>69</sup>

Needless to say, the Bishop of Ross is distinguished by his robes, as is "Mr Johne Spens of Condie Advocatt", sunk wearily in his chair at the opposite side of the picture. Again the Master of Maxwell seeks to reassure the Queen; again some members of the Privy Council mutter together; again a few armoured attendants — "comun officiars and Dyvers uthirs" — stand by attentively.

The significance of Allan's having taken the trouble to copy out this list of names, coupled with his searching for contemporary portraits, cannot be emphasised too strongly. Indeed, he added a note of the office then held by one participant named by Knox, and supplied the name and title of one other official. He had already depicted a group of figures in a setting similar though much grander, their identities being well known to his prospective audience. This was the "drawing of the General Assembly of the Kirk of Scotland with many portraits" which he mentioned in 1780.<sup>70</sup> The scene was, of course, a contemporary one, those portrayed including the Honourable Henry Erskine, James Boswell, and Principal Robertson himself. If there is one feature of Allan's approach to his art which is peculiarly distinctive, however, it is his fruitful borrowing and carrying of *motifs* from one area, one genre, to another. It is only a short step from using historical portraits to ensure accuracy of dress to using them in the reconstruction of a scene from the past as authentically as possible. Allan, it may be remembered, had already copied portraits for his patrons from paintings by Kneller and Lely, among others, and had composed a full-length portrait of the first Earl of Hopetoun, the head taken from a likeness by Aikman.<sup>71</sup> The scene of John Knox before the Council was a perfect opportunity to adapt this activity to a grander scale and a nobler purpose.

The inevitable parallel is with a work by Copley, whose "Charles I demanding in the House of Commons the Five Impeached Members" had been





168. JOHN SINGLETON COPLEY; "Charles I demanding in the House of Commons the five impeached members", 1782-95, exh. Spring Gardens 1795, British Institution 1807, Oil on canvas 92 x 123, Public Library, Boston, Massachusetts.



Figure 168

progressing slowly since 1781, being finally exhibited in 1795.<sup>72</sup> This painting provided more than a gesture towards accuracy. It was a painstaking treatment which was to be of seminal importance for the following century. Copley spent years tracking down almost sixty portraits of those who had been members of the English Parliament at the time of the incident, and was directed by the historian and scholar Edward Malone both in this search and in the placing of characters within the House. Nothing of this assiduity is lost on the spectator. Dramatic the painting may be; politically significant it certainly was. Yet there is something in the artful arrangement of all these faces that is all too reminiscent of numerous Dutch group-portraits of military and civic companies of the previous century, everyone determined to be shown striking the noblest attitude or displaying a profile to best advantage. That which in these paintings resulted from the form of communal patronage usually practised was in Copley's caused by an over-zealous attention to detail, an almost fanatical veracity. As a consequence, though the picture has an immediate focus, it has also an inescapable tendency to become fragmented into its various constituent parts. Nevertheless, it was a remarkable effort, and justifiably famous in its day.

It is obviously impossible fairly to compare a large work which occupied fifteen years with a small drawing which might, research excepted, have been completed in an evening. The most that can be stated is that each is the product of a similar interest in historical authenticity, with known characters being disposed in accordance with a contemporary account or with the conclusions of later study. In many respects, Allan had a decided advantage over Copley. His characters are fewer and grouped, for the most part, around a long table. Nor was he overly concerned with showing every face. At the same time, his skill and experience in organising crowd scenes would have worked no less to his advantage than would his involvement with Conversation Pieces and family groups; the emphatically plotted perspective and simple chamber even provide him with a miniature stage. Still, as far as is known, nothing further came of this drawing. Perhaps Allan's commitments at the Trustees' Academy did not permit him to make long trips in search of old portraits, in those instances where in fact they existed. His health, never, it seems, of the best, may have become too precarious. Whatever the reason, the work remains one more tantalising possibility which did not come to fruition.

With the fourth surviving composition, in chronological order, the first extant painting is reached, and Mary's troubles begin in earnest. The assassination of David Rizzio proved a popular subject with artists

Figure 169  
Figure 170





Rizzio Forced from Q. Mary's presence by Le Ruthven and Barbarously Murdered

169, "Rizzio Forced from Q. Mary's presence by Le Ruthven and Barbarously Murdered", c. 1789/90, Pen and wash over pencil 7 1/4 x 9, National Galleries of Scotland, Department of Prints & Drawings (D4591).



choosing to paint scenes from the Queen's life, and though violence is unusual in Allan's *oeuvre* the notoriety of the event made a depiction of it indispensable to his cycle.

It is indicative of the intricacy of the Scottish Court at the time, as it is suggestive of the complex manoeuvrings of the various contending factions and interests within it, that Robertson offers no simple reason for the hatred aroused by the Italian. He was distrusted by some because of his great influence on Mary - "insomuch as thair was no matter or thing of importance done without his advice" - by others for his known antipathy to Moray (then in exile in England, following a temporary reversal of his previous good fortune), and by Darnley for his familiarity with the Queen and the splendour of his equipage.<sup>73</sup> The "king" therefore desired Ruthven to assist him in being revenged upon his wife's *confidant*. Upon this hint, all the future conspirators hoped that their "own private revenge upon Rizio would pass . . . for an act of obedience to the King".<sup>74</sup> Such a confederacy against one person, even a royal favourite, was at that time almost unavoidably fatal. What makes the murder of Rizzio particularly significant is the place and manner of his being despatched, and the succession of calamities which followed.

Allan, having made his small copy of the portrait of Darnley, would have studied the room in which Rizzio was slain, both being located in Holyrood House. Robertson may not actually have visited the scene of the murder with him, as he had with Doctor Johnson when he and Boswell came to Edinburgh almost twenty years previously, but as usual it was the Principal's account which served as Allan's guide. It contains in a dozen sentences many facts which inform Allan's pictures of the event, and a number of suggestions no less significant for his series as a whole:

"While the queen was at supper with the countess of Argyll, Rizio, and a few other persons, the king suddenly entered the apartment by a private passage. At his back was Ruthven, clad in complete armour, and with that ghastly and horrid look which long sickness had given him. Three or four of his most trusty accomplices followed him. Such an unusual appearance alarmed those who were present, Rizio instantly apprehended that he was the victim at whom the blow was aimed; and in the utmost consternation retired behind the queen, of whom he laid hold, hoping that the reverence due to her person might prove some protection to him. The conspirators had proceeded too far to be restrained by any considerations of that kind. Numbers of armed men rushed into the chamber. Ruthven drew his dagger, and with a furious mien and voice commanded Rizio to leave a place of which he was unworthy, and which he had occupied too long. Mary employed tears, and entreaties, and threatenings, to save her favourite. But, notwithstanding all these, he was torn from her by violence, and before he could be dragged through the next apartment, the rage of his enemies put an end to his life, piercing his body with fifty-six wounds." <sup>75</sup>





170. "Death of David Rizzio" / "The Assassination of David Rizzio" c. 1790. Oil on canvas (248 x 60); exh. Society of Artists 1791, with Robinson and Fisher, 1925; photograph Witt Archive.



Robertson includes as an appendix a contemporary letter which adds the information that the time was about eight in the evening, that George Douglas was with the "king", Ruthven and two others, and that the attack took place in

"a cabinet about XII foot square; in the same a little low reposing bed and a table, at the which theyr were sitting at the supper the queene, the lady Argile, and David with his capp upon his head."

In both drawing and painting Rizzio is dragged towards a blaze of light from the passage at left. Allan makes dramatic use of the strong contrasts of light and shadow in his drawing, with the startled posture of the Queen, emphasised by the brightness of her gown, effectively dividing the picture in half. This division is retained in the finished painting but is there achieved by moving Mary to the other side of the room from the anguished Rizzio, where she is restrained by a most unsatisfactory Darnley. As a whole, the painting, agitated as it is, lacks the vigour of the drawing, though the group around Rizzio — who is correctly depicted as being "then an aged man" — is excellent in both.<sup>76</sup> Three conspirators seize his arm, his cloak, his neck and collar to haul him from the room, causing the splendid garments which so enraged Darnley to be rent asunder, and making the musician's despairing, hopeless clutch at the "blychtes" of Mary's gown all the more poignant. Allan recreates the moment, and recreates it brilliantly, just before Rizzio's grasp gives way, his straining legs fail and his feet slide helplessly across the floor, towards the unseen passage and the remaining assassins.

It is particularly unfortunate that, in the painting, Darnley's hold upon the Queen should be so inadequate, her own stance so stilted. To combine elegance with terror is no easy task for an artist, and Allan's heroine here is unconvincing. The problem had been anticipated in the fifth of the *Discourses*, in which Reynolds observed:

"If you mean to preserve the most perfect beauty *in its most perfect state*, you cannot express the passions, all of which produce distortion and deformity, more or less, in the most beautiful faces." <sup>77</sup>

Nevertheless, in the most striking incident of the painting, the deed itself, Rizzio's desperate hold on the splendid, shimmering gown is a haunting performance, an action at once frantic and unmistakable.

The division apparent in both versions does not give rise to an absolute void. In the drawing, Allan introduces an ambiguous figure, a youth with a dual message, his finger on his lips to counsel silence from Mary, a pistol primed and cocked to compel it. The wider separation of the two contrasting groups in the painting allows Allan to elaborate this





*Queen Mary Surrenders at Pinkie & Carried to Edinbr.*

171. "Queen Mary Surrenders at Pinkie & carried to Edinbr.", c. 1789/90. Pen and wash over pencil 5 1/4 x 8. National Galleries of Scotland, Department of Prints and Drawings (04592).



passage. The actions of the two figures in the comparable position are of obvious purpose, their meaning clear. The wild-eyed youth has been quite prepared to shoot the Queen, until his hand is stayed and his pistol thrust aside by the intervention of George Douglas. Considered concurrently with Robertson's deliberate phrasing, the logic of Allan's interpretation is inescapable. Rizzio had literally flung himself on the protection of the sovereign, hoping that the reverence due to her person might afford him some protection. The conspirators, however, had "proceeded too far to be restrained by any considerations of that kind". In other words, they had no longer any respect for the presence of royalty, and had effectively set the mob above the throne. Allan is surely stating, in as powerful a manner as was available to him, that the perpetration of such an act of gross *lèse majeste* is the prelude to anarchy. When the ruler is thus contemned, when "degree is shaken", the state totters and falls as surely as the stool overturned by the Countess of Argyll in her flight.

The murder of Rizzio made it clear that no real veneration, nor even any true respect, could be expected by Mary of her nobles. Allan's drawing of the aftermath of the *débâcle* at Carberry Hill, Mary's surrender at Pinkie and her being conducted a prisoner to Edinburgh, makes it no less apparent that the common people shared this antipathy, or were prepared to bay in concert with the Lords and the Reformers. As in the case of previous drawings, the actual historical events preceding and causing the skirmish matter little in any specific sense, though of course the general internal turmoil of the country must ever be kept in mind. The drawing is a counterbalance to the taking of Inverness Castle, the downspin of the wheel of fortune and the beginning of Mary's almost continuous term of imprisonment.

Typically, the motives which caused many of the nobles to rebel against Mary and Bothwell were neither simple nor uniform. Some joined in association for the defence of the young prince, later James VI, with precisely this laudable aim. Others saw in yet another Stuart minority an opportunity to strengthen the power of the Protestant religion. Still more, as ever, had no consideration but for their own ambitions, while the pressing need to be revenged upon Bothwell for the murder of Darnley nerved the hands of all. Whatever the various reasons, the result was hardly in doubt. The Queen's motley army fled even more hastily than it had been raised, Bothwell followed suit, and his wife of one month's standing surrendered to the confederate lords.



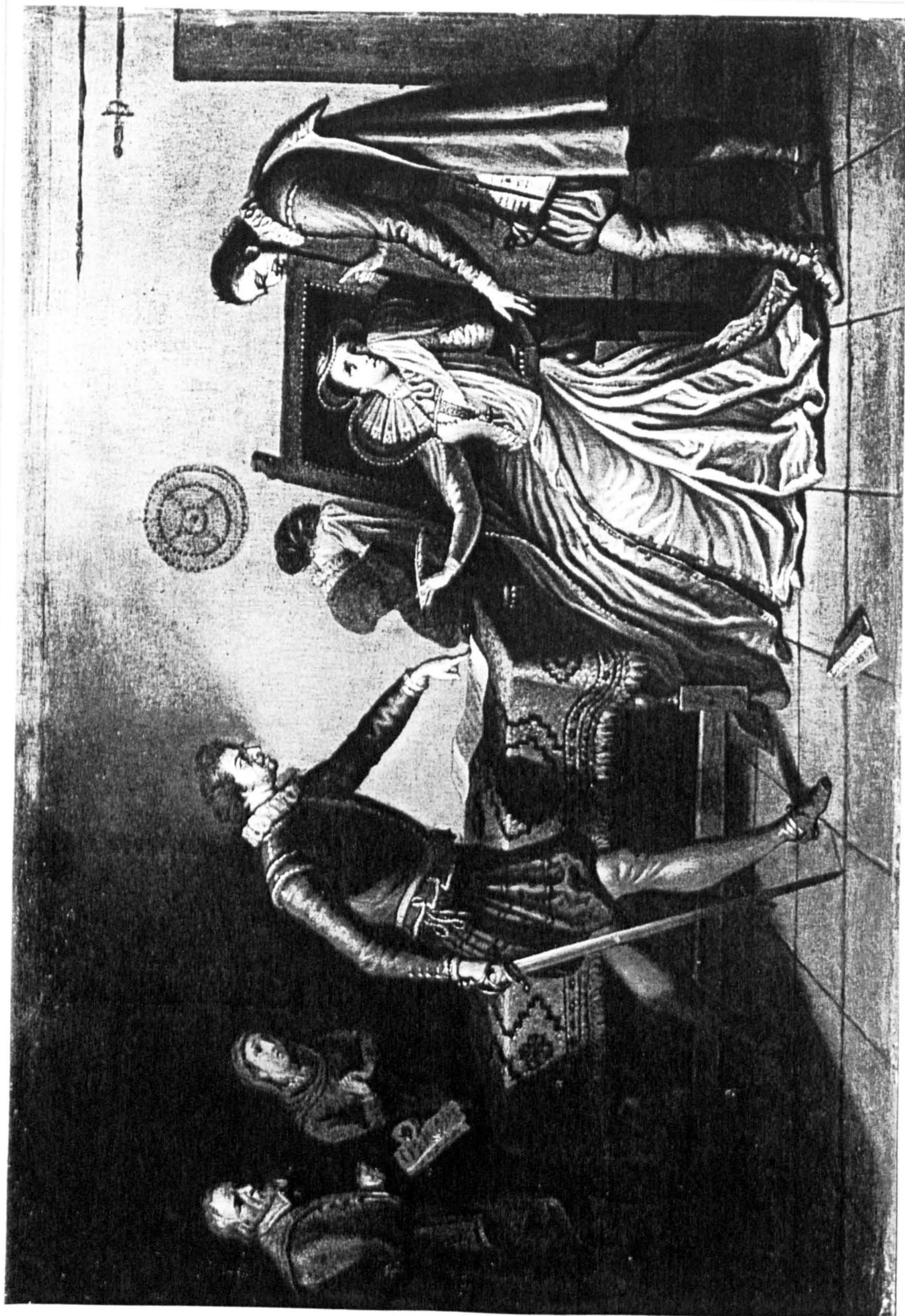
Although Mary was received by her captors with a great show of respect, they made no effort to curb the common soldiers, who treated her "with the utmost insolence and indignity". Robertson describes how

"wherever she turned her eyes, they held up before her a standard, on which was painted the dead body of the late king, stretched on the ground, and the young prince kneeling before it, and uttering these words, 'Judge and revenge my cause, O Lord!' Mary turned with horror from such a shocking sight. She began already to feel the wretched condition to which a captive prince is reduced. She uttered the most bitter complaints, she melted into tears, and could hardly be kept from sinking to the ground. The confederates conducted her towards Edinburgh . . . [where] the streets were covered with multitudes, whom zeal or curiosity had drawn together, to behold such an unusual scene. The queen, worn out with fatigue, covered with dust, and bedewed with tears, was exposed as a spectacle to her own subjects, and led to the provost's house. Notwithstanding all her arguments or entreaties, the same standard was carried before her, and the same insults and reproaches repeated."<sup>78</sup>

Allan's drawing is of the lowest ebb in Mary's fortunes. The sight of her "deplorable situation" did not restrain either the soldiery or the common people. One soldier with a halberd roughly clears a path through the throng, while another with an arquebus throws a nervous glance over his shoulder, as though expecting any moment to be overwhelmed by the gesticulating mob, roaring their disapproval the length of Allan's antiquated High Street. Mary, with two lords, presumably Morton and Kirkaldy, on either side, turns from the banner - probably the "[B]loody Standard" of Allan's note, and possibly the very portrait which survived the vicissitudes and waste of its own time - and weeps into a kerchief.<sup>79</sup> The gesture owes its artistic origin to the classical conviction that grief ought to be concealed, and is a familiar one among Allan's more sorrowful women. There is, however, neither concealment nor consolation for the Queen, exposed as a spectacle to her own subjects, from the oldest figure leaning on a balcony to the youngest babe in arms, bewildered by the rabble. Allan traces her downfall remorselessly; the ominous mood of the composition resides not solely in the riotous mob, but in one silent character prominent in the background, behind the nervous soldier. Mary is the central, and the chief figure, but it is he who occupies a place on the "Golden Mean", arms resolutely folded, and regarding the hapless Queen with every sign of obduracy but none of compassion.

No painting of this surrender is recorded, but each of the three remaining scenes from Allan's series is known to have existed, at some time, as a large Historical composition. That event which took place about a month after Mary's surrender, her resignation of the crown, was accorded two paintings, the first being executed in 1789 and a smaller





172. "Queen Mary's Resignation of the Crown", signed and dated on verso 1791, Oil on wood 18 x 24; ?exh, Society of Artists 1791, Sold in Edinburgh, 1797, Private Collection (WS).



copy being made on wood two years later. Only this reduced version is known today, but it is probable that it closely follows the composition and details of the larger painting.<sup>80</sup>

In this painting, Allan expects from the viewer a more exact knowledge of the incident than he had demanded in any previous picture of his cycle. As always, the immediate appearance of the work conveys all the essentials of the story, and depicts a young woman being prevailed upon to sign a paper, against her own will. This much is obvious. Needless to say, the account in Robertson's *History* is fuller, and, as might be expected, the situation in Scotland was much more complex than that.

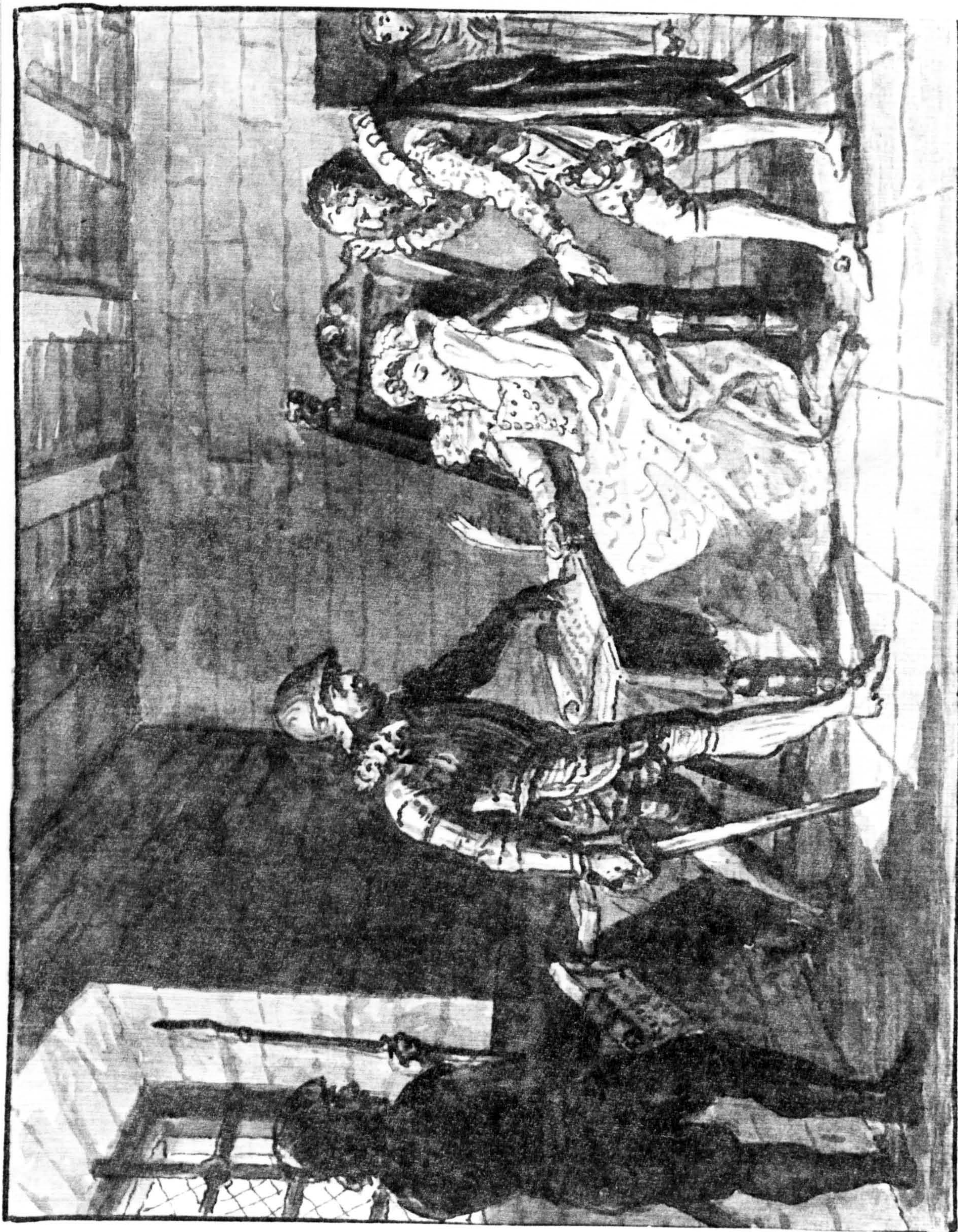
The confederate nobles, for "the settlement of the nation", had determined on forcing the Queen to abdicate in favour of her infant son. Keeping Mary in virtual isolation in Lochleven Castle, they employed Lord Lindsay, "the fiercest zealot in the party", to obtain her agreement to their schemes. The coarse-featured character who holds the floor in Allan's preliminary drawing is the embodiment of Lindsay as he is pithily described by Robertson, who recorded that he "executed his commission with harshness and brutality".<sup>81</sup> Denied access to anyone in whom she could usefully confide, with the apprehension of violence threatening her every day for a month, Mary yielded to the demands of her nobles and signed all the papers which Lindsay presented to her, on the twenty-fourth of July, 1567.

"By one of these, she resigned the crown, renounced all share in the government of the kingdom, and consented to the coronation of the young king. By another she appointed the earl of Murray regent, and conferred upon him all the powers and privileges of that high office. By a third, she substituted some other nobleman in Murray's place, if he should refuse the honour which was designed for him. Mary, when she subscribed these deeds, was bathed in tears; and while she gave away, as it were with her own hands, the sceptre which she had swayed so long, she felt a pang of grief and indignation, one of the severest, perhaps, which can touch the human heart."<sup>82</sup>

As an "eminent instance of . . . heroick suffering", the scene described by Robertson lends itself particularly well to Historical Composition. The theme is a grand one, the instance of the utmost significance, the participants few and clearly differentiated. Allan follows meticulously the outline presented by Robertson, and by doing so allows a viewer of any time to fix the date and place with precision; one of the three papers signed by Mary has fallen to the flagstoned floor, and bears the legend, "Lochlevin. 24 July 1567".

In both sketch and painting Mary weeps, but the effect in each is different. The figure with head turned towards the by now familiar





173. "Lord Ruthven and Lindsay force Q. Mary to resign the Government", 1789, Pen and wash over pencil 6 1/2 x 8, National Galleries of Scotland, Department of Prints and Drawings (D6596).



handkerchief is one yielding to personal emotion, the painting offering instead an image of regal reserve and reflection. Any suggestion, in the gaze cast heavenwards, of martyrdom as depicted by artists of the Counter-Reformation, is surely deliberate.<sup>83</sup> Mary is shown to be in control of her conduct, if not of her destiny. Private grief is the province of the sobbing maidservant behind.

In neither composition does Mary look at the paper she is to sign, nor does she meet the eyes of her threatening, or insinuating, captors. In this, as in the heavily barred window and thick castle walls of the drawing, these scenes have an affinity with the earlier painting by Hamilton, and with Runciman's drawing. Apart from their also being evocations of restraint under great emotional stress, however, these two pictures part company with Allan's at this point. They depict an individual moment in the life of the Queen and refer only to particular troubles, not to the course of her career in general. The iconography of Hamilton's, a hunted figure half dragged, half supported to the table of an accuser, has been seen as directly derived from scenes of Christ before Pilate.<sup>84</sup> Allan's picture is part of a series, and continues a theme which was introduced with the very first drawing, and given its strongest expression in the violently divided picture of the murder of Rizzio. Mary is a woman torn between two courses, or cursed by several contending factions. Here, she is helpless between the insidious counsel of Ruthven and the open cruelty of Lindsay.

In Allan's drawing, the three main figures are clearly identified. It is entitled, "Lord Ruthven & Lindsay force Q. Mary to Resign the Government". The cloaked nobleman beside Mary's chair must therefore be Ruthven, and in the painting certainly shares the hooked nose and coarse mouth of the armoured figure from the assassination of Rizzio. His rather attenuated proportions, occasionally found among Allan's later works though incipient in "The Continnence of Scipio" from 1774, suggest an evil more Machiavellian than that of the blunt Lindsay. He, meanwhile, has lost his armour and helmet in the two years since Allan's preparatory sketch, but retains a firm grasp on his sword. Allan may have felt that to have included both sword and armour would have been to strain for effect. The final characterisation, a glowering, fleshy-faced soldier whose emphatically pointing finger is poised at the very centre of the composition, is one of the most dramatic and convincing creations of the entire series.

This austere picture is the climax of the story. Little effort is expended on those smaller objects which divert attention from the crisis.



Even the richly embroidered tablecloth serves to emphasise the bare stones of the floor, the weapons of the nobles and those hanging on the wall reminding the viewer that the scene is set in a castle; Allan may have sketched contemporary examples of these as part of his own research or even as work for Buchan. That crisis is the conflict described by Robertson, enacted on a lonely island amid a country enmeshed in a web of conspiracy and violence. Allan reduces the scene to its barest essentials, in accordance with Academic theory:

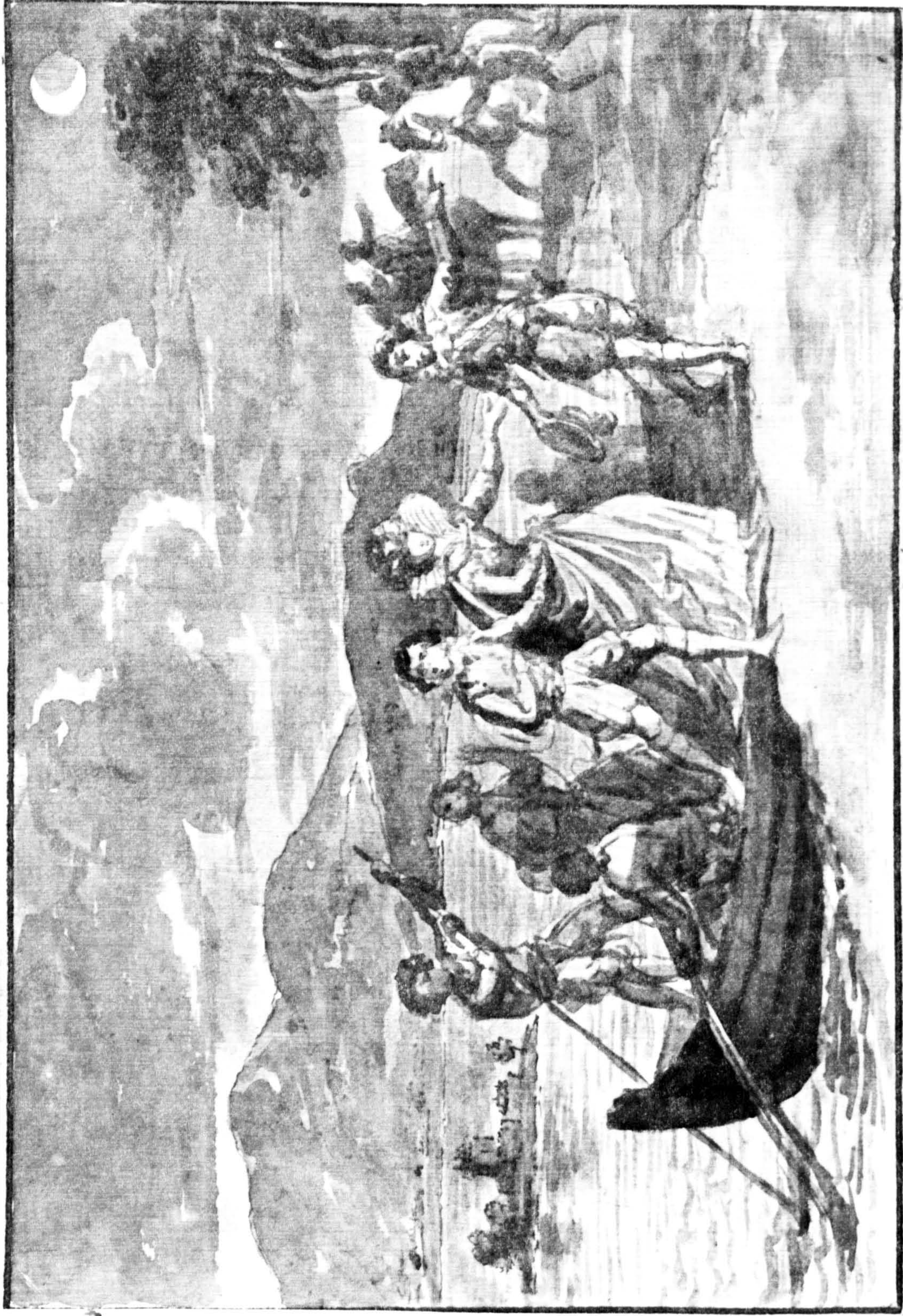
"Whenever a story is related, every man forms a picture in his mind of the action and expression of the persons employed. The power of representing this mental picture on canvass is what we call Invention in a Painter. And as in the conception of this ideal picture, the mind does not enter into the minute peculiarities of the dress, furniture, or scene of action; so when the Painter comes to represent it, he contrives those little necessary concomitant circumstances in such a manner, that they shall strike the spectator no more than they did himself in his first conception of the story."<sup>85</sup>

With Allan, as emerges both from his writings and from his practice, it was a matter of positive pride, almost of artistic faith, to obtain absolute accuracy of *costume* in his works. Dress, to the last curl of braid or tuck of lace, is precisely rendered, but rising above all such "artful play of little lights" in this painting is the terse, powerful depiction of the final stage in a struggle for dominion.

The two remaining characters in the painting recall a typical device of Allan's, one whereby he offers a comment upon the situation he depicts. The woeful maidservant wringing her hands is of a type familiar since his Italian years, though generally shown with a happier aspect. The decisive face of the elderly nobleman bearing the third document suggests a study of particular likenesses, or perhaps some working from the life, combined with a regard for appropriate expression. The features have the robust vitality found in Allan's better, more weighty portraits.<sup>86</sup> Together, occupying the place and altering the rôle of the soldiers at the window in Hamilton's picture, or the shadowy figures in the background of Runciman's, these two characters introduce a much-needed sense of humanity, the natural regard for the troubles of a prince and a woman, so often foreign to the participants in this tragic saga.

Mary did not long remain a captive in Lochleven. With his depiction of her night escape from the island fortress, Allan adds a brief note of hope to the narrative he is following, and provides an unusual view of one of the best-known episodes of the Queen's life. Everyone knows how Mary won George Douglas, the youthful brother of William, her keeper, over to her side, and how he or an accomplice purloined the keys to gates which he relocked once the Queen and her maids had escaped, afterwards





174. "Q. Marys Escape from Lochleven Castle",  
1789, Pen and wash 7 $\frac{3}{4}$  x 11 $\frac{1}{4}$ , National  
Galleries of Scotland, Department of Prints  
and Drawings (D4594).



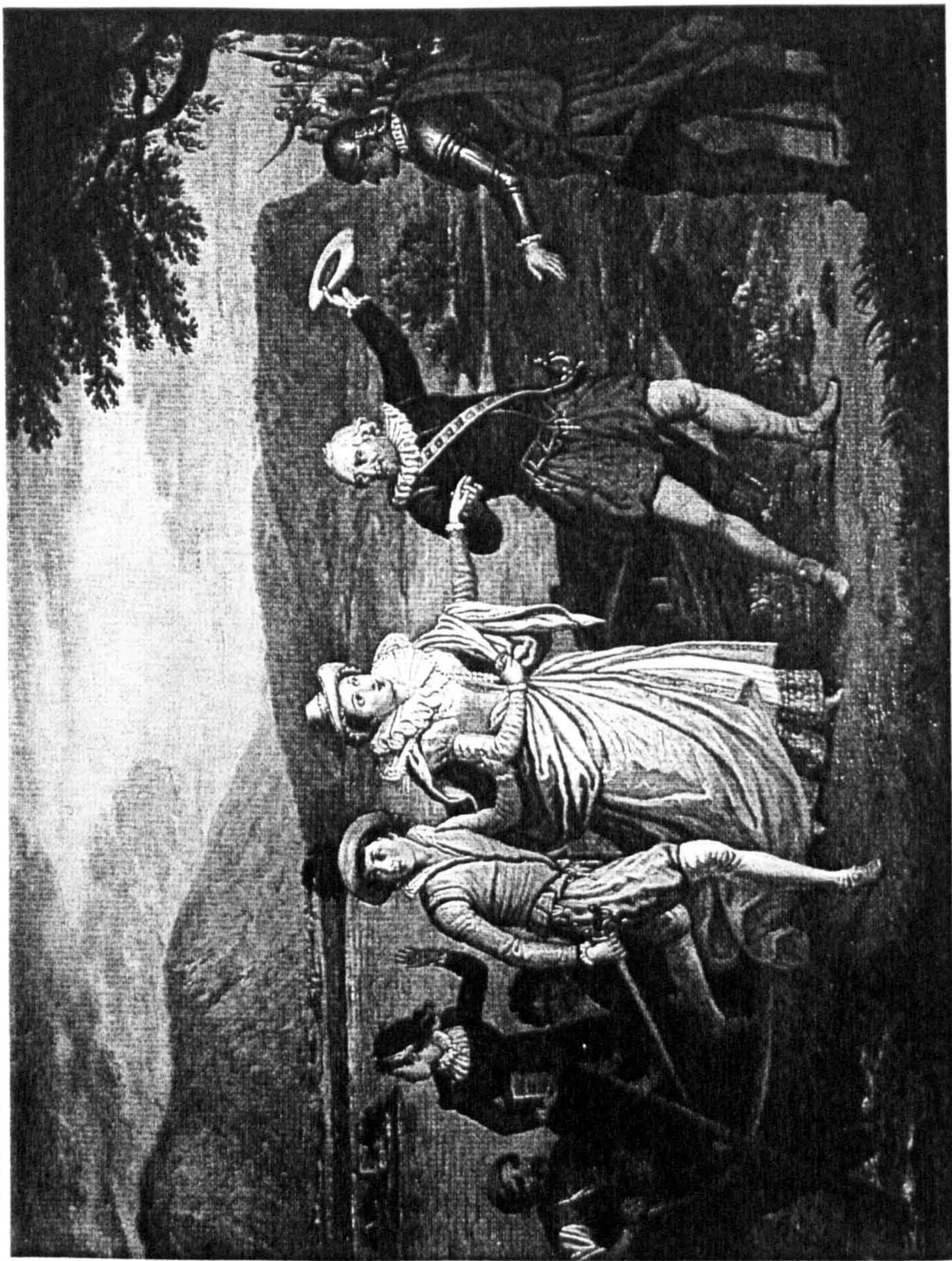
dropping the keys into the loch. Everyone knows that a boat was prepared, and that a mounted escort was waiting to convey Mary to Niddrie. It is little wonder that the episode is so famous, or that paintings of it are so numerous.

Most other representations of the escape show Mary and Douglas, with a few attendants, actually preparing to embark. Quite correctly for a striking Historical composition, artists chose the few moments of greatest tension, conveying by gesture, expression and carefully judged effects of *chiaroscuro* the anxiety of those escaping. Every viewer also knows that the escape was successful. Ideally, whether regarding any one of the subsequent representations - those by Alexander and Graham are the only known forerunners of Allan's - or reading the passage in Scott's *The Abbot*, the public should for the moment willingly suspend its sense of distance and enter vicariously the world recreated by the artist. To the student of history, of course, and even to almost every viewer and reader, it is no less certain that the battle of Langside, the flight to Carlisle, and Mary's second term of imprisonment followed soon after, to be attended by not even a temporary success.

Allan's picture is not, like those other representations, to be seen wholly in isolation, a dramatic setpiece, but must be considered as part of his series. He can, in fact, be seen to sacrifice the individual dramatic potential of the depiction to the greater demands of his narrative as a whole. His interpretation can, in this case, fortunately be followed from one small sketch, perhaps his first idea of the composition, to the finished oil painting itself.

The broad lines of the drawing are followed in his painting, but the whole conception was refined and made clearer as Allan brought the work to completion, in the summer of 1789.<sup>87</sup> After the confines of the streets of Edinburgh and the Castle of Lochleven, Mary is seen once more in a landscape setting. From the moonlit walls of the castle on the little wooded island, the eye travels swiftly to the party on the lochside, over the straining boatman in the shallows, notes the agitated gesture of the maidservant and the hasty backwards glance of young Douglas, then is guided by the sweeping welcome of Lord Seaton towards the silent troop of horsemen waiting among the trees.<sup>88</sup> Nothing could be clearer. Then this movement comes to rest on the *repoussoir* figure in helmet and armour extending his own hand in greeting, and memories of other pictures in the series flood back. This armoured figure is the only major addition to the drawing, in which there was no interruption of





[PLATE XIII, reproduced in colour between pages 234-35.]



the progress to the horses, although another soldier may be discerned, half hidden, in the shadows.

Similar armour-clad attendants are to be seen at the sides of the drawings for Knox before the Privy Council and for the abdication scene itself. Conventional they may be; insignificant they certainly are not. The reality of conflict was ever present in Mary's Scotland. Furthermore, there is yet another compositional motif the inclusion of which in the "Escape from Lochleven" disrupts any feeling of congratulation on the part of the attentive viewer. In the drawing of her arrival at Leith, Mary is placed between the French vessel and her own capital, and she looks away from both. The scene at Inverness, and that in the Council chamber, see her confronted with warring factions in her own country. In both the drawing of the death of Rizzio and that of her surrender, she is hemmed in by two or more figures. In the abdication scene she is not only constricted by Ruthven and Lindsay, she is in addition imprisoned in a castle on an island. When she escapes, Allan depicts her once more between two figures, and confronted by a man in armour. It is difficult not to conclude that here too he must sound a jarring note. Were it not for the presence of the ominous soldier, it could be argued that the painting of her escape shows that Mary could still be beloved of old and young. History, and Allan's technique of introducing subtle contrasts and comments, suggests a different tale.

In both painting and drawing, Allan includes a minor detail which would pass unregarded by many, though it would be appreciated by those more familiar with the history of Mary Stuart. Her anxious maidservant carries a small case under her arm, only vaguely delineated in the sketch but in the painting approximating to the "small gylt coffer, not fully ane fute lang, garnisht in sindrie places with the Roman letter F. under ane King's Crown" in which the Casket Letters were said to have been contained.<sup>29</sup> Whether or no these letters were in any way genuine, or, as seems incontrovertible, the whole story were "a most palpable and daring falsehood", there can be little doubt that Allan makes a quiet reference to their "discovery".<sup>30</sup>

On a minor note, the decision to show the scene from Mary's landing point on the shore allows Allan to depict the loch, the castle and the surrounding hills, possibly from a sketchbook of earlier years but certainly from his own observation. This particular site of historical importance is less than twenty miles from his home town of Alloa, and even closer to Pitfirrane House, where he had recently run to earth a





175, ["Beale reading to Queen Mary the Warrant for her Execution"], c. 1789/90, Pen and wash over pencil 5 1/4 x 8 3/4, National Gallery of Scotland, Department of Prints and Drawings (D4598).



couple of seventeenth-century portraits.<sup>91</sup> The style of the drawing is quite different from that of others in the collection. Definite pen lines are few and largely confined to the castle and the skylines of the hills. Instead, as befits a night scene, most of the composition is executed in different depths of wash, applied with a deft and rapid brushstroke. The original outline of the full moon, for instance, did not run at all when the artist changed his mind and, with a single curl of his brush, made it a crescent, its waning an echo of Mary's declining fortunes. The hour of her escape is changed in Allan's painting, as immaculately preserved as any of his oils, its "keeping" a fine balance of rich hues and sombre tones. A bleak landscape and lowering sky provide an ominous contrast to the delicate tints of the Queen's robe, tints taken up by the rosy-tipped clouds beyond the Lomond hills, where the east now glimmers with some streaks of day. Any hope suggested by this dawn, however, was illusory.

Although he intended to paint Histories from at least three further episodes in Mary's life, only one more such picture by Allan is now known to exist.<sup>92</sup> The final work in the series, and the final act of Mary's life, her execution at Fotheringay was the third of the paintings which he exhibited at the Society of Artists in 1791. It is again most likely that the preparatory drawing offers a close approximation to the appearance of the painting, which is now unlocated, as is a copy painted as a pendant to the small "Resignation of the Government".<sup>93</sup>

The great hall of the castle is represented as a long room with a panelled ceiling and recessed windows with double lancets. Towards one end is erected the low dais on which wait Mary, the master of her household Sir Andrew Melville, two maids and three manservants, and the anonymous headsman, while Beale, "with a loud voice", reads the warrant for the execution.<sup>94</sup> Behind him Allan distinguishes the figures of the Dean of Peterborough with his gloomy ecclesiastical robes, a Bible ironically hidden behind his back, and a tall, resolute English nobleman, presumably the Earl of Kent, attending to the words of a companion.<sup>95</sup> For once, Mary is not immediately enclosed, either by her own ambitious nobles or by anyone else. Only the maidservants, "whinning and weeping" as a contemporary English account had it, are by her chair, and are clearly subordinated.<sup>96</sup> She — having already said her own prayer in Latin — remains composed in a manner unknown to most other events of her life; Knox sardonically recorded that, after he spoke against her marriage to Darnley, "skarslie could Marnock, hir secreat chalmer-boy, gett neapkynes to hold hyr eyes drye for the tearis".<sup>97</sup>



In this small sketch, its largest figures measuring barely two inches, a powerful impression of tension and expectancy is achieved. Once more devices typical of Allan's art may be seen, particularly in the exchanging of glances from one courtier to another, in the weeping ladies, and in the averted face of the executioner. There again is the almost overlooked touch of natural remorse and humanity in the poignant couple of youths praying at the side of the dais. There too, beside them, like a recurring evil spirit, is the final appearance of a soldier in complete armour.

Of Allan's cycle as a whole, only the eight scenes variously depicted and already described are known to exist. In addition to a "Book of Slight Sketches from the History of Queen Mary", which may refer either to more of the artist's researches among old portraits or, more probably, to figure studies and groups such as those which form so prominent a part of the preparatory work for *The Gentle Shepherd*, the first sale of Allan's effects included a picture of the Queen with Maitland of Lethington, a subject otherwise unknown, one not even included in a provisional list of titles.<sup>98</sup> If those references imply that Allan intended to illustrate each subject, then he may originally have thought, in a moment of reckless enthusiasm, to paint almost twenty canvases.

The scheme was in any case an ambitious one, one which combined in a particularly fruitful manner Allan's antiquarian interests, and his high regard for Scottish subject-matter, with his hopes for Historical Composition itself. He must have seen it as the peak of his mature achievement, his most significant contribution to the Grand Manner he once feared he would have to abandon "for want of encouragement".<sup>99</sup> At least three, perhaps four large canvases were painted, three scenes from the cycle being exhibited, and while it is quite improbable that Allan did complete it as fully as he originally envisaged, it is by no means impossible that some paintings are lost and still to be discovered.

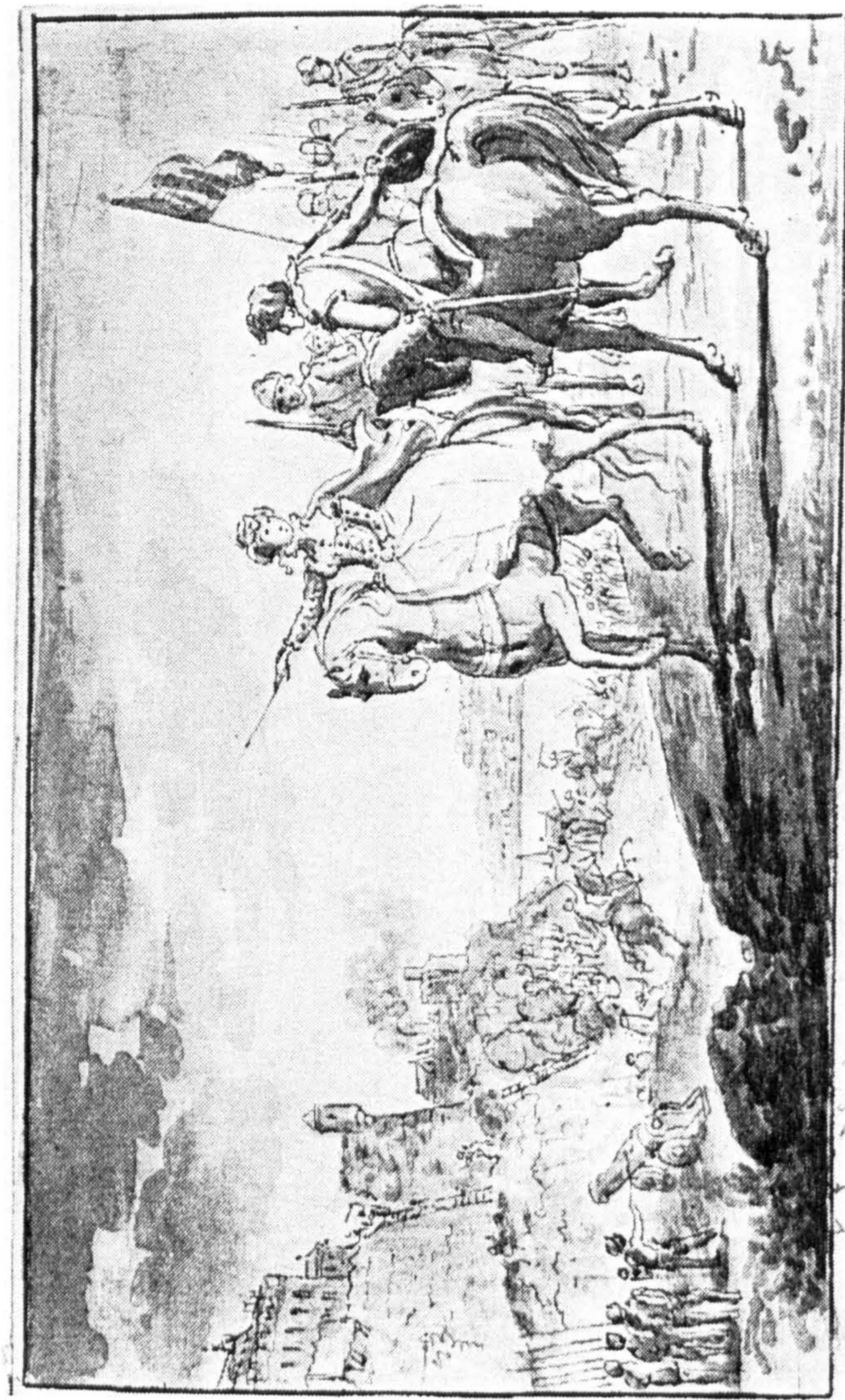
Even if the artist never saw in reality and in its entirety the series around the walls of his studio, it is certain that he could at least imagine all these paintings hanging together. The series does indeed gain formally from such a juxtaposition as may be effected with those pictures known to have been made and approved by Allan, these being nine in number.<sup>100</sup> It would be too curiously to attempt any reconstruction beyond that which is justified by contemporary listings. In any case, the cycle is more forceful and tightly organised as it survives than it would be if such scenes as "Mary sent to France" and "[Filsher boat 20 persons to Carlisle" had been included. On the other





Reynolds Vol. 218  
 R. Mary, Annans at with  
 of Concluded to Holy wood house

[Reprise of Figure 164,]



Queen Mary Forces the Castle of Inverness to Surrender

[Reprise of Figure 165,]



hand, "[D]arnley marriage" would have introduced a note of regal splendour, with "Knox destroys" offering a sinister and discordant contrast.

Perhaps the most striking fact to emerge from this reconstruction is that Mary only really dominates one picture, that of the siege at Inverness. In all others, she is - quite apart from her often being literally confined - clearly at the mercy of other characters, or swayed by their counsel. It is, admittedly, seldom difficult to distinguish the principal figure "at the first glance of the eye", but equally obvious is the fact that the current of events can neither be stayed by Mary nor by her altered in its course.<sup>101</sup> Allan states and reiterates in visual terms the indecisiveness so often displayed by Mary, Queen of Scots.

That the cycle was to be both understood sequentially and, in a manner, appreciated synchronously, is readily established. In the first two pictures, attention is directed to the left side of the setting, towards the city of Edinburgh or the Castle of Inverness. As is indicated by the perspective of flagged interiors or floorboards, the depictions of Rizzio's murder and the "Resignation of the Government" are to be viewed from a position approximately central to these scenes, the final act of the drama meanwhile being as clearly viewed from its left, with attention focused on the Queen herself to the right of the picture. Just as the cycle is thus balanced in its entire movement when viewed as a whole, when attention travels from picture to picture in chronological sequence a similar concern for harmony is apparent. The double background in the first scene, with the recently arrived Queen and *entourage* at centre, is in formal contrast to the composition of the second, the smaller mass of the distant fortress being balanced by Mary and her *escadron de service*. The gesture of her mounted courier, though primarily to be interpreted as one of deference to Mary, in continuing and balancing the diagonal initiated by her own gesture of command also serves to impel the viewer's eye to the setting of the chamber in which sits the Privy Council. The first version of this scene, enclosed as it is, was impatiently cancelled in red chalk by Allan himself. In the second version, static in composition however turbulent in historical consequence, the dismissal of Knox leads on to the next episode in turn, not the killing of Rizzio but a quiet scene of "Queen Mary and her Secretary", unlocated since 1797.<sup>102</sup> By this conjectural restoration of the position of this lost piece, even without any speculative reconstruction of its composition, the violently divided painting of Rizzio's assassination now occupies the central place in Allan's sequence.





[Reprise of Figure 87.]



[Figure 271, page 326.]



Thus it is not only this picture which is apparently torn apart, it is the entire Historical cycle itself, with the rule of violence filling the void left by the unhappy monarch as she recoils. The Countess of Argyll flees the cabinet in Allan's drawing, but is omitted in the painting, the artist evidently feeling that the impulse towards the right given by the Queen herself was sufficient. There is no respite in the following picture, Mary hustled through the streets of Edinburgh following her surrender, a scene of turmoil suddenly stopped and contained by the massive wall at right. The suggestion that Fate is closing in upon Mary Stuart is reinforced by the next picture, the claustrophobic depiction of her confinement in Lochleven amid the predatory lords. With the hopeful painting of the escape from Lochleven Allan returns to the open landscapes of earlier events, but the promise is illusory and the strong impetus to the right, over the shore and towards apparent safety, flows past the waiting horses and leads inexorably towards the final episode in the great hall of Fotheringay.

Thus Allan very clearly saw his cycle as a unified whole, in much the same way as Hamilton had conceived his own series from the *Iliad*. That Allan never, apparently, completed the sequence of paintings, nor even made prints of his designs, is to be regretted. At the very least, these would allow a more correct imaginative reconstruction of his project, as finally envisaged, to be made.

It is pleasant to pause for a moment and visualise the actual process of Allan's preparation once he had gathered together literary information and visual material - including perhaps miniatures sent by patrons as understanding as Sir John Halkett - in his new rooms at Dickson's Close.<sup>103</sup> The scene must have been similar to that already described in a letter to the Earl of Buchan, with Allan in his "night cape" and reading on before the sinking fire of which he has long been oblivious, immersed as he is in the study which is all his comfort. It is easy to imagine the artist poring over the heavy volumes by flickering candle-light, occasionally comparing and collating different accounts, turning from one source to another with the nervous intensity captured in Anne Forbes's portrait of some years previously, as he quickly scratches down another brief note and reference. Nor is it difficult to think of his glancing up momentarily, as Corvi had seen him earlier still, at the clatter of midnight footsteps slithering on the plane stanes below; a linkboy perhaps, a cadie, or a Lochaber-wielding member of that black *banditti* of "toon rottens", the "very terrible looking men" of the City Guard.<sup>104</sup> While others were returning from taverns and oyster cellars, waling their



steps cautiously through the narrow wynds and steep closes at either side of the High Street, maybe southing over a popular air to which a new set of words had recently appeared in *The Scots Musical Museum*, Allan was to be found following his own natural turn for seclusion with his favourite work. Thoughts of his vigilant supervision of the Academy, his designs for manufacture, his intricate plates for Tassie's *Catalogue*, and his no doubt demanding private drawing classes, could all be set aside for the present. His mind was upon History, and he determined to exercise his brush and brains in upholding the noblest part of painting. It is then easiest of all to see again the steady, thoughtful gaze of his self-portrait as Allan contemplates his current project, possibly considering that an illustrated edition of Robertson's *History* would repeat, perhaps surpass, the success of *The Gentle Shepherd* recently published by the Foulis Press, but more probably hoping that here at last was a welcome opportunity for a Historical Painter to derive advantage from the popularity of historical writing. It was a chance not to be missed; once more to accommodate himself and his art to public taste, but this time to a taste which might actually welcome the sublimer efforts of the pencil.

In his letter of September 1789 to the Earl of Buchan, it is impossible not to remark the note of disappointment when Allan tells of his Lordship's having missed the opportunity to see two large Historical pieces. As a compensation, however, he could take pride in displaying the latest specimens of his Invention to Robert Riddell of Glenriddell, then arrived in Edinburgh after a tour spent seeking out antiquities and anecdotes connected with the unhappy Queen. How he came to hear of Allan's similar activities is not known. He may have been told of these researches by any of the artist's patrons, or been directed to Dickson's Close by Principal Robertson. His record of the meeting is disappointingly brief:

"Mr Allan the Painter then shewd me two Historical pictures of his Composition — The one Mary Queen of Scotland a prisoner in Lochleven Castle, forced by Lindsay to sign her abdication of the Crown — The other her escape from thence." 105

There remains the question of why Mr. Allan chose for his series the particular theme he did. The easy and immediate explanation, of course, is the success of Robertson's history of the period, but other eras in Scottish history could have yielded subjects as dramatic and equally well known to the reading public. Gilbertfield's paraphrase of Blin Harry's *Wallace* was popular throughout the century, and according to Dr. Wright's



"sketch" of Allan's life the artist made some contribution to a "Life of Sir William Wallace".<sup>106</sup> He certainly made a version in aquatint of an old picture of "Gulielmus Vallas de Ellerslie" for the Scottish Society of Antiquaries, towards the end of 1783.<sup>107</sup> Robert Burns, whose youthful enjoyment of "the life of Hannibal and the history of Sir William Wallace" was not surpassed by his reading of any other books, later subscribed for an edition of the *Actis and Deidis of the Illuster and Vailyeand Campioun, Schir William Wallace* published by Morison of Perth "from a manuscript of great antiquity in the Advocate's Library; with an Engraving of him from a genuine picture in the possession of the Society of Antiquarians".<sup>108</sup> At about the same time, December, 1790, the English antiquarian John Pinkerton published *The Bruce; or, the History of Robert I King of Scotland*, again "done from an old Manuscript in the Advocate's library".<sup>109</sup>

Mary's literary appeal was not limited to the pages of Robertson's *History*. Quite apart from general histories like those by Hume and Smollett, Samuel Jebb, James Anderson, Dr. Gilbert Stuart and a Mr. Whitaker all wrote specifically about her in the eighteenth century.<sup>110</sup> The authenticity of the Casket Letters continued to be a fertile field for speculation, despite the convenient disappearance of the originals and the suspicious circumstances in which they had been all too readily produced. Walter Goodall, Keeper of the Advocates' Library, published in 1752 an "acute and ingenious" proof that they were forgeries.<sup>111</sup> Soon afterwards, William Tytler, whom Burns was later to address as "Revered Defender of beauteous Stuart", published a passionate and polemical *Inquiry . . . into the Evidence against Mary Queen of Scots*.<sup>112</sup> His "Historical and Critical" investigation is meticulous and wide-ranging, revealing from contemporary sources material passed over by Robertson and Hume, proving the falsity of some assertions they accepted as genuine, and adducing some evidence unknown to both.<sup>113</sup> His account of the notorious Casket Letters in particular scrutinises the available evidence with a thoroughness, an attention to circumstance, detail, linguistics, and logic itself, which is quite unrivalled in the pages of his two fellow Scottish historians.<sup>114</sup> An enlarged edition of his work was published in 1790.

David Allan's are among the earliest examples of Historical paintings based on events in the life of Mary Stuart, being planned long before the historical novels by Sir Walter Scott which coloured every representation of these and of other subjects throughout the nineteenth century. The writings which prompted Allan's choice may not have been works of historical enquiry alone. He would have been aware of the cult of *Sensibilité* in popular literature, a cult which probably explains much of the



concentration among contemporary artists upon the more harrowing moments of Mary's life; Burke, after all, had laid down that "Beauty in distress is much the most affecting beauty."<sup>115</sup> It even gave rise to an unusual musical venture at around the same time as Allan was painting his Historical cycle. Prints, made by William Gardiner after the paintings which Rigaud exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1791 and the following year, were actually published in a *Representation of the Execution of Mary Queen of Scots in seven views, The music composed for and adapted to each view by the Earl of Abingdon*. These prints were published in 1790 and 1791, and were apparently intended from the first to accompany such a representation, which may go some way towards explaining Rigaud's remarkable concentration upon the Queen's last days.<sup>116</sup>

Mary Stuart as a historical character can still arouse great interest, fascinating popular historians and public alike. In the eighteenth century, it seems, she could still occasion strong emotions, not solely among Scots. Dr. Johnson's outburst in the Laigh Parliament house is famous.<sup>117</sup> Reynolds could have admitted her as a figure who "powerfully strikes upon the publick sympathy", and Robertson frequently pauses to declare the natural regard which ought to be accorded her troubles, the more so because they befel a woman, and a prince at that.<sup>118</sup> Burns combined a pity of "the amiable but unfortunate Mary Queen of Scots" with a hatred of that "rocky-hearted, perfidious Succubus . . . the infernal Bess Tudor".<sup>119</sup> It is noteworthy that Allan too was in the camp which saw the Queen as "unfortunate", though he resists the fatal temptation to wring every drop of emotion from her plight. Catholic martyr she may well have been, but it is stretching a possibility to breaking point to see her outflung arms in the painting of Rizzio's assassination - a variation on the *orans* attitude of grief on classical *sarcophagi* - as a reference, and a none too subtle one at that, to a Crucifixion scene. At the same time, viewers should not be blind to the dependence of the mocking in the streets of Edinburgh on traditional representations of the Procession to Calvary, however careful Allan's attempt to recreate the Royal Mile of 1567.

Such authenticity throughout the series is incidental, details being employed strictly as "a part of that whole which would be imperfect without 'them'".<sup>120</sup> The paintings were not to be merely of lords and ladies wearing closely researched period dress in convincing sixteenth-century interiors. There was a deeper reason for Allan's devoting "much of his leisure time" to the study of antiquities than a desire simply to please the public, largely uncritical as it still was of historical



accuracy. He did not have to ransack the Scottish past for subjects simply to fill up canvas in order to make a living, since for his scenes of Scottish life and character, when they were made available as prints, there existed an assured and eager market. The financial security of his post at the Trustees' Academy allowed him, for the first time in more than a decade, to take up again the practice of History painting as he had begun it in Rome. He had recently written that

"without descending to mean and low objects, it is possible, by a strict adherence to truth and nature, to produce compositions, which though not so striking as the sublimer efforts of the pencil, are yet capable both of pleasing and instructing, in a very high degree." <sup>121</sup>

How much more, then, would he be determined to adopt such an approach, and enshrine such teaching, in true Historical Composition?

The "eminent instances" prescribed for History paintings were of the heroic past, but the instruction they were intended to convey was directed at the present. Allan was painting his cycle between - as the narrowest possible limits - the summer of 1789 and the spring of 1791.<sup>122</sup> One contemporary event so strongly echoes the salient facts of Mary's troubles that an initial recognition of its importance could easily blind a viewer, of whatever century, to the possibility of alternative references. Although it was not until 1793 that Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette were actually beheaded, the rising of a people against monarch and aristocracy had shaken the confidence of British society to its roots. That artists of the time were disinclined to exhibit pictures of Mary's enforced abdication suggests that the deposing of a monarch was an uncomfortable theme, however affecting her execution was found. The riots against Dundas, the abortive Pike Plot and the notorious sedition trials were yet to come in Edinburgh, but the distant wrangling of Burke and Paine was in full swing while Allan was composing his Historical pieces, a number of Glasgow weavers had been shot by troops in 1787, and the events of the French Revolution were surely a major topic of conversation and debate among every section of the British people.<sup>123</sup>

Henry Cockburn, in his *Memorials*, records how

"grown up people talked at this time of nothing but the French Revolution, and its supposed consequences; younger men of good education were immersed in chemistry and political economy; the lower orders seemed to take no particular concern in anything. . . if the ladies and gentlemen, who formed the society of my father's house, believed all they said about the horrors of French bloodshed, and of the anxiety of people here to imitate them, they must have been wretched indeed. Their talk sent me to bed shuddering." <sup>124</sup>

Cockburn's opinions to the contrary, some of "the common people" took a particular interest in the situation across the Channel and in the



principle of Reform generally. A Society of Friends of the People, its very name recalling Marat's unofficial title and his "virulently democratic paper", was formed in 1792, Trees of Liberty were raised in Dundee and Perth, and in December of the same year a General Convention of the Friends of the People in Scotland was held in Edinburgh, at which there was a unanimous call for universal male suffrage.<sup>125</sup> Burns had been an "enthusiastic votary" of France in "the beginning of the business", but

"when she came to shew her old avidity for conquest, in annexing Savoy, &c. to her dominions, & invading the rights of Holland, I altered my sentiments,"<sup>126</sup>

By that time, "Royalist & Jacobin had set all Britain by the ears", "everything rung, and was connected, with the Revolution in France", and Burns, called before one of the Supervisors General of the Excise, was "very near being turned adrift in the wide world" on account of his earlier and unguarded enthusiasm.<sup>127</sup>

It is unlikely, even in this *milieu*, that Allan's Historical cycle would have been construed as evidence of any disaffection, though it did touch upon matters of great contemporary delicacy in a way that an individual painting of Mary Stuart's execution, or a set of engravings depicting her final hours, did not. After all, he freely chose to exhibit a painting of the abdication itself. Ironically, he may initially have conceived the cycle before events in France engaged the attention of the world. To confine a view of this aspect of Allan's cycle to such an apparently obvious relationship with the affairs of the day is to adopt too narrow a perspective, and is summarily to dismiss his work as a simple seizing on events of contemporary notoriety, an appeal to a predictable public interest in any paintings treating the theme of dispossessed royalty, a theme which most artists - sensitive to the political situation - were too cautious *specifically* to essay. Furthermore, the parallels between Mary Stuart and Marie Antoinette, or, for that matter, Charles I and Louis XVI, were much more striking after 1793, and even then only in that all had been executed. It would hardly have been possible for the common people and whatever constituted the educated classes to rise against the nobility and the Kirk in sixteenth-century Scotland. It may therefore legitimately be asked why Allan contemplated an entire cycle of uncommissioned paintings on such a theme.

Allan was an individual artist seeking, in this instance, a theme of both historical importance and contemporary significance. The historical interest of Mary's story is not in question, even if it is seen simply as



a tale of the harm that befell one who stood in high degree. What relevance her story had to Allan's Scotland would have depended upon his own interpretation. If, rather than seeing Mary Stuart as a perfect example of a historical object of sympathy, he were in fact thus concerned to find a parallel between events in the past and those in his own century, Allan was original only in that his subject-matter was Scottish. Those popular choices from the *History of England*, those scenes of the signing of Magna Carta or the surrender of Calais, may frequently be seen to point a moral relevant to the time of their execution and in accordance with the known political convictions of their creators.<sup>128</sup> Copley's *magnum opus* depicting a king rebuffed met with a royal reproof when the Queen described it as a most unfortunate subject for the exercise of his pencil.

The most persistent theme to emerge from Robertson's *History*, as indeed from any adequate study of Mary's times, is the continual scheming of the nobles. The theme necessarily underlies Allan's series, together with a single glance in the direction of the no less significant religious developments of the time. Any attempt to see these paintings from a perspective which approaches that of his contemporaries must take account of that distrust, so characteristic of the Enlightenment, of all "enthusiasm", and Allan may well have been aware of the interminable dissention and formation of factions within the Presbyterian Church. His interpretation of Mary's life and times might conceivably include a further recognition, however, extending their national relevance into his own century.

Before describing the murder of "Seigneur Davie", Robertson pauses to explain why he has chosen to devote so much space to the likes of a Provençal musician, such as Rizzio had been:

"if we regard the barbarity of that age, when such acts of violence were common, or the mean condition of the unhappy person who suffered, the event is little remarkable; but if we reflect upon the circumstances with which it was attended, or upon the consequences which followed it, it appears extremely memorable; and the rise and progress of it deserve to be traced with great care".<sup>129</sup>

Had David Allan reflected upon the consequences which followed the events of Mary's life, the internecine strife which is a recurring theme in his cycle may have appeared "extremely memorable" for reasons other than the misery it caused his unfortunate heroine. The consequences of this struggle for power were visited not only upon the Queen, but upon her country as a whole. Turmoil was, of course, always actively encouraged by Elizabeth's political advisors, as an economical and effective way of



keeping the smaller neighbouring realm too concerned with internal division for it to present any serious northern threat, and the religious fervour of the age worked immensely to the advantage of this policy. Most of the Scottish nobles had become Protestants; Mary was a devout Roman Catholic. The conventional religious thought that in her end was her beginning - "*en ma fin est mon commencement*" - apparently proved too subtle for at least one English gentleman of her own day.<sup>130</sup> This "riddle" was to assume a significance beyond the personal, one which Mary herself could never have anticipated. In the troubles which her dispossession was supposed to end lay the beginnings of a new phase in Scottish political life, accompanied by the ascendancy of the Kirk.

The Reformation made an understanding, if not any formal alliance, between Calvinist Scotland and an England likewise opposed to the Papacy more logical and acceptable to the nobles, not to mention the Kirk, than a continuation of the Auld Alliance with Catholic France, then with Spain Elizabeth's major adversary. The upholding of the reformed religion appeared more important than the safeguarding of the country against the intrigues of and attempted assimilation by the ancient, and closer, enemy. The events of the time, symbolised or concentrated in Mary's struggle and downfall, can in fact be seen as direct harbingers of that kind of incorporating Union which one Scot described as occurring "when the poor bird is embodied in the hawk that hath eaten it up".<sup>131</sup> The treachery and self-seeking of the Scottish aristocracy did not end with Mary's death or James's majority. Even English agents could be scunnered by the character too often evinced by the descendants of those concerned in the story of Mary Stuart. Defoe wrote that

"the great men are posting to London for places and honours, every man full of his own merit and afraid of everyone near him; I never saw so much trick, sham, pride, jealousy and cutting of friends' throats as there is among the noblemen." <sup>132</sup>

The eighteenth century was, in the estimation of many of those living and writing in it, "the historical age".<sup>133</sup> David Allan was well read in the history of his own land, and as deeply concerned with the depiction of these past events as he was with illustrating Scottish literature and recording many aspects of the life he saw around him. As soon as he returned to Edinburgh from London in 1779 he was hoping that his patrons would continue to employ him in his native country.<sup>134</sup> The views of at least one of these patrons, the Earl of Buchan, might profitably be cited, at the same time as his own interest in the "biographical gleanings" and portraits of illustrious Scots is remembered.<sup>135</sup> Bearing in mind that



Allan, when "in company he esteemed", delighted to discourse "on the antiquities and literary history of his country" in a manner "playfully replete with benevolence, observation, and anecdote", and recalling his reference in a letter to Buchan, *à propos* a miniature of James V, to Pitscottie's *Historie*, it is possible to imagine something of what must often have passed between the two in talking over their various mutual interests.<sup>136</sup> Allan welcomed any chance of meeting those "whose knowledge and conversation [were] improving to Painters", and Buchan was not noted for his reticence.<sup>137</sup> Below one of those copies of "unengraved portraits" which he prepared at Dryburgh Abbey in 1794, that of Fletcher of Saltoun, firmest opponent of the Union of 1707, Buchan wrote:

"This is Fletcher my Countryman, the last of the Scots, whose Religion was a divine Philosophy in the soul, & who set up Marcus Brutus for his Pattern."<sup>138</sup>

It would be remarkable if Allan, in all the years that he knew Buchan, were not at some point regaled with pronouncements of this nature. Whether he agreed with them or no, it is perhaps not too ingenious to surmise that Allan saw clearly the roots of Scotland's present history in the events of two hundred years before his birth, as surely as he could suggest a deeper meaning, or the motivations and feelings of characters, below the superficial appearance of a composition. In such a historical perspective, the last words of James V, referring to Margery Bruce upon being brought news of the birth of his own child, are ironically apposite:

"Be this the post came out of Lythgow schawing to the king goode tydingis that the quene was deliuerit. The king inquyrit 'wither it was man or woman'. The messenger said 'it was ane fair douchter.' The king ansuerit and said, 'Adew, fare weill, it come witht ane lase, it will pase witht ane lase,' and so he recommendit himself to the marcie of Almightye god and spak ane lyttill then frome that tyme fourtth, bot turnit his bak into his lordis and his face into the wall." <sup>139</sup>

It was an uncannily accurate prophecy, though he was speaking only of the Stewart crown.



Plates XIII - XXIV.



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- XIII. "Queen Mary making her escape from Lochleven Castle", 1789. Sold in Edinburgh, 1797. Oil on canvas 47 x 61½. Private collection (H.K.).
- XIV. [ Weighing ingots at the Earl of Hopetoun's lead works, Leadhills ], c. 1780/85. Oil on canvas 15 x 22. Private collection (J.H.B.).
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- XXIII. "Black Stool" (*Presbyterian Penance*), signed & dated "D. Allan del. 1795". One version sold in 1797 as "Presbyterian Church Penance". Pen and watercolours over pencil 13¾ x 17¾. National Galleries of Scotland, Department of Prints and Drawings, D 4373.
- XXIV. [ View of the High Street, Edinburgh ], c. 1790. One of a pair sold in 1797. Pen & watercolours over pencil 14¾ x 21 , with strip (1¾ wide) added at left. National Galleries of Scotland, Department of Prints and Drawings, D 4374.





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XVIII. [ Illustration ], c. 1790/96, to "The Young Laird and Edinburgh Katy" by Allan Ramsay (*TTM*, Vol. I (1724), p. 81; *Scottish Songs*, (1776), Vol. II, p. 117; *SMM*, Vol. II (1788), No 171, p. 179). Pen and watercolours 3 $\frac{3}{8}$  x 5 $\frac{1}{2}$  (oval). Royal Scottish Academy.





- XIX. [ Illustration 1, c. 1790/96, to an unidentified Pastoral song. Pen and watercolours  $3\frac{1}{4}$  x  $5\frac{1}{4}$  (oval). Royal Scottish Academy.



- XX. [ Illustration 1, c. 1790/96, to a song in *The Charmer*, (1782, publ. James Sibbald), Vol. II, p. 190 (untitled; first lines as inscribed). Pen and watercolours  $3\frac{1}{2}$  x  $5\frac{1}{2}$  (oval). National Library of Scotland, MS. 15953, f. 37.





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- XXII. [ Illustration ], c. 1790/96, to "The Bagrie o't" (*The Charmer* (1749, publ. J. Yair); *Scottish Songs*, (1776), Vol. II, p. 19; a different version in *SMM*, Vol. I (1787), No 33, p. 34.1. Pen and watercolours  $3\frac{3}{8} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$  (oval), with lines from "Contented wi' Little" by Robert Burns (1794) added after 1796, probably by George Thomson. Royal Scottish Academy.





XXIII. "Black Stool" (*Presbyterian Penance*), signed & dated "D. Allan del. 1795". One version sold in 1797 as "Presbyterian Church Penance". Pen and watercolours over pencil 13 $\frac{1}{2}$  x 17 $\frac{1}{2}$ . National Galleries of Scotland, Department of Prints and Drawings, D 4373.



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## Chapter VI

### Pastoral scenes and rural manners.

Allan's illustrations of Scottish songs.

1786 - 1796

*Allan's associations with various editors—the publishing history of his printed song illustrations—the drawings—locations, dating and style—links with "The Gentle Shepherd"—arrangement into 'classes'—their typical form and execution—visual antecedents—illustrations in chapbooks—forerunners and influences—digression on 'simplicity' in Scottish music and song—Allan's interests—antiquarianism and the Ballad—his narrative technique—landscape and the Pastoral—comic songs of courtship—specific artistic prototypes, and Allan's own distinctive pictorial vocabulary—contemporary interest in popular music and songs—the Ballads and the Classics—the Scots Arcadia again—traditional song in a changing world—the great collections—national music, song and language—the importance of tradition.*



## VI

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### Pastoral scenes and rural manners.

*"But let me remark to you, in the sentiment & style of our Scottish airs, there is a pastoral simplicity, a something that one may call, the Doric style & dialect of vocal music, to which a dash of our native tongue & manners is particularly, nay peculiarly apposite."*

Robert Burns to George Thomson, 1792.<sup>1</sup>

No doubt it is as convenient to believe that Allan's various pictorial schemes were actually executed in series as it is to discuss them in approximately chronological order. Thus his plan to provide illustrations to Scottish songs, when it is mentioned at all, is usually held to begin around September 1792, when the Mary Stuart cycle is deemed either completed or abandoned.<sup>2</sup> It was then that George Thomson, an amateur musician and Principal Clerk of the Trustees' Academy where Allan had been Master since 1786, first approached Robert Burns with his plan for what eventually became *A Select Collection of Original Scottish Airs*, "acceptable to all persons of taste".<sup>3</sup> Having agreed upon the instant and with "the impulse of Enthusiasm", Burns over the next four years or so sent Thomson more than fifty letters, containing much of his critical thought upon poetry and music, and upwards of sixty songs, including "The Lea Rig", "Robert Bruce's March" and a variant of "Auld Lang Syne", all written expressly for this publication.<sup>4</sup> Burns's second "scrawl" was conveyed to Thomson with a characteristic flourish; "so with my best Compl<sup>ts</sup> to honest Allan, Good b'w'ye, to you!"<sup>5</sup> Most critics have, perhaps understandably, taken this to refer to Allan the Historical Painter, although Burns generally misspelt his name as "Allen" until 1794, after which time, having been sent a copy of *The Gentle Shepherd* of 1788 and a painting of "The Cotter's Saturday Night", he wrote it correctly.<sup>6</sup> The "honest Allan" of this letter was, in fact, Allan Masterton, a writing master and composer in Edinburgh whom Burns referred to as "one of the worthiest men in the world, and a man of real genius", and whom he



recommended to Thomson as an authority on Gaelic airs.<sup>7</sup> It has, largely because of this error, long been believed that it was Thomson who suggested to David Allan the possibility of illustrating Scottish songs, despite all the evidence to the contrary.<sup>8</sup>

Nevertheless, Allan certainly did contribute some illustrations to Thomson's *Select Collection*, though none of these was actually published in the artist's lifetime. In January 1793 Thomson informed Burns that he intended to present

"the subscribers with two beautiful stroke-engravings - the one characteristic of the plaintive, and the other of the lively songs,"<sup>9</sup>

By August of the same year "Mr Allan [had] made an inimitable drawing from . . . John Anderson my jo", which Thomson was to have engraved as a frontispiece "characteristic of" humorous songs.<sup>10</sup> Throughout the next few years there follow about a dozen references by both Burns and Thomson to Allan and to illustration, some of which are of particular value in dating a number of pictures, others being of more general importance in demonstrating how Burns recognised and welcomed Allan's endeavours in the field of Scottish song. Furthermore, these letters may hold the key to the painter's unusual interpretation of one of the poet's most famous works.<sup>11</sup>

By contrast with what may be gathered from this correspondence of Burns's critical and æsthetic ideas upon Scottish song, there is little to be gleaned of his views on visual art. This paucity is only to be expected, however much it is to be regretted. Music and verse were the chief topics of these letters, although it should be pointed out that Burns's appreciation of Allan's work, in so far as he knew it, was warm and enthusiastic. He felt that the artist himself "must be a man of very great genius".<sup>12</sup>

Any discussion which took place between Thomson and Allan would hardly have been thus committed to paper. While letters passed between Burns in Dumfries and Thomson in Edinburgh, Allan and Thomson both lived and worked in the capital itself. The only known exchange of letters between them was in the form of a legal offer and assignation, Allan's letter to Thomson being more terse than is typical of his diffuse correspondence:

Dear Sir

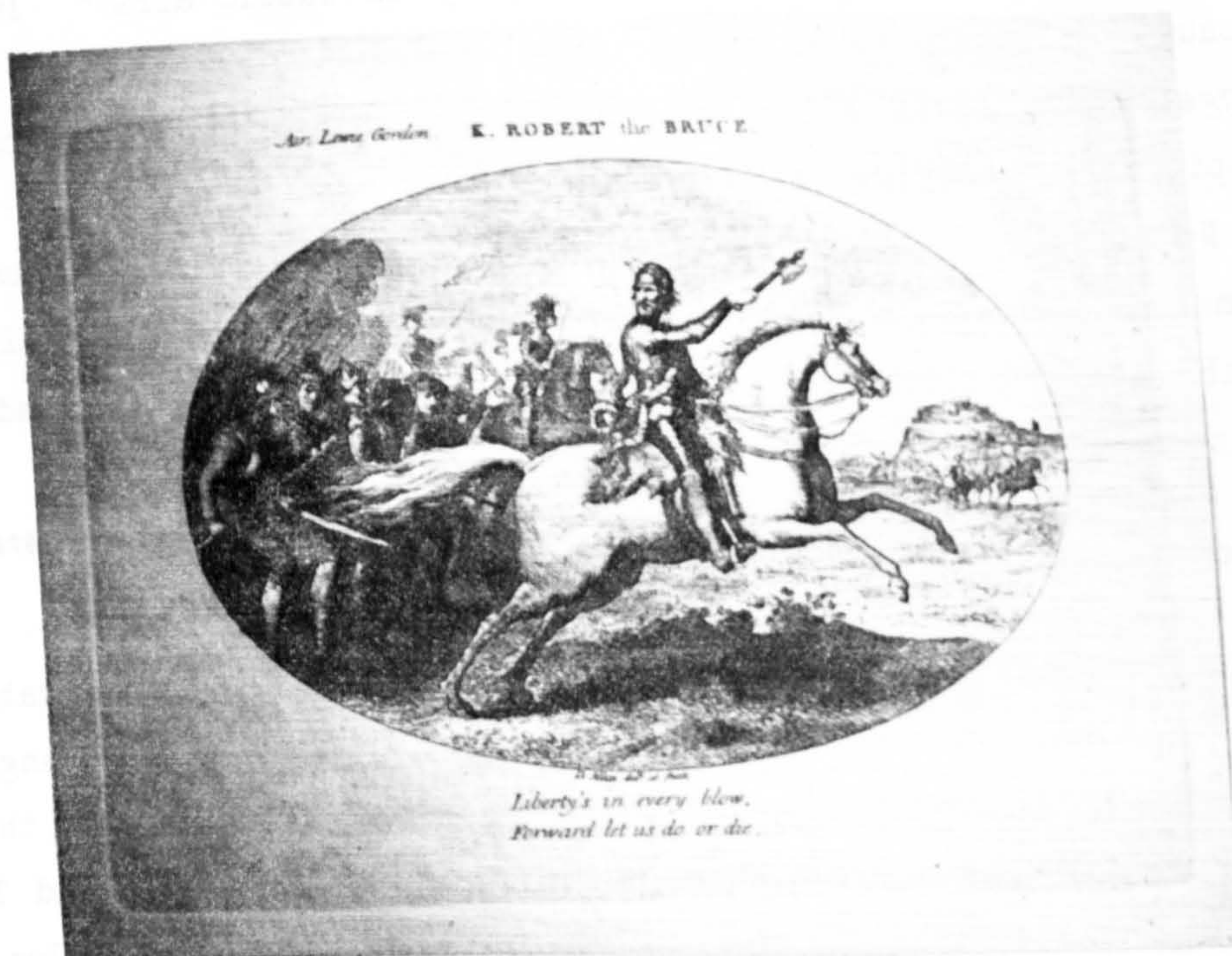
Edinbr July 13-1796

I received your letter of the 25 May offering me the sum at which I valued my plates for Scotch Songs viz £ 3.4, 9<sup>p</sup> each — I have accordingly sent you the Seventeen plates mentioned in said letter, which I declare to be your sole property - and hold you bound of course to pay me Fifty five pounds & ninepence sterl<sup>13</sup> at the times & manner specified in the said letter

I am Sir

your most obedient  
& oblidgd humble serv<sup>t</sup>  
D. Allan.





[Figure 219, page 264.]

Set to Music by  
**HENRY R. BISHOP.**

*Price of each Volume, the Voice & Piano Forte, One Guinea. The Violin & Violon parts separate 6 sh.*

*Vol. 5, Ent'd at Stationers hall.*

Detail of Figure 251, page 284,



Allan actually etched twenty-five illustrations in an identical oval format, one more design being printed in 1795 on the last page of a slim volume of poems by Hector MacNeill, with every appearance of having been adapted by Allan to fit the space available.<sup>14</sup> As is apparent when Thomson's aims are examined in more detail, and despite his eventually buying seventeen of them, a quite different destiny was envisaged by Allan for these little prints than that of accompanying the *Select Collection*. He had hopes of publishing *Twenty-Five Etchings by David Allan Illustrative of some Celebrated Scottish Songs*, but the plan was frustrated by his death in August 1796.<sup>15</sup> Among the contents of his studio sold by auction in 1797 were some copperplates, including "Eight of different subjects from Scottish Songs, designed and etched by Allan, (never published)".<sup>16</sup> Eight oval etchings were published in the following year, in Alexander Campbell's *An Introduction to the History of Poetry in Scotland*. That Campbell's eight plates and Thomson's seventeen together add up to the twenty-five executed by Allan for his own publication is hardly coincidental. Thomson certainly did own some prints of "K. Robert the Bruce", one of those illustrations which appeared in *An Introduction to the History of Poetry in Scotland*, but of the seven small oval illustrations which eventually appeared in one or other of his own sets, editions and reissues none was of a subject already seen in Campbell's volume.<sup>17</sup> No other design executed wholly by Allan in illustration of a Scottish song is known to have been published.

A distinction between small oval etchings and all other pictures appearing in Thomson's publications is necessary, and is so for several reasons. Firstly, two large oval prints, designed by Allan but executed as rather dark engravings by Paton Thomson, brother of George, appeared as frontispieces in two of the five folio volumes of the *Select Collection*, which were published sporadically between 1793 and 1818. Another large engraving so used, in this case after William Hamilton's painting of "The Soldier's Return" by Burns, being so reminiscent of Hamilton's work for the Boydell Gallery, serves incidentally to indicate at this point how unique was the chastity of Allan's own illustrations.<sup>18</sup> Thomson also had a title-page vignette engraved from a drawing which originated in Allan's studio, though it underwent some alterations from other hands in later years.<sup>19</sup> Finally, a number of small rectangular prints after pictures by Thomas Stothard appeared in Thomson's cheaper octavo volumes of the 1820s, Stothard in every case depicting a subject chosen much earlier by Allan for a picture of his own. Upon occasion these prints are based closely on Allan's designs, and are commonly





Drawn by David Allan & Thomas Stothard by D. Allan

Engraved by T. Ranson

# ETTRICK BANKS.

*Said I my kiltie will ye go  
To the Highland hills & be my bride*

*Printed May 1825 by G. Thomson Edinburgh.*

176. T. RANSON after Thomas Stothard, from a drawing by David Allan; "Ettrick Banks", 1823, the original drawing c. 1794 (Figs. 206 and 224), Engraving 3¼ x 5¼, published in Thomson's *Select Collection*, 8vo. edn, Vol. VI (1825).

## SCOTISH SONG.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOLUME THE FIRST.



DICUNT IN TENERO GRAMINE PINGUIUM  
CUSTODES OVIVM CARMINA, FISTULA  
DELECTANTQUE DEVM, CUI PECUS ET NIGRI  
COLLES ARCADIAE PLACENT.

HORACE.

LONDON: J.

PRINTED FOR J. JOHNSON, IN ST. PAULS CHURCH-  
YARD; AND J. EGERTON, WHITEHALL.

MDCCXIV.

177. ANON (?Parker) after David Allan; [shepherd], 1794, the original drawing c. 1788 (Fig. 181), Engraving 2½ x 3¼ [Title-page vignette for Ritson's *Scottish Song*, London (1794)].



Figure 176

described as having been "Drawn by T.Stothard from a sketch by D.Allan". Other prints by Stothard include figures borrowed from the relevant pictures by Allan, while a few have no references to his work at all.<sup>20</sup>

Figure 177

It will readily be seen that not all of Allan's work in this field was intended for Thomson's volumes, far less commissioned by him. It was, in fact, in a rival work, Joseph Ritson's *Scottish Song* of 1794, that some of Allan's illustrations were first published. Of the six pictures in these volumes, five are by Allan, although none was actually engraved by him. These are small vignettes, a necessary consequence of Ritson's publication being duodecimo, in contrast to Thomson's much larger volumes. Whatever it lacks in style and presentation, however, Ritson's collection has no rival in scholarship. Even Thomson admitted that his introductory essay "evinces great reading and research".<sup>21</sup> Ritson himself was keen to advertise his assiduity:

"It may be of some consequence to learn, that this is by no means one of those crude and hasty publications of which there are too frequent instances; it has received the occasional attention of many years, and no opportunity has been neglected of rendering it more worthy of approbation; the editor having even made repeated visits to different parts of Scotland for the purpose of obtaining materials or information upon the subject. How far these pains have been successful, must be left to the candour of the intelligent reader, and to the malice of the *Critical Review*." <sup>22</sup>

Ritson, as might be guessed, was capable of strong words himself upon occasion, censuring most contemporary collectors and editors who crossed his own antiquarian path. Even Burns was not spared.<sup>23</sup> It is all the more worthy of remark, therefore, that Allan is specifically praised by Ritson, being called not only "ingenious" but also an "excellent artist".<sup>24</sup>

It must already have become apparent that "the ingenious Mr. Allan" made an impressive number of illustrations to Scottish songs. In the most summary terms, then, before any more detailed discussion is undertaken, there exist more than one hundred and fifty drawings, generally ovals executed in pen and wash, to almost a hundred different texts. Several drawings known to have been made are now lost; a few songs the titles of which were noted by Allan might not actually have been illustrated.<sup>25</sup> If they were, the drawings have disappeared. Many rough sketches must, in fact, have been destroyed, or lost after the artist's death. A number of Allan's song illustrations still exist in two or more "states", that is, as preliminary sketches and more finished versions, about a score of these being in watercolours. In most cases, there are no differences between the earlier and later versions other than the slight ones which might be anticipated in such copying, but upon occasion changes were made

Figure 215





Head piece V. \*

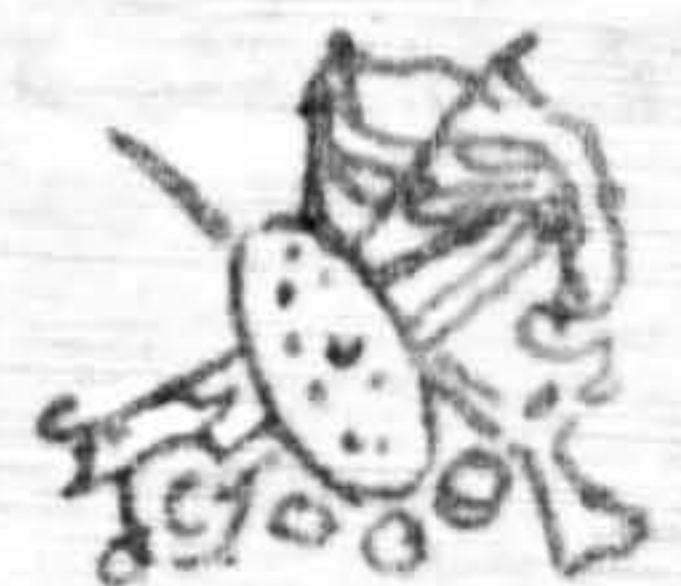
Head piece VI  
Trophy



Trophy Tail piece



Killikranky 1689-



Lt Dundee. — Looked to the field, & asked, "How things went?" being told  
"all was well." Then, said he, "I am well," and Expired.

Granger's Hist  
Vol. II p. 508

178. "Tail piece IV" and "Head piece V"; [ A Highland Dance ] and "Killikranky 1689", c.1788. Pen and wash over pencil 4½ x 9, 6 x 9 (approx), the lower drawing inscribed with a reference to Granger's *Biographical History*. The Mitchell Library, Glasgow; Cowie Collection SR 241 308864 ( "Baby Allan her Book Dalmeny June 29 1801" ), f. 9 verso.



significant enough to require some notice.<sup>26</sup> Less frequently, some songs and ballads inspired the artist to prepare more than one illustration.

Allan, true to form, also executed a number of these pictures in various media and in different sizes. The unlikely pair of drawings "Battle of Killicrankie, and Highland Dance", the essentials of which may still, in all probability, be seen in two sketches on the same sheet of paper, was sold in 1797.<sup>27</sup> At the same auction, two oil paintings each of similar size, one "The Gaberlunzie Man, from the old ballad", the other "John Anderson and his Spouse, from Burns's little ballad of 'John Anderson my jo, John'", were sold singly, and are still separated.<sup>28</sup> More happily, Allan's large watercolour version of "The Gaberlunzie Man" now hangs in the Royal Scottish Academy, pendant to his illustration of the song "Fee him, Faither, fee him". This would all be of minor importance, were it not for the fact that Allan's habit of repetition, or, more properly, of carrying ideas and *motifs* from one area of his work to another, allows this series as a whole to be dated with some precision.

Necessarily, only a few of these drawings may be confidently assigned more specific dates within the entire period, since not one of the hundred and fifty or so is actually dated. For any illustration of Burns's work, of course, there is a *terminus post quem*,<sup>†</sup> that being not always the date of first publication but often the date of a song's being sent to Thomson, or in one instance to Alexander Cunningham, a friend of Thomson and very probably of Allan too.<sup>29</sup> It is, in addition, from the correspondence between Burns and Thomson to which reference has already been made that approximate dates can be given for more of Allan's literary pictures. Thus, in October, 1794 he had "just sketched a charming design from 'Maggie Lauder'", one which Thomson thought of having engraved in the style of Ritson's prints.<sup>30</sup> Several letters also throw valuable light on Allan's illustrations of "The Cotter's Saturday Night", which was first published in the Kilmarnock Edition. At least two preparatory drawings were sent to Burns for his opinion in the spring of 1794, a finished picture, painted in watercolours and probably a version of one of these, being presented by Thomson in May of the following year.<sup>31</sup> It must be pointed out, however, despite the importance of this correspondence to any discussion of Allan's song illustrations, that only about a dozen of these, and around a tenth of the whole corpus of his illustrations to Scottish literature, are of verses which Burns either "made or mended".<sup>32</sup>

It is well known that Burns had both collected songs and composed them long before Thomson first wrote to him in 1792. Since 1787 he had been "absolutely crazed" about assisting "an honest Scots Enthusiast", the

† Or *terminus ante quem non*.

Figure 178

Figure 210

Figure 296



Edinburgh engraver James Johnson, with *The Scots Musical Museum*, a collection intended to contain "all the Scotch Songs . . . that [could] be found".<sup>33</sup> It was a task entirely to his liking, since he believed it was better to have even "mediocre verses to a favorite air" than no verses at all, in order to bring "more of our tunes from darkness into light".<sup>34</sup> Burns had, of course, turned his "critic-craft" on the subject of setting words to "many of our most favourite airs" several years before going to Edinburgh, and had practised "the sin of rhyme" in such verses long before that.<sup>35</sup> It can be argued, and in a couple of instances demonstrated, that Allan's plans for his own visual enrichment of the Scottish lyric also preceded Thomson's demands by as much as five years. Nevertheless, it is not to be denied that Allan would have devoted more time to this activity after 1791, and it is to the last years of his life that most of these drawings belong.

That the idea was of earlier date than has often been assumed might well have been suggested by common sense alone. Being involved with the preparation of his plates for *The Gentle Shepherd*, Allan would have been more likely then, or shortly after, to have turned his thoughts outward to the whole vast field of Scottish verse, the more so once his plates met with the success they did. In addition to his having already painted scenes of "Chevy Chace", he had glanced at *The Seasons*, made some watercolours or wash drawings of Ossianic subjects, and may by this time have drawn inspiration from Fergusson's "Leith Races".<sup>36</sup> In any event, he hardly needed the stimulus of George Thomson from within the Trustees' Academy to direct him to the songs of Scotland, such as Lord Hopetoun for one had heard him sing so often.<sup>37</sup> It is not by chance that Allan's edition of *The Gentle Shepherd* contains eighteen pages of beautifully engraved scores, simply arranged, for Ramsay's songs. Allan, indeed, may well have shown Thomson the advantage of illustrations depicting Scottish costume and character, that verse, music, and the images they suggested to contemporaries might all "go down the stream of Time together".<sup>38</sup>

It was surely either Allan's own scheme of etchings, or, more probably, the set that was published in Ritson's *Scotish Song*, which led Thomson to consider a similar selection, despite its being totally unsuited to both his folio and even his octavo volumes. The very style of all his publications, with a musical score on one page facing a choice of texts on the other, militated against the inclusion of more than one or two "characteristic" plates in each volume. As Thomson had already informed Burns, his first inclination was merely to present subscribers with "two



beautiful stroke-engravings", as Tonson had his subscribers a century earlier.<sup>39</sup> This was to be an adjunct to the work rather than an integral part of it, a means of making it "as perfect as possible":

"It will accordingly be embellished with two elegant Engravings from original Drawings, by those eminent artists, W. Hamilton, R.A., London, and D. Allan, Edinburgh; the one characteristic of the Pastoral, and the other of the Humorous class of Songs. These will be delivered to Subscribers, in the precise order of their subscriptions, along with the last Set".<sup>40</sup>

It was not until at least two years after his mention of "stroke-engravings" that Thomson thought of publishing

"a collection of all our favourite airs in octavo, embellished with a number of etchings by our ingenious friend Allan",

an idea with which Burns was "much pleased".<sup>41</sup> Thomson's next letter, referring to Allan's etchings but not to the artist's plans, is potentially misleading, in that it implies no other end for these etchings than Thomson's publication. Several of the plates he eventually bought were, in fact, of songs which never appeared in the *Select Collection* at all, though Thomson was not averse to changing a title or two if he felt a picture could "equally well represent" a song which did.<sup>42</sup> It also appears that Thomson was not aware of either the scale of Allan's activity in song illustration or its scope, since he refers primarily to comic pieces. His letter also reveals in passing that the artist preferred the precision of etching to the more atmospheric, but unpredictable, effects of aquatint:

"I am happy to hear you approve of my proposed octavo edition. Allan has designed and etched about twenty plates, and I am to have my choice of them for that work. Independently of the Hogarthian humour with which they abound, they exhibit the character and costume of the Scottish peasantry with inimitable felicity. In this respect, he himself says, they will far exceed the aquatinta plates he did for the 'Gentle Shepherd', because in the etching he sees clearly what he is doing, but not so with the aquatinta, which he could not manage to his mind. The Dutch boors of Ostade are scarcely more characteristic and natural than the Scottish figures in these etchings." <sup>43</sup>

Whatever may be inferred from the various writings of George Thomson, it is not solely by common sense and an understanding of Allan's practice that a date earlier than 1792 may be established for his having decided to illustrate Scottish songs. Both from the style typical of these drawings in general, and from a few particular instances, the beginning of this series may with some confidence be said to date from around the same time as the plates for *The Gentle Shepherd*.

This kind of illustration may well have been among the "new subjects" Allan was turning over in his mind earlier in the decade, when he first thought of his "set of the Gentle Shepherd". That the "Scotch manners" he



# FINGAL.



[Reprise of Figure 22,]



had been recording since 1780 were uppermost in his thoughts at this time need not have excluded song illustration from his Invention, since music and song were a major part of daily life. Captain Topham remarked from Edinburgh that "almost every one above the common rank of mankind [had] some knowledge and taste" in Scottish music.<sup>44</sup> The style of drawing typical of Allan's song illustrations suggests 1785 as the earliest possible starting date for the series, and the simultaneous development of a couple of compositions in both this group of preparatory drawings and that for *The Gentle Shepherd* confirms that they were in hand at the same time. Needless to say, there are many *motifs* shared by the two sets of pictures, but the presence of these, particularly in Allan's *oeuvre*, cannot reasonably support any theories about dates of composition. After all, quite apart from borrowing a figure here and there from among the sketchbooks he filled in Scotland, Allan happily naturalised a Neapolitan dancer as a wife from Anstruther.<sup>45</sup>

With the exception of four very plain figures emblematical of the four seasons, drawn by Allan when in London and engraved in 1778 for Murray's edition of *The Seasons*, his earliest extant illustrations of Scottish literature are those to some of Macpherson's Ossianic "fragments", made only a few years later.<sup>46</sup> These were never published - those which were, in 1795, are quite different pictures - and seem to have been intended to embellish one particular volume, blank pages having been specially bound in for this purpose. It will readily be seen that the style of these illustrations is in all things identical to that of Allan's Italian drawings, however the subject-matter may differ. While the style of his later pen and wash illustrations to Scottish songs is markedly plainer, differences in his drawing of the human figure are, in truth, hardly capable of being thus dated. Some female characters in these illustrations, for instance, are closer in appearance to his Italian figure studies than are others, but are in fact just as likely to date from the mid-1790s as from a decade earlier, and the indication of eyes and other features with single strokes of a pen or dabs of a brush is common to all his pictures.<sup>47</sup> By 1785, on the other hand, in the "agreeable Groupe of three figures" which Allan sent to Sir James Grant, that stylised depiction of human form and feature typical of the song illustrations had already made its first dated appearance.<sup>48</sup>

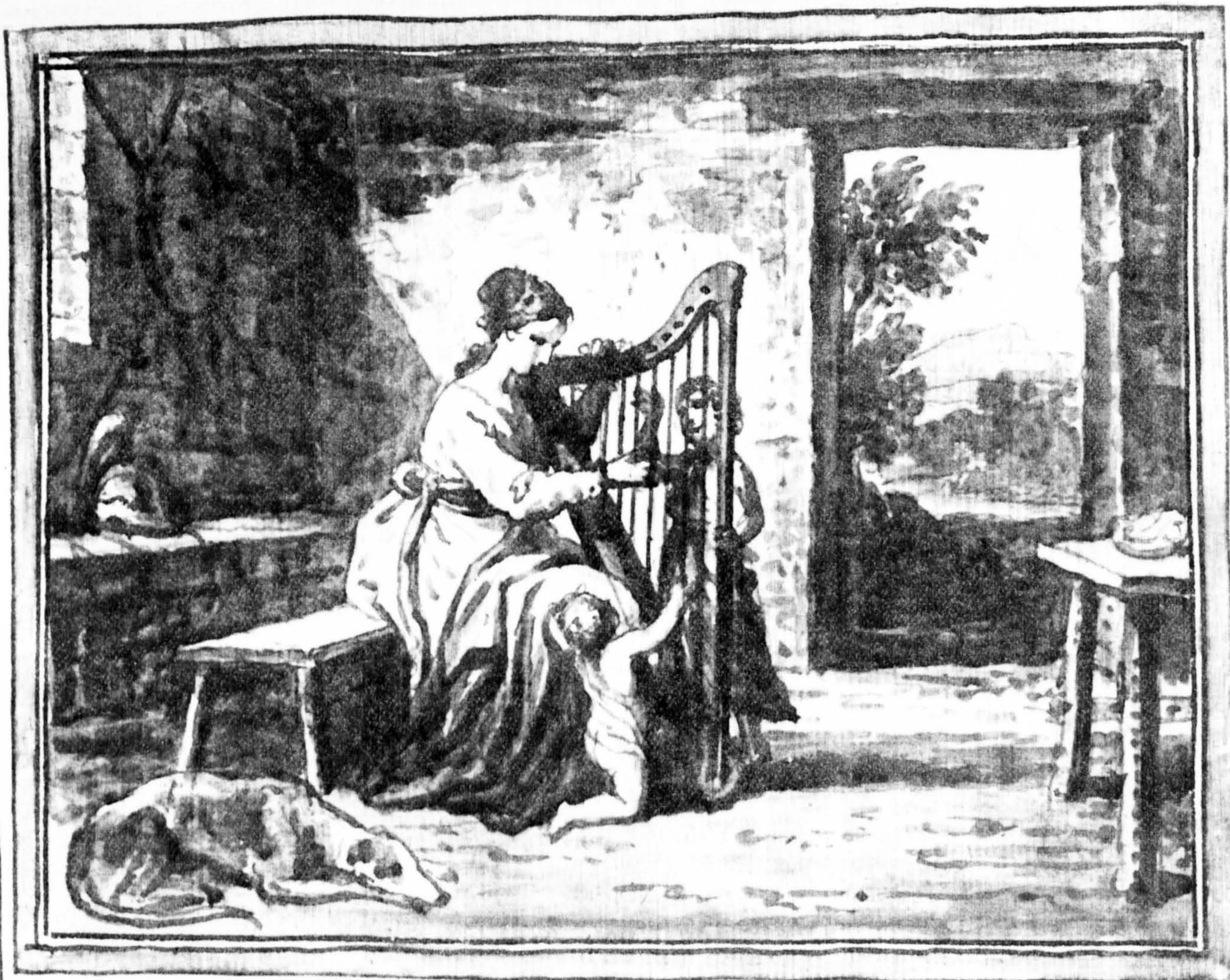
There is, nevertheless, a palpable difference between the drawings made in 1780 for the book of poems from the Gaelic and those of later date illustrative of Lowland songs and ballads. It is a difference arising from the deliberate development of a simpler style, and it is a

Figure 179

PLATE XI

Figure 180





D. Allan.

Nº 7.

179. [ Scene from *Trathal* ], c. 1780. Pen and wash over pencil 5½ x 7 (image; the paper 5½ x 7½). The Mitchell Library, Glasgow; Cowie Collection SR 243 308888, *A Collection of Ancient Poems, Translated from the Galic, - "of Ullin Ossian Orran &c" By John Smith Minister at Kilbrandon, Argyleshire 1780*, Nº 7, signed "D Allan".

"-She Stops. They take the Harp themselves,  
But cannot find the Sound which they admired.-  
'Why,' they say, 'does it not answer us?  
'Shew us the String wherein dwells the Song'.-  
Trathal; page 272"

opposite,

180. "The bush aboon Traquair" and "Sae merry as we have been", c. 1794. Pen and wash, each oval 5 x 6½, the additional figure — pen outline — 4 long (approx.). Inscribed with lines of verse and two page references to Ritson's *Scottish Song*, London, 1794. The Mitchell Library, Glasgow; Cowie Collection, SR 241 308864; "Baby Allan her Book Dalmeny June 29 1801" f.1 verso.



Hear me y—



Hear me, ye Nymphs, & every Swain,  
I'll tell how Peggy grows me.

as merry as  
have been.



But now he is far from my sight,  
Perhaps a Deceiver may prove;

Which makes me lament Day & night  
That ever I granted my love.



No 1 \*

Wotherspoon  
299

head piece II



He grew canny, & he grew thin;  
but little did her and mine  
what their lwa together were saying,  
when waoing they were sae thrang.  
Gaberlunzieman

Wotherspoon

No III \* 2  
head piece p 49



- The night was cauld, the carl was wae,  
and dawn a-yont the ingle he sat,  
My Daughters shoulders he gan to clap  
and cadgi-ly rant and sang.

181 "No 1", "head piece II", "No III" and a sketch of a cottage; [shepherd playing a stock and horn], [shepherd and milkmaid] and "Gaberlunzieman", c.1788. Pen and wash over pencil 4 x 4, 4 x 4 and 5 x 6 1/2, the cottage 2 1/2 long (approx); inscribed with verses in Allan's hand and page references to David Herd's *Ancient and Modern Scottish Songs, Heroic Ballads, Etc Collected from Memory, Tradition, and Ancient Authors*, 2 vols, Edinburgh, 1776, printed by John Wotherspoon, The Mitchell Library, Glasgow: Cowie Collection, SR 241 308864, "Baby Allan her Book Dalmeny June 29 1801", f.17 recto.



difference most apparent in the backgrounds of these scenes. Whether the setting is a landscape or an interior, the reduction of detail in the illusionistic depth of these later pictures carries further the simplicity of Allan's illustrations to *The Gentle Shepherd*. The adoption of such a style is not wholly to be explained as a consequence of the small scale of the song illustrations, but is again due to the artist's having intended his pictures to complement their subject-matter.

The warm interior in which Allan set his first illustration of "The Gaberlunzie Man", with its cauldron, hoggets and huge ingle-bield, is most reminiscent of all these pictures of the farmhouses of *The Gentle Shepherd*, and it may actually have been drawn during one of the artist's visits to the Pentland Hills. The little cottage sketched at the side of this picture, and appearing with slight variation in the background of the first illustration to the Pastoral, is surely one of Allan's "exact delineations" of the scenes which Ramsay had before him whilst writing it.<sup>49</sup> More persuasive is the pastoral couple above this building, a vignette almost too slight to bear the weight of evidence it does. As has been indicated, the presence of shared *motifs* in Allan's pictures is no rarity, but it has also been shown that some drawings among those concerned with Scottish songs were actually essayed at the same time as his edition of *The Gentle Shepherd* came to fruition.<sup>50</sup> In this particular drawing, one of a number from which two of his aquatint plates eventually developed, Allan clearly had little hesitation in deciding Patie's appearance, making only a slight alteration to his right leg, but Peggy caused him some difficulty. Before finally depicting her as holding a small laiglin, an interpolation probably suggested by the character's reference to her often having carried a milk-bowie, Allan showed her in quite a different posture. In his first idea for this drawing Peggy, hand on hip, stands motionless before Patie rather than slightly moving away from him, either blushing as he praises her singing or scolding him none too seriously:

"I darena stay;- ye joker let me gang;  
Anither lass may gar ye change your sang".  
[Act II scene iv]

Although by its being executed in pen and wash this vignette is to be placed among a group of drawings prepared for *Scottish Song*, it was not, judging by the note kept by Allan himself, among the eight sent to Ritson.<sup>51</sup> It was a later picture of Patie and Peggy which was preferred by Allan and chosen by Ritson as illustrative of the Pastoral class of songs. Instead, Allan worked up a large pencil study from this standing





[Reprise of Figure 146.]



SCOTISH SONGS.

CLASS THE FIRST.

[Reprise of Figure 147.]



couple, from which eventually developed the fifth and ninth plates for *The Gentle Shepherd*.<sup>52</sup> It may be thought strange that these drawings, prepared at least as early as 1788, should not be published until 1794. This delay was the inevitable consequence of that "diligent inquiry, extensive reading, and unwearied assiduity", to which Ritson himself, somewhat immodestly, referred in his Preface.<sup>53</sup>

The sheer quantity of Allan's illustrations to Scottish songs is initially daunting. It might be thought that his ambition was bounded only by the number of songs then current, until it is known that even to have executed a hundred such pictures was in truth barely to have tapped an abundant reservoir.<sup>54</sup> Allan probably chose as subjects songs which were particularly popular, including, naturally enough, his own favourites.

In discussing these pictures, some form of arrangement, some division of the whole corpus into smaller parts, is clearly necessary. At the same time, the unity which Allan envisaged, apparent in several ways, must not be neglected in concentrating upon a number of individual works. Since these designs were executed in order to illustrate verses, an arrangement based upon textual considerations seems appropriate. That is, the songs illustrated may themselves be classified according to their shared characteristics, their similarities of tone and subject-matter.

In fact, such a division is by no means purely artificial and anachronistic, one adopted *faute de mieux* to impose order upon more than a hundred individual drawings. The arrangement of Scottish songs into niches was common during Allan's lifetime, and is in fact followed in the "little volumes" which were his main source, though not his only text, David Herd's *Ancient and Modern Scottish Songs, Heroic Ballads, etc.*, first published in 1769 and enlarged in 1776. In his Preface to the second edition, as well as indicating the breadth of his research, the editor made the distinction thus:

"It seems proper . . . to give some account of the conduct and arrangement of this collection. It is divided into three parts. The first is composed of all the Scottish ancient and modern Heroic Ballads or Epic Tales, together with some beautiful fragments of this kind. Many of these are recovered from tradition or old MSS, and never before appeared in print. The second part consists of all the Sentimental, Pastoral and Love Songs; and the third is a collection of Comic, Humourous, and Jovial songs. In these two last, as in the first part, will be found a number of songs to favourite Scotch airs, not hitherto published, and many stanzas and passages restored and corrected by collating various versions." <sup>55</sup>

Some twenty years later, Ritson added one more "class" of songs. He placed modern ballads - or, given the enthusiasm and energy with which





86

Johnny Cope.

— Cope went along unto Haddington,  
They asked him where was all his men;  
The pox on me if I do ken,  
For I left them all this morning

( But Garden's brave, did still believe,  
Like to a hero bright man;  
His courage true, like him were few,  
That still despised high man. )







*The Chevalier being void of fear, | And thro' Tranent eer he did stent,  
Did march up Birkle brae man, | As fast as he could gae, man*

183. "Air Cillicrankie" [Illustration to the song "Tranent Muir", by Adam Skirven] c. 1795/96, Etching 34 x 5 (oval; platemark 4 1/4 x 6 1/4). Inscribed with four lines of verse and "D. Allan del: et fecit". Published in Alexander Campbell's *An Introduction to the History of Poetry in Scotland*, Edinburgh, 1798 (facing page 188, Class Third, Sang Seventh).



*Cope went along unto Hadington, | The Pox on me if I do ken  
They asked him where were all his men | For I left them all this morning*

[opposite,]

182. "Battle of Prestonpans 1745", and "Johnny Cope", c. 1790/96, Pen and watercolours over pencil 5 x 6 1/2 (each oval). The Mitchell Library, Glasgow; Cowie Collection SR 241 308864 ("Baby Allan her Book Dalmeny June 29 1801"), f. 21, recto.

184. "Air Johnny Cope . Fy to the Hills in the Morning", c. 1795/96, Etching 34 x 5 (oval; trimmed). Inscribed with four lines of verse. Proof, never published; Edinburgh Central Library, Scottish Room, RBR X PR 8510, a grangerised copy of Campbell's *An Introduction to the History of Poetry in Scotland*, 1798.







supposedly ancient fragments were produced throughout the century, ballads upon modern subjects - in a group entitled "Historical and Political".<sup>56</sup> To this group belong the ballads of "Killiecrankie", "Sheriffmuir" and the like.

With few exceptions, all the songs illustrated by Allan may be distributed among these four convenient classes, Heroic, Pastoral, Comic and Historical. Some songs may have aroused ambivalent responses from editors; Thomson, it will be remembered, decided Burns's version of "John Anderson my Jo" was a comic song, a conclusion based upon its *dramatis personæ* rather than its sentiment.<sup>57</sup> Similarly, Burns's vision of "Bruce's Address to his troops" before Bannockburn ought not to be thus uncompromisingly nailed down.<sup>58</sup> As will be demonstrated, Allan's print of this "Ode" resolves the tensions inherent in the piece, as any adequate illustration of subject, tone and meaning should, and does so in a manner guided, it must be admitted, by the poet himself.

Of the works chosen for illustration by Allan, and disregarding for the moment whether or no he made more than one drawing for a particular text, only five were Historical ballads, the battle of Prestonpans and the conduct of some Hanoverian officers inspiring several songs from various rhymsters, and eliciting three designs from Allan, to be grouped with those for the two earlier battles mentioned above. In addition to his illustrations of these lengthy ballads, that to Burns's song on the fate of Viscount Strathallan after Culloden, the music of which is by "Honest Allan" Masterton, might be placed among this set.<sup>59</sup>

Allan found more material among the Heroic ballads - there was a greater number available - and made nineteen designs for examples of these "Epic Tales", including modern compositions like Henry Mackenzie's "Duncan" or Lady Wardlaw's interminable "Hardyknute" cheek by jowl with such classics as "Gilderoy", "Edom o' Gordon", "Johnie Armstrang" and "the grand old ballad of Sir Patrick Spens".<sup>60</sup> An approximately equal number of Comic songs were chosen by Allan, there being twenty-five such compositions of which either the title is noted in his hand or a drawing is extant.<sup>61</sup> These last include scenes of "Andro and his cutty gun", a song which Burns, who "ought to know something of [his] own trade", considered "the work of a Master", of "Woo'd and married and a'", Burns thinking Allan's etching "admirable", and of "Tullochgorum", which he called "the best Scotch song ever Scotland saw".<sup>62</sup>

Allan's illustrations to Burns's work itself are largely of Pastoral pieces. The character of this class of song, which, in Herd's estimation, might "with truth be termed, *the poetry and the music of the heart*",

Figures 182-84  
Figure 212  
Figure 216

Plate XV

Figure 186



Between pages 247-48.

185. "Hardy-knute", "King of Norse falls" and "Battle of Otterburn", c 1788. The first two pen & wash 4x6, 4x5 respectively, the last pen & wash over pencil 4 x 3½. Inscribed verses and two page references to Herd's *Ancient and Modern Scottish Songs, Heroic Ballads &c*, (1776) printed by John Wotherspoon. The Mitchell Library, Glasgow; Cowie Collection SR 241 308864 ("Baby Allan her Book Dalmeny June 29 1801"), f. 18 *recto*.

186. "Hardyknute", c. 1788. Three pictures from Lady Wardlaw's ballad; top, pen and wash over pencil 3 x 4½; centre, pen and wash over pencil 4 x 2½; bottom, pen and wash 3 x 2. Inscribed with many lines of verse, one page reference to Herd's *Ancient and Modern Scottish Songs, Heroic Ballads &c*, and "Alexander King of Scots" Hawquin king of Norway- 1263". The Mitchell Library, Glasgow; Cowie Collection SR 241 308864 ("Baby Allan her Book Dalmeny June 29 1801"), f. 8 *verso*.



attracted Allan greatly, and around fifty of his song illustrations are of Pastoral subjects.<sup>63</sup> These range over a wide variety of styles and situations, and include near-contemporary verses written by "ingenious young gentlemen" in an elegantly artificial style, anonymous songs of greater simplicity which were "done time out of mind", as Ramsay put it, half a dozen pieces by Ramsay himself, and a similar number by Burns.<sup>64</sup>

Thus, if all these pictures are divided, according to the texts they illustrate, into the three "species" distinguished by Herd, it will be seen that roughly a quarter of the total are of Ballads, whether Historical or Heroic, another quarter illustrate Comic songs, and the remaining half are of Pastorals. These proportions are not quite in accord with the relative numbers of songs then current. Of the three hundred and sixty-nine in Herd's edition of 1776, only fifty-six are Ballads while nearly half, one hundred and eighty-two, are classed as Comic. This discrepancy is in itself of little moment, though it does give some indication of Allan's own taste. Everyone, after all, is entitled to his preferences. What is striking, however, is how ill the proportion of each class among Allan's *etchings* agrees with its representation in the drawings then available to him. Fully three quarters of these prints - seventeen of the twenty-five prepared for his first collection - are of Comic songs.<sup>65</sup> Only three are of Pastorals. Since George Thomson did not commission them in the first place, though it is little wonder that he thought of Allan primarily as a comic artist, there can be but one conclusion. Allan's own preference was for Pastoral songs, but he perceived that the contemporary fashion was for Jovial ones. In his first appearance before the public as an illustrator of Scottish songs (as distinct from Scottish verse) he chose scenes the most likely to appeal to his audience. He had literally sounded out the market before this *début*.<sup>66</sup>

Any discussion of literary illustrations will of necessity take account of the appropriate texts. Indeed, a discussion of illustrations to songs ought ideally to take some notice of their music, it being common knowledge that

"the merit both of the poetry and the music of the Scots songs is undoubtedly great; and that the peculiar spirit and genius of each is so admirably adapted to each other, as to produce, when conjoined, the most enchanting effect on every lover of nature and unaffected simplicity." <sup>67</sup>

In fact, it becomes apparent that each of Allan's pictures is no less of a unity with the *song* - that is, the fusion of words and music - it illustrates, than the verse itself is with its air. When his pictures are ordered in the same manner as were the songs they illustrate, certain features can be seen to be shared by many of the drawings in each



Hardyknuht  
 arise young knight & mount your steed  
 full lowns the shyndand day  
 cheis - ~~cheis~~ from my menzie whom ye please  
 to lead you on the way

witherspoon 120



Bolles of Otterburn  
 Montgomerie takes Percy prisoners

As soon as he knew it was Montgomerie,  
 he stuck his sword point in the ground;  
 and Sir Hugh Montgomerie was a courteous knight,  
 and he quickly brought him by the hand.

Hardyknuht - To say the law as horses ride,  
 my word I mean to keep;  
 dyne with the first stroke in the stroke  
 the hard his body bleed.

King of Horse  
 falls.

129.



Atterburn bolles



Hardy Knute

Alexander King of Swed.  
Hauquin King of Norway - 1263.

"Farewell my dame Sae peerle's gude  
(and take her by the hand),  
fairer to me in age than seem  
Then maids for bewlee fand;

Hardy Knute (his son)

fairly from  
Lewgates -



He has takin a horn as green as glass \*

He has takin a horn as green as glass,

and given five sounds, as knith,

that breis in green wod schake therat

Sae loud rang every hill.

His sons in manly shert & glee

had past that summer's morn

2 when on down in a grassy dale

they heard their father's horn:



Hardy Knute for the sons.



Lord Thomas & fair Annet c witherspoon p 24  
 - The ride ye tak, fair Annet, Thomas, And let the browne bride alan



*Cruel knight*  
 1. 165

Now live, now live, my fair lady,  
 o live but half an hour.



*Patie* \* *Patie*  
 p. 300

It's many times better & pleasant to me  
 for tho' they sing nicely, they cannot  
 like me

Gill Morice  
 away, away, the ill woman  
 and an ill death maist ye des  
 gen I had kend he'd been your son  
 He'd niver been slain for me





particular group. That is, they demonstrate the visual equivalent of a division made on purely textual grounds. It is clear that Allan took care that each picture should be appropriate to the corresponding song in all things, not simply in the matter of illustrating accurately and effectively. Thus, as will emerge from a consideration of each of these four classes in turn, he conceived his scenes and executed them within certain conscious restrictions, in a manner nicely suited to the style of each song or class of songs, these restrictions extending even to the use of a choice of settings more limited, a cast of characters more repetitive, than need inevitably have been the case. Particularly in his illustrations to Pastorals, Allan's figures in one drawing are as little differentiated, except in action, from those in another, as are the numerous Colins, Sandys, and Jockys of these songs, or their companions Annie, Jeannie, Nelly and Peggy, or Flora, Chloë and, incredibly, Teraminta. As is to be expected, more individual characterisation is employed in his illustrations to Historical Ballads, those which involve figures like Viscount Dundee, General Sir John Cope, or Colonel Gardiner, the last of whom fell at Prestonpans.

These pictures were, in the main, intended for Allan's own use in making etchings, though he did develop some into larger paintings or watercolour drawings. Earliest of all are lightly sketched figures and groups, crowded onto sheets of paper together with the verses they illustrate. It is of some interest that most of these drawings are of Heroic Ballads, but likely that many are lost. Probably coeval with these are the "Head pieces" drawn for Ritson in 1787 or 1788 and eventually engraved by "Parker".<sup>68</sup> The adoption of oval boundaries was a later development, and it is drawings with these which frequently exist in two "states". In the more finished of these oval drawings, particularly in such watercolours as the dawn scene of "Cowdenknowes", an extraordinary delicacy is evident, Allan evoking characteristic Scottish landscapes with the greatest taste and restraint. Many of these coloured illustrations must have been made purely for his own satisfaction, and, like all the finished drawings, they demonstrate an austerity, a reduction to what is the essence of a song and, importantly, its perfect expression.

The typical development of these finished ovals may conveniently be deduced from one picture in the completion of which Allan was interrupted. His illustration to Crawford's Pastoral "The Bush aboon Traquair", a song popular since its first appearance in *The Tea-Table Miscellany*, must date from after 1794.<sup>69</sup> Having decided which features of the rough sketch to retain in the finished version, which to alter and

Figures 185-87

PLATE XVI

Figure 180

Figure 188



53



188.

"The Bush above Traquair", c.1795/96 (the original sketch c.1794, Fig 180), Pen outline over pencil 6 x 3½, the sheet 4½ x 7½ Royal Scottish Academy.



Detail of Figure 180, between pages 243-44.



which to discard entirely, Allan began by lightly touching in the whole design in pencil. The forms of the shepherd's plaid are simplified, the landscape made less rugged, a smoother transition effected between foreground and middle distance. He then inked in the pencil outline with a firmer hand, reducing the pattern of drapery, foliage and grass all to order, in preparation for the application of wash to emphasise structure and strengthen shadows. As is to be expected, he worked from left to right, and thus the distant house and cattle at the right-hand side of the drawing remained as pencil outlines when it was put aside. Though Allan never finished it, this design was chosen by Thomson as a vignette for the title-page of his fifth folio volume, once he had asked his brother to copy it and Stothard to make a few alterations to this copy:

Figure 251

"May I beg that you will have the goodness to wash out the features, such as are slightly indicated by the original sketch. If you find that you can touch in a better general effect upon the Drawing, I trust to your exquisite taste and obliging disposition for your doing so— I do not think it was right to leave out of the Drawing, the hill in the back ground of the Sketch, as it is characteristic of Scottish scenery." <sup>70</sup>

This was, in fact, the only one of Allan's designs which Thomson ever published "in the style of Ritson's prints", a manner he had first considered in 1794. <sup>71</sup>

The most obvious difference between Ritson's vignettes and the great majority of Allan's designs is surely the oval format adopted in the latter. The fact that almost all his preparatory drawings measure four inches by five inches and a half, seldom varying from these dimensions by more than an eighth of an inch, strongly suggests that Allan used a template to ease the purely mechanical part of the work.

Allan seems to have chosen this kind of frame in order to give his pictures an appearance even smaller and more delicate, more dainty, than they would have had in any case. In addition, it forces their similarity on the viewer's attention, encouraging him to see them as all being part of a set.<sup>72</sup> The device thus emphasises the repetitive nature of the work, but in doing so acts as a foil to the artist's diversity of approach within self-imposed restrictions. Thomson, who was "perfectly astonished and charmed" with the endless variety of Burns's fancy, might well have said the same of Allan's, had he known the full extent of this remarkable illustrative scheme.<sup>73</sup> Nor was it solely in choice of frame that Allan revelled in diversity within a limited field, but in similarities of character and setting throughout the series. He contrived constantly to vary his depictions of separation or meeting, invitation or reunion, as





MOULINES.

*The Handkerchief* *Le Mouchoir*  
STERNE'S MARIA.

Engraved according to Art. 1794, on the Engraver N.2. Deland. Paris. 1794.

189, J.M. DELATTRE after Angelica Kauffmann: "Moulines", 1782 [Illustration to Sterne's *A Sentimental Journey*]. Stipple engraving 144 x 114.



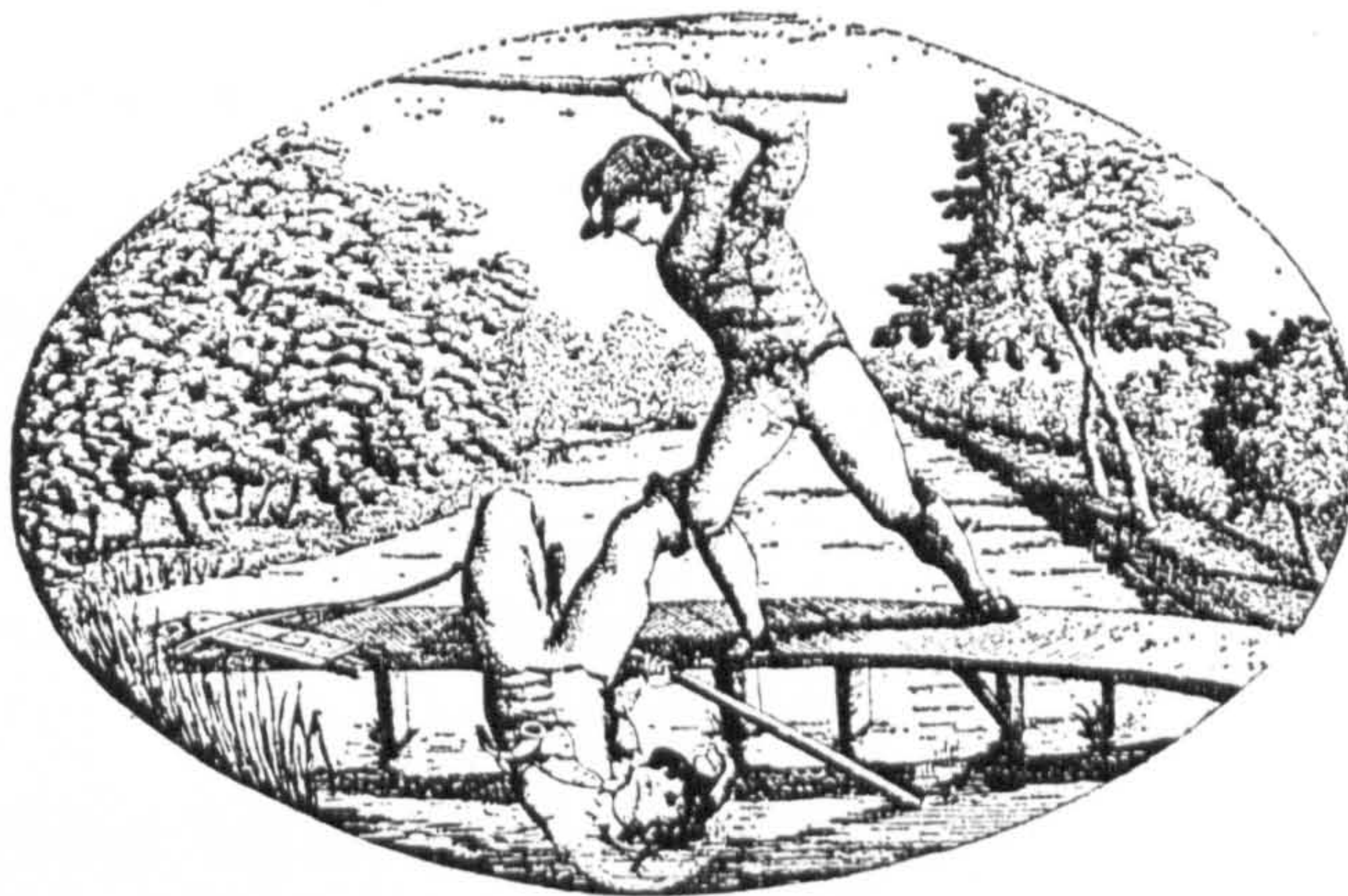
LOVE IN A VILLAGE.

*Will you accept of them for your self then  
that I love*

London Printed for L. Bell, British Library, Strand Jan 76. 1799.

190, GRIGNION after Wheatley: "Love in a Village", 1791, Engraving 67 x 47, decorative frame,





191, ANON; "Robin Hood and Little John", 1791  
Engraving 2½ x 4. Published by C. Sheppard,  
London, 1791. The Bodleian Library, Oxford,  
Douce FF 71.

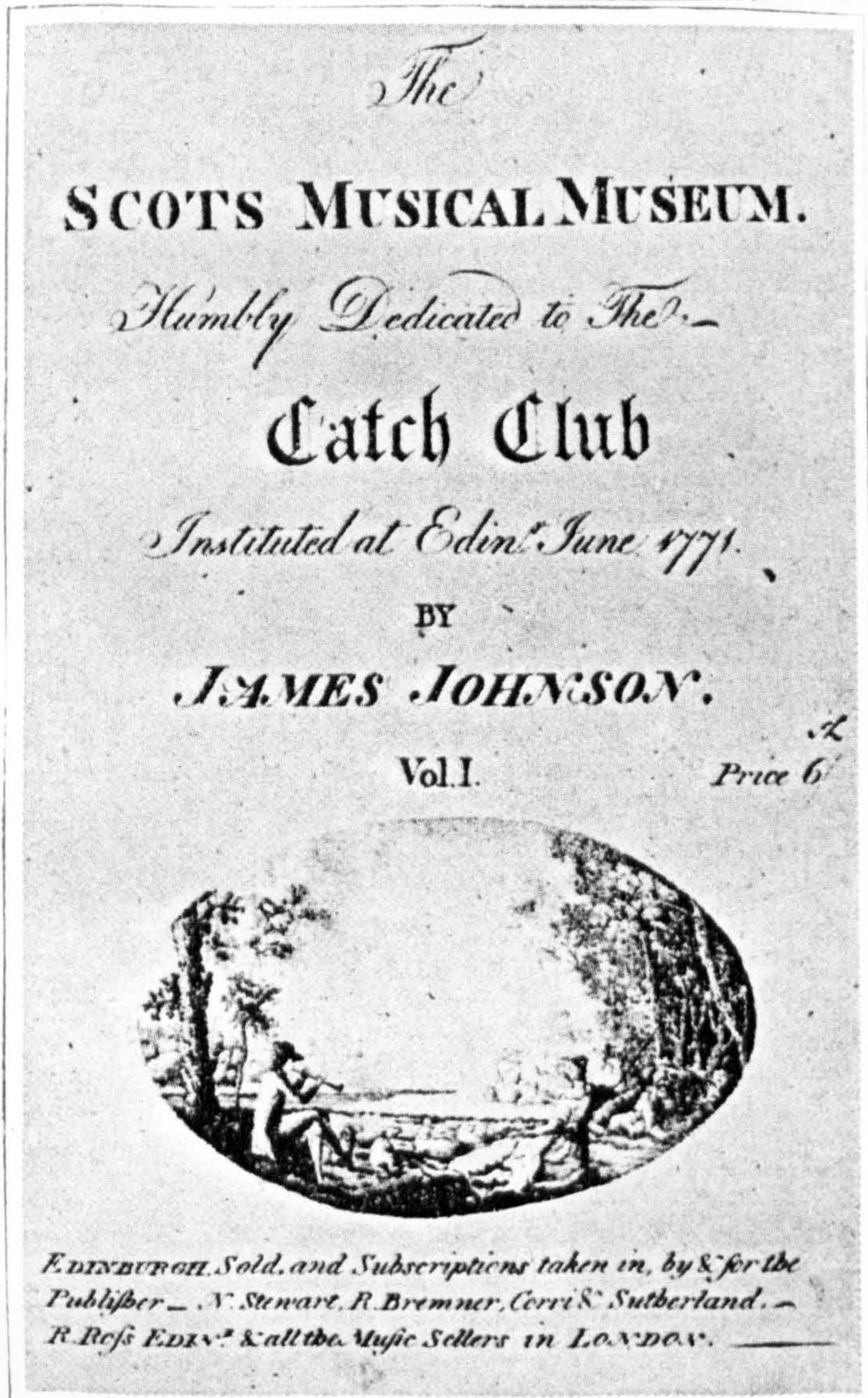


192, ANON; "Robin Hood and the Tanner", 1791.  
Engraving 2½ x 4. Published by C. Sheppard,  
London, 1791. The Bodleian Library, Oxford,  
Douce FF 71.





193. D.B. PYET after Walter Weir: "The Bonny Lass of Branksome" 1790, Engraving 5 x 3, decorative frame (2 1/4 diameter), Published by Morison of Perth, 1790.



194. Title-page, with anonymous vignette, of *The Scots Musical Museum*, Volume I, Edinburgh, 1787. 12<sup>mo</sup> in half-sheets, engraved throughout (preface - "To the True Lovers of Caledonian Music and Song" - by James Johnson, dated May 22, 1787).



perhaps a hundred poets, throughout the century, varied their descriptions while yet remaining bound by conventions willingly accepted. At the same time as these several kinds of repetition contrast with the diversity evident all through the collection, it is, as will shortly be seen, the use of recurring compositions and subtle echoes of form which serves more surely to integrate each individual work with the whole.

Figures 189-94  
A similar format had been chosen for illustrations to literature before Allan adopted an oval frame. Although most of Beugo's illustrations to *The Gentle Shepherd* are enclosed in circular frames, that of the final scene, probably in an attempt to include the entire cast, is set in an oval.<sup>74</sup> Even so, the picture is uncomfortably cramped, figures hunched and bowed in an effort to fit these unwelcome confines. Four illustrations to Scottish songs and ballads in a volume published in 1790 by Morison of Perth, and known to Allan, are again set in engraved roundels, with some compositional success despite an evident crudity in draughtsmanship.<sup>75</sup> Closer parallels with Allan's work may also be found in the artless title-page vignette of an early edition of *The Scots Musical Museum*, itself possibly derived from that in the first edition of Fergusson's *Poems*, in illustrations to a small group of broadsides, relating ballads of Robin Hood, published by Sheppard of London in 1791, and in a couple of engravings by Caldwell after William Hamilton, these being of around the same date and depicting a shipwreck and an Elizabethan pastoral scene.<sup>76</sup> All these illustrations are of an oval form nearly identical to that used by Allan, and each shows some similarity, either in its composition, its figures, or their expression, to his Scottish pictures.

Rigorously to confine discussion to Scottish publications or even to Scottish songs is to exclude much material which would have been known to Allan, for, as has been well demonstrated, not only were the same songs sung "by persons of all ranks", the "song-market was at this time an all-British one".<sup>77</sup> Throughout the century and all through the British isles Scottish songs, and songs supposedly Scottish, were popular. Percy's *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry* included a version of "Sir Patrick Spens" which, as John Pinkerton observed, agreed with "the stall copies, and the common recitations", Ramsay's *Tea-Table Miscellany* shows that songs by Carey, Suckling, and George Wither were popular north of the border, Gay had used the air "Maggy Lauder" in his opera *Achilles* as well as half a dozen Scots airs in *The Beggars' Opera*, and, changing the horizons slightly, Burns suspected that

"wandering Minstrels, Harpers, or Pipers, used to go frequently errant through the wilds both of Scotland & Ireland, & so [the *deleted*] some favorite airs might be common to both."<sup>78</sup>



THE  
PLANT OF RENOWN:

BEING

TWO SERMONS,

PREACHED BY THE

REV. EBENEZER ERSKINE,

LATE MINISTER OF THE GOSPEL IN STIRLING.



GLASGOW:

PRINTED FOR THE BOOKSELLERS.

21

SINS AND SORROWS

SPREAD

BEFORE GOD:

A SERMON,

BY THE REV. ISAAC WATTS.



GLASGOW:

PRINTED FOR THE BOOKSELLERS.

2 K

HISTORY  
OF THE LIFE & SUFFERINGS

OF THE

REV. JOHN WELCH,

SOMETIME MINISTER OF THE GOSPEL AT AYR.



GLASGOW:

PRINTED FOR THE BOOKSELLERS.

2 A

THE LIFE  
AND  
WONDERFUL PROPHECIES  
OF  
DONALD CARGILL.

Who was Executed at the Cross  
of Edinburgh, on the 26th July, 1680.  
For his adherence to the Covenant,  
and Work of  
REFORMATION



GLASGOW:

PRINTED FOR THE BOOKSELLERS.

2 B





28

*Daniel cast into the den of lions.*

DAN. vi. 21, 22, 23.

Then said Daniel unto the king, O king, live for ever. My God hath sent his angel, and hath shut the lions' mouths, that they have not hurt me: forasmuch as before him innocency was found in me; and also before thee, O king, have I done no hurt. Then was the king exceeding glad for him, and commanded that they should take Daniel up out of the den.

196. ANON after Rubens: "Daniel cast into the den of lions", c.1800, Woodcut 1½ x 2, often reproduced in cheap, illustrated Bibles and tracts.

"A History of Sir William Wallace was adorned not with any print of 'a genuine picture in the possession of the Society of Antiquarians' but with a head of Henry II",

opposite,

"doing service where subject roughly corresponded and space allowed."

195. ANON: [Portrait of a Scottish Clergyman or Divine], c.1800. Engraving 2 x 2, reproduced in a number of chapbooks published in Glasgow.

HISTORY

OF

SIR WILLIAM WALLACE,

THE RENOWNED

SCOTTISH CHAMPION.



GLASGOW:

PRINTED FOR THE BOOKSELLERS.

IX. 4

6

HENRY II.



Born  
1132.

Died  
July 6,  
1189.

Began  
Reign  
Dec. 8,  
1154.

Reigned  
34½ Years

Was son of the Earl of Anjou, and Matilda, daughter of Henry I. On ascending the throne, Henry soon gave evident signs of his wisdom and power, in correcting those abuses, which from the weakness of his predecessors, had always been a great source of complaint. The struggles which in former times had been betwixt the king and barons, or the clergy, began now to assume a new appearance; and liberty was more equally spread throughout the nation. Thomas a' Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury, was murdered before the altar of St. Benedict at Can-

197. ANON: [Portrait of Henry II of England], early nineteenth century. Engraving 1½ x 1½.





## Moll of the Wood.

Printed by M. Bowley, No. 96, Aldersgate Street,  
London.

AS I was a going along the road,  
Who should I meet but Moll in the wood  
I stepped up to her and did her embrace,  
And she gave me a terrible smack in the face.  
Fal lai &c.

Then Moll of the wood and I fell out,  
I up with my fist and I gave her a clout,  
I gave her a shilling she said it was bad,  
The Devil go with you said Moll of the wood.

Then Moll of the wood jump'd o'er the stile,  
Which made the young gentlemen for to smile,  
O'er the green meadows she tripp'd it along,  
And Moll of the wood is the chief of my song.

Then I follow'd her home without any fear,  
Thinking to treat her with ale wine and beer,  
Get out of my house you country clown  
I'll up with my ladie and break your crown.

Then Moll of the wood made this reply  
I have another young man in my eye,  
A country clown I never will wed,  
For I'll have a drummer said Moll of the wood.

Then Moll of the wood she went to the fair,  
To see what pleasure and pastime was there,  
She met a young drummer he just being come,  
And she learn't him to beat on his rattle drum.

198. ANON: "Moll of the Wood". Broadside ballad "slip", 12½ x 3¼ (approx; trimmed). Late eighteenth century.



199. J. M. WRIGHT after J. Rogers: "Highland Mary", c. 1835. Steel engraving 5¼ x 4¼, seemingly influenced by Allan's work (cf. Figures 206 & 230). From *The Complete Works of Robert Burns*, 2 vols., ed. Allan Cunningham, Edinburgh [n.d.].

# ANCIENT AND MODERN SCOTTISH SONGS, HEROIC BALLADS, ETC.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOLUME the SECOND.

*The garb our Muses wore in former years.*

HAMILTON.



EDINBURGH:

Printed by JOHN WOTHERSPOON,

FOR

JAMES DICKSON and CHARLES ELLIOT.

MDCCLXXVI.

200. Title-page, with anonymous vignette, of *Ancient and Modern Scottish Songs, Heroic Ballads, etc.*, collected by David Herd and published in Edinburgh, 1776.



In the same way, broadsheets and chapbooks, often embellished with woodcuts, would be carried from town to town by chapmen billies and itinerant fiddlers. These "cutts", generally crude in execution, were in fact often chosen to accompany any number of songs or collections, doing service where subject roughly corresponded and space allowed. On at least one occasion, a well-worn and familiar vignette was turned sideways to fit a title-page.<sup>79</sup> Although printers of these unassuming "Garlands" of songs were not unduly concerned with accuracy as long as a woodcut looked approximately correct - a *History of Sir William Wallace* was adorned not with any print of "a genuine picture in the possession of the Society of Antiquarians" but with a head of Henry II - when subjects, particularly religious ones, had an established iconography, then Crucifixions, Expulsions, Sacrifices of Abraham and scenes of Solomon's judgement were depicted, however crudely, in accordance with precedent.<sup>80</sup> A Daniel in the lions' den followed Rubens' painting, owned by the Duke of Hamilton, or more probably a print already made of it.<sup>81</sup> It is not surprising, therefore, that a number of nineteenth-century chapbooks should in their illustrations show some debt to Allan's scenes of pastoral couples, probably derived from his edition of *The Gentle Shepherd* or, at second hand, from those editions of the play with pictures based upon the aquatints of 1788. There is no example among hundreds of chapbooks of a picture actually adapted by Allan, as William Lizars for one was later to improve a woodcut frontispiece to *The Gentle Shepherd*.<sup>82</sup> The closest parallel to Allan's illustrations among any collection of songs published before he began those drawings is to be found in Herd's *Ancient and Modern Scottish Songs*. The anonymous little title-page vignette, such as it is, is but a rustic anticipation of the essential elements of Allan's pastoral scenes, though he may have found the scenery somewhat outlandish and the distant castle hardly typical.

One further precedent ought not to be overlooked. Among Bunbury's many prints are several illustrations of songs, including a few of Scottish songs popular in their day. Lady Anne Lindsay's ballad of "Auld Robin Gray", for example, was deservedly famous in the last quarter of the century, and Bunbury had an illustration of it, once again with a circular frame, published in 1783.<sup>83</sup> Like most of the Englishman's pictures it is an effective if hardly accomplished work, and Allan, the contents of whose studio prove him to have been an assiduous collector of prints, may well have known this or similar pieces.

Bunbury's prints were certainly known in Edinburgh when Allan would have been occupied with his illustrations to *The Gentle Shepherd*, if one





201. W. H. BUNBURY; "Auld Robin Gray", 1783.  
Stipple engraving  $4\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$  (oval), in-  
scribed "W. H. Bunbury Esq. Delin.", Publ.  
Dickinson, London.





LADY ANN BOTHWELL'S Lament.

202. W H BUNBURY "Lady Ann Bothwell's Lament"  
1784, Stipple engraving  $4\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$  (oval),  
inscribed "W. H. Bunbury Esqr Delint." Publ.  
Dickinson, London,

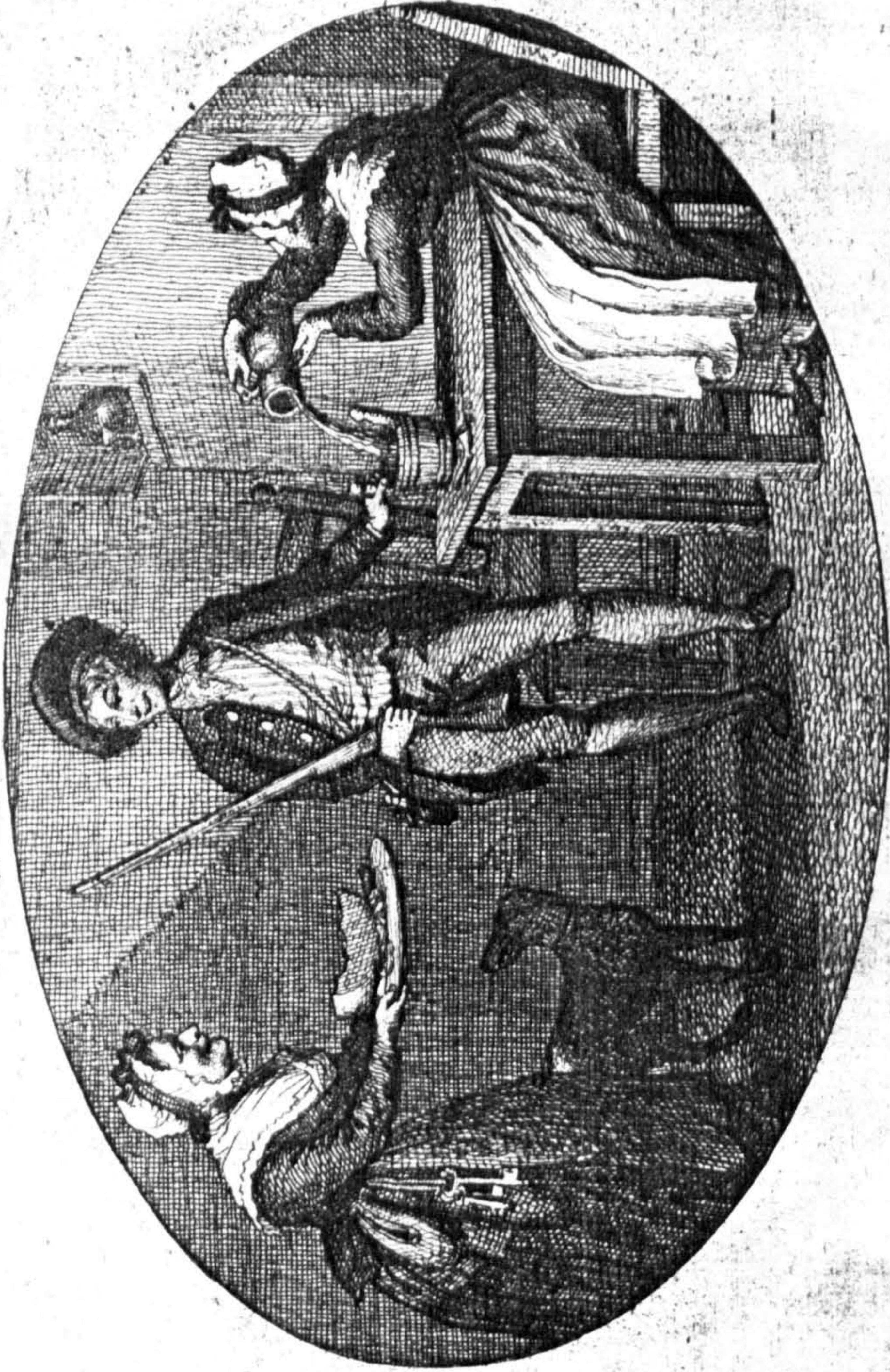


*Lady Anne Bothwell's lament  
Below my boy ly still & sleep*

203. "Lady Anne Bothwell's lament", c. 1790/96  
Pen & wash over pencil  $3\frac{1}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$  (oval). Royal  
Scottish Academy,



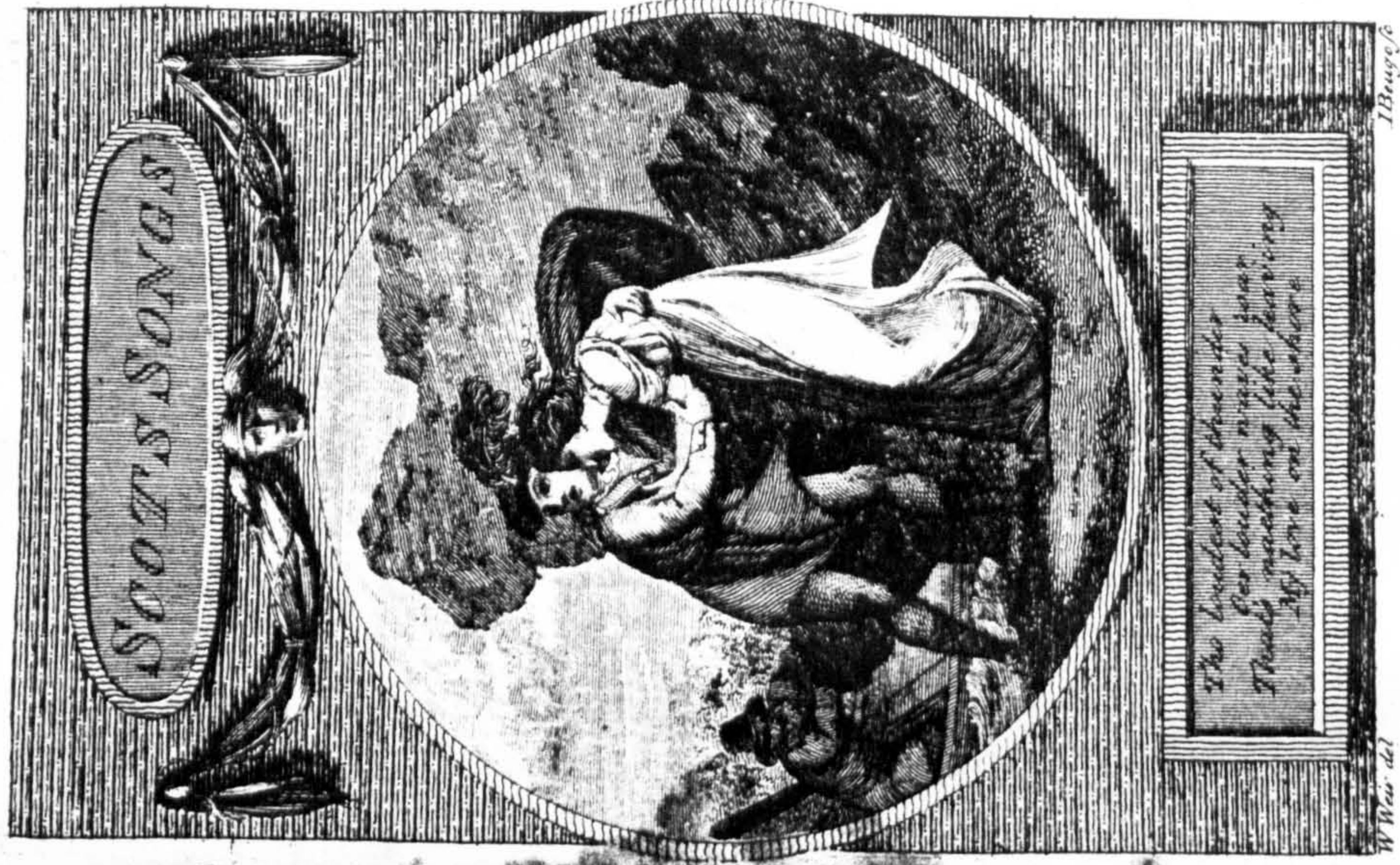
AIR— ANDRO AND HIS CUTTY GUN.



*When we had three times tond our 'Scapp  
And the naist chappen new begun*

*In Started to heeze up our hope  
Young Andro and his cutty gun*

205. "Air Andro and his Cutty Gun", c. 1795/96. Etching 3 $\frac{3}{4}$  x 5 (oval; trimmed). Inscribed with four lines of verse. Proof, never published. Edinburgh Central Library, Scottish Room RBR X PR 8510, a grangerised copy of Campbell's *An Introduction to the History of Poetry in Scotland*, Edinburgh, 1798, facing page 40.



*The blood of the  
Lochaber no more  
Thad' nothing like  
The line on the whole*

204. JOHN BEUGO after Walter Weir: "Lochaber no more" (Ramsay), 1790. Engraving 4 $\frac{3}{4}$  x 2 $\frac{3}{4}$ , decorative frame (2 $\frac{3}{4}$  diameter). Published by Morison of Perth.



well-known anecdote is to be credited. Sir Walter Scott recalled in later years how Burns, during his first visit to the capital, was "much affected" by the ideas suggested by one of these prints, representing "a soldier lying dead on the snow, his dog sitting in misery on the one side, on the other his widow, with a child in her arms".<sup>84</sup> The picture was accompanied by some lines of poetry which Scott, alone of all the company, recognised as coming from "a half-forgotten poem of Langhorne's". The same subject inspired a painting by Wright of Derby, exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1789 and one of many illustrations to contemporary literature to appear there in the last decades of the century. It was "popularised by an engraving" in the days before Langhorne's poems were forgotten.<sup>85</sup> Bunbury's pictures as a whole confirm that he aimed to satisfy whatever demand was the fashion of the day. His prints include illustrations of plays, songs popular for a while, caricatures of personalities of the moment or satirical depictions of events notable or notorious. In his illustration of "Lady Anne Bothwell's Balow", a narrative cradle-song of the seventeenth century or earlier which had been published in James Watson's *Choice Collection* of 1711, contemporary dress with a few tartan rosettes and a feathered bonnet suggests a London *soirée* rather than a Scottish castle.<sup>86</sup>

None of these contemporary illustrations of songs, in either oval format or circular, displays the same taste and artistry as do Allan's. In these other cases - with the exception of Weir's picture of "Lochaber no more", made for Morison's edition of 1790 - the frame has simply been imposed upon the scene, and might as well have been of more conventional rectangular shape. Allan seems to have found an enclosed composition, often suggesting intimacy and introspection, particularly appealing.<sup>87</sup> The postures of his characters harmonise with and echo the oval frame, as do their gestures and glances. Pictures like that of Lady Anne Bothwell and her baby or that to Ramsay's "The last time I came o'er the muir" offer images of absorption or of utter tranquillity, each depicting a tightly knit little group not lightly to be disturbed. The composition of other illustrations among the collection may be slightly looser, but the atmosphere of such Pastorals as "The Broom of Cowdenknowes" or "Will ye go to the ewe bughts, Marion?" is no less peaceful. Even in the bacchanalian "Andro and his cutty gun" the brisk tooming action of the young lass is balanced by the posture of the guidwife bearing in a kebbuck of cheese, the whole composition being held together by the hero himself, revelling in his being the centre of attention and glancing towards the one while holding a luggie to be filled by the other.

Figure 202

Figure 204

Figure 203

Figure 206

Figure 223

PLATE XVI

Figure 205



113 The last time I came over the muir



I pried all beneath the shies,  
Even King's when she was nigh me;  
In raptures I beheld her eyes,  
Which could but ill deny me.

Etrick & nks



I said my lair, and I'll go  
To the blighie, where the Earsie is leavin';  
I'll baith see them a cow and ew,  
When ye come to the Brigg of Earn





*She's warring & flyting fine morning 'till e'en. | Then tongue, neive, & cudgel shall lay on ye saul;  
And if ye gainsay her, her eye glow'rs sue keen! | O'gin my wife wou'd strike hooly and fairly*

207. ["Hooly and Fairly"/"The Drucken Wife o' Gallowa"], c. 1795/96, Etching 3½ x 5 (oval). Inscribed: four lines of verse, "Designed & Etch'd by D. Allan", and "Published as the Act directs by G. Thomson Edinburgh 1822", *Publ. in Thomson's Select Collection*, Vol. IV, 1822-3.



208. [The Gaberlunzie man], c. 1788, Black and white chalk on prepared paper 11 x 16½. British Museum, Print Room 1972 u521 ?Sold in Edinburgh 1797.





209, "The Gaberlunzie man", c.1795/96, Etching  
 3¼ x 5 (oval; trimmed). Proof, never published. Edinburgh Central Library, Scottish Room RBR X PR 8510, a grangerised copy of Campbell's *An Introduction to the History of Poetry in Scotland*, Edinburgh, 1798, facing page 1.



210, "The Gaberlunzie man", c. 1790/96, Water-colours 8½ x 10 (oval; framed). Royal Scottish Academy.

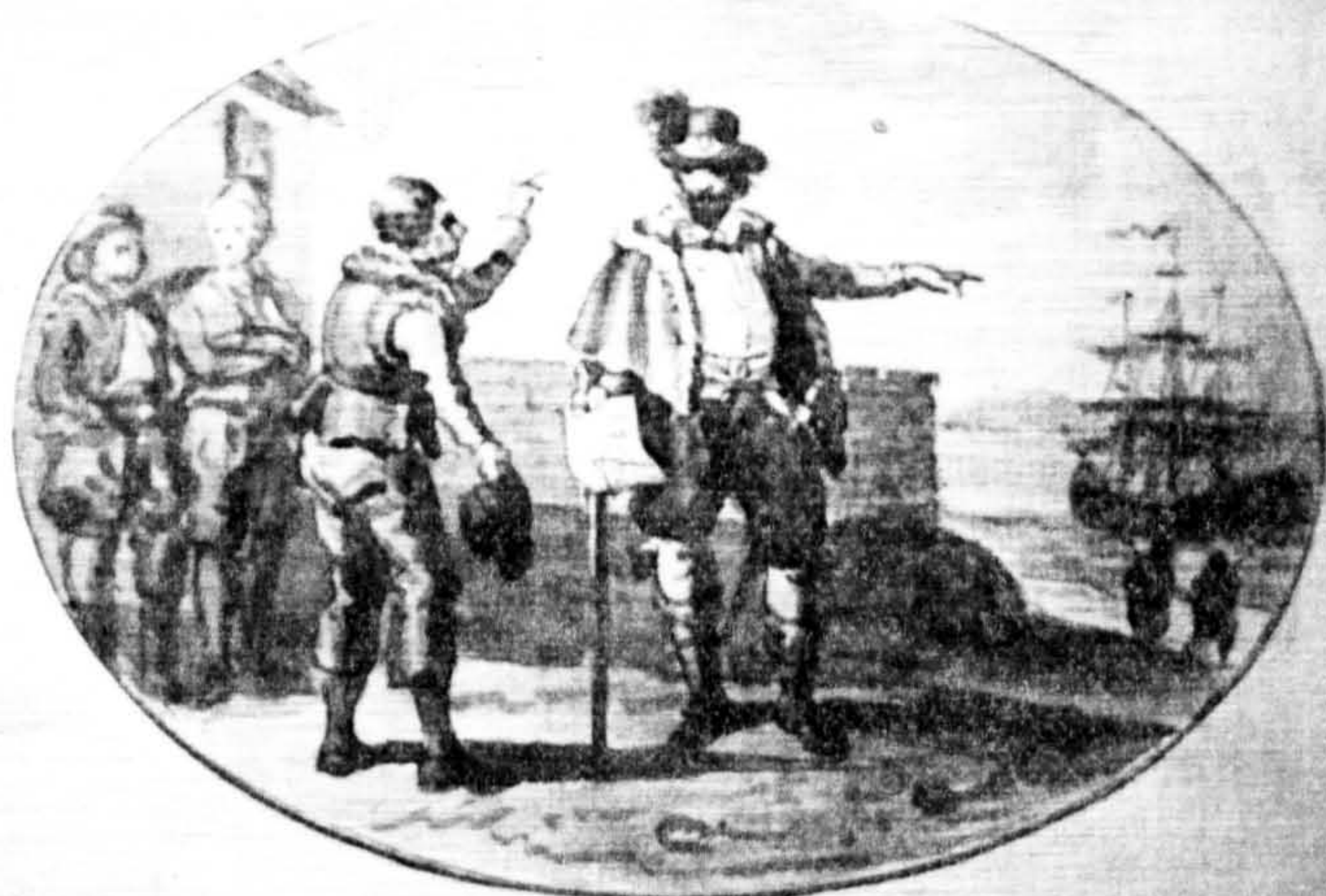


It is clear that Allan occasionally altered pictures in order to enhance the harmony of a composition. In the first sketch of "Gilderoy", the mourning widow was placed in the centre of the picture, but in the later version she closes the composition at one side. When Allan departed from this enclosed pattern, he did so for some compelling reason. In an illustration of "Hooly and Fairly" he included a vignette within the oval but beyond an enclosed group around a table. This view through the cottage door is, in effect, a realisation of the words of the husband in the song, as he complains of the conduct and expense of a drunken wife.

When he came to illustrate "The Gaberlunzie Man", Allan initially fixed upon a stable, approximately pyramidal group, its focal point provided by the young heroine of the old song. She is flanked by her mother on one side and on the other by the beggarman himself, come to seek shelter from the cold and wet of the night. The setting remains the same in later drawings, though rather less is made of the cauldron bubbling on the brazier. What is different is the positioning of the figures. The mother still closes the composition in Allan's favourite manner, but the Gaberlunzie man, far from balancing her at the other side, now occupies the centre himself. Allan changed his mind and altered his harmonious composition to one which is less visually pleasing, and much less compact. The reason for his choice is not far to seek, since the subject of the song is not just the merry couple whispering and wooing ayont the ingle, but the elopement of the sly young daughter. The discovery at dawn that "she's aff wi' the Gaberlunzie man" has clearly been anticipated in Allan's humorous drawing. In short, the artist balanced the formal requirements of his favourite oval composition against the textual demands of the song, and came down on the side of narrative implication. While he was still sufficiently pleased with the more enclosed version to develop from it a large watercolour drawing, it was the less unified and stable picture which he chose to etch. The frontispiece which Thomson later published, engraved, it may be recalled, by his brother, was made from a copy by Stothard of Allan's earlier design.<sup>99</sup>

It need only be pointed out once that Allan always offered an accurate depiction of the facts related or implied in the verses he illustrated, as he had in his plates for *The Gentle Shepherd* and as he would in a Historical composition. What are of greater interest are the ways in which he offered interpretations of his subjects, as the Historical Painter would interpret capital subjects of fable and history.<sup>99</sup> Thus, for instance, Allan's illustration of "Sir Patrick Spens" contains all the details of the story except the fashionably dressed Scots lords, not





*Sir Patrick Spence*

*Make haste make haste my merry men all  
Our gude ship sails the mornin'  
I say na sae my master dear  
For I hear a deadlie storm*

211. "Sir Patrick Spence", c. 1794/96 (later version of Figure 215). Pen and wash over pencil 3¼ x 5¼ (oval), Royal Scottish Academy.



*But one thing I'm sure that at Sheriff Muir  
A battle there was which I saw men  
and we ran to the top of the hill*

212. "Air Sheriff - Muir" c. 1795/96, Etching 3¼ x 4- (oval; platemark 4¼ x 6¼). Inscribed with "D. Allan del: et fecit" and three lines of verse. Published in Campbell's *An Introduction to the History of Poetry in Scotland*, 1798.



present when Sir Patrick was brought the King's word from the old capital of Scotland. There is the braid letter, the ship to be made ready by the morning, the warning of the mariner. There too is a solemn gravity which anyone familiar with the ballad would recognise as appropriate. The mood of this illustration is as much an evocation of the looming menace of the coming storm and the sailors' dread as that of the drawing of "Lady Anne Bothwell's Balow" is a distillation of the elegiac tone of her lullaby, or that of "Edward" one of brooding suspicion and bitterness.

Figure 203

Allan was particularly sensitive to the tone of a piece. His accuracy, in this collection of pictures, was never laboured, nor did his evident enjoyment in illustrating songs become burdened with pedantry. In his picture of the satirical and ludicrous ballad of "Sheriffmuir", historical verisimilitude, and even common sense, was thrown to the winds as he captured perfectly its mocking tone:

Figure 212

"Lord PERTH stood the storm,  
SEAFORTH but lukewarm,  
KILSYTH and STRATHALLAN not sla', man;  
And HAMILTON pled,  
The men were not bred,  
For he had no fancy to fa', man,  
*And we ran, and they ran, and they ran, and we ran,  
and we ran, and they ran awa' man."*

In 1715, one wing of each army, Jacobite and Hanoverian, scattered the wing opposed to it, the battle remaining inconclusive. Rob Roy and his clan, who had come to join whichever side was seen to be winning, marched away without firing a shot, pausing only to rob the dead of both sides. There is little evidence of anything so stern as actual fighting in Allan's witty etching, the bare-houghed Highlanders and the dragoons on their dock-tailed horses having apparently fled at the mere sight of one another. This picture is as balanced as the even-handed mockery of the song, though rather than cohering around a focal point it seems to burst asunder from its centre, where one clansman, a lochaber axe raised above his head, stays to exchange at least one cut with the enemy.<sup>90</sup>

The illustration of songs and ballads, in whatever form, was by no means unusual in the eighteenth century. It is, after all, but a short step from painting scenes from popular literature - especially from such plays as *The Beggars' Opera* or *The Gentle Shepherd* itself - to making pictures of popular songs, particularly but not invariably to illustrate published collections. Among the paintings displayed at Vauxhall from around 1730 was a scene from the ballad of "The King and the Miller of Mansfield", and paintings later hung at the Royal Academy and at the



Societies included a few scenes taken from songs and ballads once popular but long since forgotten.<sup>91</sup> One John Ogborne's sole venture into public exhibiting occurred in 1785, when he sent to the Royal Academy a picture of "Margaret's Ghost", a ballad by the Scotsman Malloch which was also illustrated by Allan. The following year James Nixon sent a picture of the "Black-eyed Susan" of Gay's song, the subject being chosen again by Downman in 1792. The Royal Academy exhibition of that year also included an illustration of an Irish ballad, "Molly Asthore", painted by William Gardiner, who had himself earlier chosen a subject from the works of "Mr. Mallet", while Mary Flaxman, finding material closer to home, had by 1798 prepared five designs from Percy's *Reliques*, the probable source for Allan's first essay in the genre, his paintings of "Chevy Chace".<sup>92</sup>

In addition to all these pictures derived from songs and ballads, and to those prints mentioned earlier, at least one other picture must be noted in connection with Allan's activity in this field. Opie had painted a scene from, predictably enough, a particularly violent ballad, "Gil Morice", of which Allan also made a couple of illustrations. These cannot be based upon Opie's canvas, since each artist depicted a different part of the action, but there can be no doubt that Allan knew the work. He owned it.<sup>93</sup>

Thus it can be sufficiently demonstrated that there was nothing remarkable in Allan's having chosen to illustrate songs and ballads, although his having decided to devote so much time to this activity was not typical. What is peculiarly distinctive about his undertaking, evident even in the score of prints which was all that was ever published of his collection, is his concern to express pictorially, in a rigorously defined manner and with a carefully selected vocabulary, certain ideas then current which were of particular relevance in Scotland. Allan's song illustrations are, quite simply, unique and unmistakable, and it is of more importance to investigate in what consisted his originality than to emphasise every debt to earlier examples of this genre.

Beyond all this, music itself and dance had always been popular subjects for artists, whether their paintings offered a symbol of social harmony, an entertaining view of the rough pastimes of peasants to be enjoyed by wealthy patrons, conscious of their distance from such amusements, or simply a record of the shared pleasures of all social classes, in the different forms that music-making took. A musical party, as Zoffany for one well knew, is an ideal subject for a Conversation Piece. David Allan had made two sketches for such paintings, one of a concert at Hopetoun House, the other that "agreable Groupe" of the Duff



family at an organ.<sup>94</sup> Music in Scotland, however, especially when "chaunted to verses in the various dialects of the Lowlands", held particular associations for Allan's contemporaries, associations which clearly informed his song illustrations.<sup>95</sup> Side by side with the rather patronising view of Scottish song often encountered among the gentry, a view which held that the forgery of "ancient fragments" - as distinct from the setting of new words, acknowledged as such, to old airs - was an acceptable and amusing pastime for young ladies and gentlemen, went a more serious regard for what was widely held to be a survival of a primitive culture. Allan had earlier reached towards a pictorial expression of related ideas, with regard to that "oldest race of inhabitants" living in "regions mountainous and wild", in his consciously naïve painting of the dance at Blair Atholl in 1780.<sup>96</sup> With his later collection of little oval drawings, pictures of artificial compositions rather than of reality, he was free to resume the theme on a scale more convenient, and one more appropriate to the illustration of songs.

The simplicity of these illustrations was not dictated solely by their small size. It was Allan's response to the qualities ideally shared in songs by words and music alike, and his means of conveying this response to anyone with the wit to see. His pictures are the recognition by an academically trained Historical Painter of the essence of such artless and anonymous verses, and of the best of the more modern imitations. When Burns, in those pieces designated in *The Scots Musical Museum* by the letters R., B., X. and Z., undertook to save the "shatter'd wrecks" of ancient verses, he often created compositions completely in accord with the spirit of the old songs while yet rising above them.<sup>97</sup> From fragments - a chorus, a remembered line or two, in some cases only the traditional title of an air - he spun verses perfectly adapted to the rhythm and compass of the music, and gave to many a restored song "the lyric elevation its original author had felt but could not express".<sup>98</sup> Allan, to be sure, had no wish that his illustrations should pass for the anonymous, unpolished productions either "of the olden times" or of his own, but was, like Burns, concerned that his efforts should sit happily with those of other artists, the poets of other days, should capture all the feeling of each song and express its unity with the tradition which lay behind it.<sup>99</sup> The simplicity of these drawings is deceptive.

They were founded not only upon Allan's appreciation of Scottish song, but upon his knowledge of contemporary thinking about it. Their style, like that of his plates for *The Gentle Shepherd*, was decided in emulation of that simplicity thought characteristic of peasant societies, and so



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213. Title-page of *The Scots Musical Museum*, Volume I,  
published by James Johnson Edinburgh [n.d.] c 1803-10

'In this publication the original simplicity  
of our Ancient National Airs is retained  
unincumbered with useless Accompaniments  
& graces depriving the hearers of the  
sweet simplicity of their native melodies.'



much admired in their songs. Because such ideas clearly did influence Allan's illustrations of Scottish songs, as they had his plates and his Preface for Ramsay's pastoral comedy, and because these ideas were of such interest to those who bought collections of songs and might, therefore, reasonably be expected to buy the sets of etchings prepared to accompany them, some account of contemporary views on these songs, particularly upon their simplicity, is essential.

This simplicity, in both words and music, was more often praised than actually defined, but it is quite clear that Allan's contemporaries did not regard it as a quality invariably, or solely, to be found in the songs of the peasantry. Burns, for instance, thought a recently published *Address to Loch Lomond* "fully equal to the Seasons" in the "simplicity, harmony, and elegance" of its verse, but wrote less favourably of "the legion of Scottish Poetasters of the day", who had

"always mistaken vulgarity for simplicity; whereas Simplicity is as much éloignée from vulgarity, on the one hand, as from affected point & puerile conceit, on the other,—" <sup>100</sup>

It comes as little surprise to learn that he preferred a set of words beginning

"The yellow-hair'd laddie sat on yon burn brae"

to one which had as its first line

"In April when primroses paint the sweet plain", <sup>101</sup>

If any "conceits" are to be found in the old ballads, for example, they are of an almost proverbial cast, as when one character, the border reiver Johnie Armstrang, speaks of the folly of seeking "het water beneath cauld yce", or when Lady Anne Bothwell ruefully muses that "with fairest tongues are falsest minds". Simplicity of expression, it seems, meant the unfolding of a round, unvarnished tale in plain statements of fact or of emotion, with images and comparisons, if used at all, drawn from common life or from nature, those fields and meadows the people every day beheld. <sup>102</sup>

It was not solely in the expressions used in Scottish songs that simplicity was to be found, but in their very language. John Pinkerton, again writing "On the Tragic Ballad", asked

"were ever the feelings of a fond mother expressed in language equal in simplicity and pathos to that of Lady Bothwell? This leads me to remark, that the dialect in which the Scottish ballads are written gives them a great advantage in point of touching the passions. Their language is rough and unpolished, and seems to flow immediately from the heart. We meet with no conceit or far-fetched thoughts in them. They possess the pathetic power in the highest degree, because they do not affect it; and are striking, because they do not meditate to strike." <sup>103</sup>

Wordsworth was later to write, at some length, on how in "humble and rustic life" the "essential passions of the heart . . . are less under



restraint, and speak a plainer and more emphatic language", thus equating the manners of that "condition of life", in this respect, with those of earlier conditions of society, as these were understood in the eighteenth century.<sup>104</sup> In Scotland, of course, *Fragments* collected or fabricated by James Macpherson confirmed many of his contemporaries' in their expectations, especially when readers of his epics found them prefaced by Blair's "Critical Dissertation", which stated:

"Irregular and unpolished we may expect the productions of uncultivated ages to be; but abounding, at the same time, with that enthusiasm, that vehemence and fire, which are the soul of poetry." <sup>105</sup>

Not everyone went so far as to conclude that poetry was "the original language of men in an infant state of society", but most writers did regard "the humble yet characteristic Scottish song" as being

"descriptive of the manners and sentiments of the times; recording events, either ludicrous, or pathetic, fabulous or historical, marking the character, and occupations of a rude people, in their progress to civilisation." <sup>106</sup>

When David Herd wrote, as did many another editor, that Scottish songs exhibited "natural and striking traits of the character, genius, taste and pursuits of the people", these songs were in truth only offering a particular case of the general observation that in every country

"the fortunes, the manners, and the language of the people are all linked together, and necessarily influence one another", <sup>107</sup>

Indissolubly wedded to every song was its music, a "natural alliance" which, it was pointed out, was seldom broken among primitive peoples.<sup>108</sup>

Sir Walter Scott, in his *The Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border* - much of its contents having been collected in the very decade during which Allan was most deeply engaged in illustrating Scottish songs - further developed this idea of connection, finding in every song an image of the perceived national or regional character. He believed that

"the music and the poetry of each country must keep pace with their usual tone of mind, as well as with the state of society." <sup>109</sup>

As has already been indicated, both the Gaels of the North and the peasantry of the Lowlands, the latter speaking, and upon occasion singing, "the Scottish idiom of the British Tongue" in a manner "fiery, abrupt, sprightly and bold", could be thought closer to the original state of Mankind in proportion to their being literally closer to Nature, less under "the influence of social vanity", than were the inhabitants of towns and cities.<sup>110</sup> Hence, of course, the advantage Ramsay derived in *The Gentle Shepherd* from the "Doric" speech of this ancient race.

Since its music was also believed to "keep pace" with the state of a society, that of an "unpolished" one would ideally speak a "plainer and more emphatic language". Knowing that George Thomson had engaged Continental composers to arrange songs for his *Select Collection* and to



provide them with introductory and concluding "symphonies", Burns wrote anxiously to the Trustees' Office in 1793:

"Another hint you will forgive — whatever Mr Pleyel does, let him not alter one iota of the original Scots Air . . . Our friend, Clarke, than whom, you know, there is not a better judge of the subject, complains that in the air "Lee-rig," the accent is to be altered,— But, let our National Music preserve its native features,— They are, I own, frequently wild, & unreduceable to the more modern rules; but on that very eccentricity, perhaps, depends a great part of their effect,— Farewell!"<sup>111</sup>

Burns's protestations that his "pretensions to musical taste" were "merely a few of Nature's instincts, untaught & untutored by Art" are of a kind with his description of his "native-born method of rousing his poetic fires", and not to be too uncritically accepted.<sup>112</sup> His later remark to Thomson — *connoisseur*, singer and player of the *violoncello* — that his own taste "must be inelegant & vulgar, because people of undisputed & cultivated taste can find no merit in many of my favorite tunes" contains more than a doigt of sarcasm, as that "compleat judge" of "pathos, Sentiment, & Point" might have recognised had he remembered "The Cotter's Saturday Night".<sup>113</sup> When the family "chant their artless notes in simple guise", the plaintive, noble or wild-warbling strains of Scottish psalm measures put frivolous foreign compositions to flight:

"Compar'd with these, *Italian trills* are tame;  
The tickl'd ears no heart-felt raptures raise;  
Nae unison hae they, with our CREATOR's praise."

It was not, it seems, only "the pathetic and sentimental songs of Scotland, which [might] with truth be termed, *the poetry and the music of the heart*".<sup>114</sup>

While this claim for the "unaffected simplicity" of such music was a development of the latter half of the century, the comparison of Scottish song to that of other countries was of earlier date. Depending upon the kind of song, whether Pastoral or Jovial, the native music, when set beside Italian trills, was felt to be either an equally mellifluous counterpart, or an appropriately vigorous counterblast. Ramsay, who had asked Lorenzo Bocchi to set his cantata "Blate Johnny", encouraged his fellow enthusiasts in elegant couplets:

"Then you, whose symphony of souls proclaim  
Your kin to heav'n, add to your country's fame;  
And shew that music may have as good fate  
In Albion's glens, as Umbria's green retreat;  
And with Corelli's soft Italian song  
Mix 'CowdenKnowes' and 'Winter Nights are Long'." <sup>115</sup>

Robert Fergusson, on the other hand, a "Knight" of the Cape Club dubbed "Sir Precentor" because of his fine singing voice, struck a livelier note



# The Humble Beggar.

423

Recitative

in time, Very Slow

\* In Scot-land there liv'd a humble beggar, He had

Recit.

neither house, nor hald, nor hame, But he was weel liked by

in time

il-ka bodie, And they gae him funkets to rax his wame.

A nivefow of meal, and handfow of groats,  
A daad of a bannock or herring brie,  
Cauld parradge, or the lickings of plates,  
Wad mak him as blyth as a beggar could b

This beggar he was a humble beggar,  
The feint a bit of pride had he,  
He wad a ta'en his a'ms in a bikker  
Frae gentleman or poor bodie.

His wallets ahint and afore did hang,  
In as good order as wallets could be;  
A lang kail-gooly hang down by his side,  
And a meikle nowt horn to rout on had he.

It happen'd ill, it happen'd warfe,  
It happen'd fae that he did die;  
And wha do ye think was at his late-wak?  
But lads and lasses of a high degree?

Some were blyth, and some were sad,  
And some they play'd at blind Harrie;  
But suddenly up-started the auld carle,  
I redd you, good folks, tak tent o' me.

Up gat Kate that sat i' the nook,  
Vow kimmer and how do ye?  
Up he gat and ca'd her limmer,  
And ruggit and tuggit her cockernonie.

They houkit his grave in Duket's kirk-yard,  
E'en fair fa' the companie;  
But when they were gaun to lay him i' th' yird,  
The feint a dead, nor dead was he.

And when they brought him to Duket's kirk-yard  
He dunted on the kist, the boards did flie;  
And when they were gaun to put him i' the yird,  
In fell the kist, and out lap he.

He cry'd, I'm cald, I'm unco cald,  
Fu' fast ran the folk, and fu' fast ran he;  
But he was first hame at his ain ingle-side,  
And he helped to drink his ain dirgie.



in dismissing the compositions of foreign messans, calling upon the musicians of Edinburgh to cheer the heart with "a canty Highland reel":

*"Fiddlers, your pins in temper fix,  
And reset weel your fiddle-sticks,  
And banish vile Italian tricks  
From out your quorum,  
Nor fortes wi' pianos mix,  
Gie's Tulloch Gorum."*<sup>116</sup>

Whether David Allan's vocal accomplishments were the equal of Fergusson's is not recorded, but he seems to have had some contemporary reputation as a singer, and was, if tradition is to be believed, as apt with a popular song as he was with an antiquarian anecdote.<sup>117</sup> The Earl of Hopetoun, having often heard him sing, may well have known what to expect when he asked Allan to give "a specimen of one of [ his ] best Scotch songs" to that great assembly at Hopetoun House.<sup>118</sup> The "company of first-rate Italian singers", however, did not. Music, it seems, did in this instance "necessarily require words for an exponent", and thus the audience, not a tenth of whom understood the foreigners' language, listened to their arie "with the most solemn gravity", but

"while Allan proceeded, the guests who were truly Scotch, were, as it were, electrified—every verse produced convulsions of laughter, so that they were scarcely able to keep their seats. This scene, as it were, turned the tables on the Italians, who became as solemnly grave as their auditors were formerly, for of melody they heard not an air, and they understood not one word of the song."<sup>119</sup>

Allan, with a rowth of charming pastorals to hand, mischievously chose instead "The Humble Beggar", an "out of the world song, as uncouth in words as irregular in its lines . . . which produced the convulsive laughter, as it so very strongly contrasted with the fine melody of the Roman singers".

It was not solely upon "the literary history of his country" that Allan had "employed much of his attention".<sup>120</sup> That interest in "the antient . . . state of the kingdom and people of Scotland" which he shared with the Earl of Buchan was but another particular application of a view generally held, in this instance the curiosity about earlier societies and different cultures which was common to many of Allan's acquaintances and contemporaries.<sup>121</sup> The study of traditional music, although rooted in the consciousness that traced the origin of drawing and painting to "the old poetic dream" of an outline made around a shadow cast on a wall, was not solely, or even largely, concerned with the past.<sup>122</sup> This music, these songs were a vital part of daily life in Allan's time. Their popularity among the peasantry - though, of course, all classes enjoyed them - was perceived to have literally existed "time



out of mind", and would in fact endure long after various collectors had  
 "nailed the singing tragedies down  
 In dumb letters under a name", <sup>123</sup>

Among the objects of Buchan's Society of Antiquaries was a study of  
 "the antient manners, customs . . . dresses, amusements, and music of the  
 people, and a complete collection of the undecorated, simple, melodious, or  
 warlike airs of the Scots and Gauls",

and one of its early meetings included a reading of "A Disquisition into  
 the Origin of the Christmas Carrols still in use among the vulgar in  
 Scotland".<sup>124</sup> Before turning from the general background to Allan's  
 activity in song illustration to consider the influence of his own  
 antiquarianism on these pictures, it is interesting to observe in the  
 words of the two editors with whom he was most closely associated  
 evidence of the tension that must then have existed in the study of songs  
 "still in use", when antiquarians concerned to discover every vestige of  
 the past found that this music, though often of great antiquity, was not  
 to be regarded in the same light as ancient or mediæval armour, costume,  
 coins, architecture or inscriptions. That is, those accustomed to poring  
 "with sharpen'd sight" over such relics of the past, hoping to reclaim  
 them from the dust of mouldering age in their original form, were faced  
 instead with a living tradition, and one which was continually  
 developing.<sup>125</sup> Joseph Ritson, having first detailed minutely his sources  
 both for texts and for airs, stated, with assurance and some plausibility,

"some of these tunes no doubt will be found very different from, and perhaps  
 much inferior to, the common or favourite sets; but it may be depended upon that  
 they are immediately taken from the oldest or best authorities that could be met  
 with, and consequently are most likely to be the genuine and original airs; so  
 far, at least, as musical notation can be relied on," <sup>126</sup>

George Thomson, on the other hand, recognised that melodies had been long  
 preserved by "oral communication, before being collected and printed", and  
 was in his own collection "as much guided by the living as by the  
 dead".<sup>127</sup> After making an unmistakable reference to Ritson's account of  
 his researches, Thomson continued in a Preface of his own:

"It is certain, however, that, in the progress of the Airs to modern times, they  
 have in some parts been delicately moulded by judicious Singers, into a more  
 simple and pleasing form than that given to them by the early publishers . . . In  
 selecting the Airs, the Editor not only consulted all the different Collections,  
 but availed himself of the communications of such intelligent friends as he knew  
 to have been much conversant with their native music; and he invariably chose  
 that set or copy of every Air, whether printed or manuscript, which seemed the  
 most simple and beautiful, freed, he trusts, from vulgar errors on the one hand,  
 and redundant graces on the other," <sup>128</sup>

Ironically, in thinking largely of professional vocalists like Tenducci  
 and *Signor* and *Signora* Corri, who entertained audiences in Saint Cecilia's



Mak haot, mak haot, my mirry men all,  
 our guid Schip sails the mornie,  
 O say na sae, my master deir,  
 for I feir a deadlie Storme.

Sir Patrick Spence.



p. 7

Johnnie Armstrong



Away, Away, most traitor Strang.  
 Out of my Sight, tho' mayest Sune be;  
 I grantit, never a traitors Cyfe,  
 And now I'll not begin with thee.

215. "Sir Patrick Spence" & Johnnie Armstrong,  
 c.1794/96, Pen & wash 5 x 6½ (each oval).  
 Inscribed with verses and a reference to  
 Ritson's *Scottish Song*, The Mitchell Lib-  
 rary, Glasgow: Cowie Collection SR 241  
 No. 308864 ("Baby Allan her Book Dalmeny  
 June 29 1801"), f. 20 recto.

For later "states" of these designs see  
 Figures 211 and 225 (pages 254 and 270  
 respectively).



Hall in Edinburgh, Thomson actually came closer to understanding the true nature of a vital song culture than did the more scholarly Ritson.<sup>129</sup> None can doubt the keenness, indeed fervour, of the two collectors each in his way, but Ritson's very precision led to his giving too much weight to what he found in manuscripts or printed collections, and, notwithstanding his "repeated visits to different parts of Scotland", too little to what he must have heard, the personal touches and nuances of many individuals which contributed to the shaping of variants in songs and airs. With respect to the *music* of traditional songs, at least, Thomson recognised the fluid nature of the phenomenon he and Ritson, and Herd, Ramsay, Burns, Allan, and any other enthusiast encountered, the mutability of both airs and words within bounds readily appreciable by any singer or listener, but bounds less inflexibly determined than those of a text or score shut in a book rather than living in the memory. That one of the friends with whom he discussed national music, among other things, was David Allan there can be little doubt; in one of his letters to Burns Thomson gave the poet the benefit of observations which, beyond their being to some extent the common currency of educated conversation of the time, sound suspiciously like the views held by the Master of the Trustees' Academy, particularly in their emphasis upon "general nature", and upon simplicity as a principle in artistic creation:

"It is very possible I may not have the true idea of simplicity in composition. I confess there are several songs, of Allan Ramsay's for example, that I think silly enough, which another person, more conversant than I have been with country people, would perhaps call simple and natural. But the lowest scenes of simple nature will not please generally, if copied precisely as they are. The poet, like the painter, must select what will form an agreeable as well as a natural picture. On this subject it were easy to enlarge; but, at present, suffice it to say, that I consider simplicity, rightly understood, as a most essential quality in composition, and the ground-work of beauty in all the arts." <sup>130</sup>

Allan's antiquarian interests might be expected to have influenced his illustrations of songs almost as much as his Neoclassical regard for simplicity. Particularly in the pictures inspired by Historical Ballads and Epic Tales, he could in great measure draw upon material germane also to his cycle of Historical paintings. The "Brown jacket & drawers" sketched from the portrait of Lord Darnley, for instance, and the short cloak with which Allan fitted him for the painting of Rizzio's murder, reappear in illustrations of several Heroic Ballads, while the costume worn by King James V in one of these illustrations was loosely based on that in the contemporary portrait at Hopetoun House.<sup>131</sup>

For his illustrations to the ballad of "Killiecrankie", Allan had recourse not only to another of his copies - a "Portrait, in red chalk, of

Figure 160  
Figure 170  
Figure 150  
Figure 211  
Figure 215  
Figure 222





Lt Dundee. — Looked to the field, & asked, "How things went?" being told, "all was well." Then, said he, "I am well" and Expired.

Gaangurs Hist  
Vol. II p. 508



Lord Viscount Dundee" - but also to the Reverend Granger's *Biographical History of England*.<sup>132</sup> Since a scene of Dundee's being mortally wounded on the field of battle was among the pictures sent to Ritson, and one of those published in *Scottish Song*, it is likely that Allan's first drawing of "Killiecrankie" dates from around 1788.<sup>133</sup> The features of John Graham of Claverhouse in Allan's sketches of the battle are actually as little defined as are those of Mary Stuart in other preparatory drawings of this time. Had he gone on to make a large Historical composition of Dundee's death, comparable to those based upon the life of Mary, Queen of Scots, things would have been very different in this respect. As it is, with the exception of the general's flowing hair, the clearest reference to the portrait which Allan copied in Airth Castle - not far from Alloa - is the jointed armour which historically proved so vulnerable. Allan, directed by Granger's *History* to Sir John Dalrymple's *Memoirs of Great Britain and Ireland*, would have read a spirited, if not entirely accurate account of Dundee's death in action. Having spurred ahead of his clansmen, Dundee

"waved his arm in the air to make them hasten . . . Being conspicuous in person and action, he was observed, and a musket-ball aimed at him found entrance in an opening of his armour . . . occasioned by the elevation of his arm".<sup>134</sup>

Neither Dalrymple nor Granger makes any reference to Dundee's having worn a helmet, and yet Allan's later pictures of the fallen commander with a few attendants, including the engraving in *Scottish Song*, do include such a feature, a quite specific detail absent from his first sketch. It is possible that Allan added this *accoutrement* having learned of the exhumation of Dundee's remains, and the consequent discovery of his helmet and armour, which had lain undisturbed in the Kirk of Blair for more than a century. Rescued from "the uses of the blacksmith and tinker", armour and helmet were taken to Blair Castle, home of the Murrays of Atholl whom Allan had painted in 1780 and who may well have told him of the find, enabling him to augment the authenticity of his works even if he never saw the "much mutilated" relics themselves.<sup>135</sup>

Both in the extensive battle scene and in the more compact oval illustrations there are some similarities to West's painting of the death of Wolfe at Quebec, or, more accurately, to those typical representations of the Deposition from the Cross upon which West had based his own picture. In his reduced versions of the scene, Allan concentrated attention on the group around Dundee at the expense of the distant battle. In the earlier drawing he had clearly been enjoying himself in depicting a few fierce *mêlées* between Highland irregulars and government troops, and in picking out details like the fallen piper behind Dundee or



Killiecrankie  
1689



Lord Dundee, being wounded, & being told all was at  
"them" said he "I am well" and expired.  
Sheriff Muir... he ran & they ran with him



There's some day that you'll see  
Some days that you'll see  
Some days that you'll see

216, "Killiecrankie 1689" and "Sherrif Muir",  
c. 1790/96, Pen & wash 5 x 6½ (each oval).  
Inscribed with a quotation from Granger's  
*Biographical History* and (foot of page,  
pencil) three lines of verse. The Mitchell  
Library, Glasgow; Cowie Collection SR 241  
No. 308864 ("Baby Allan her Book Dalmeny  
June 29 1801"), f. 5 v.





SCOTISH SONGS.

CLASS THE THIRD.

217, ANON, (?Parker) after David Allan; [The death of Viscount Dundee at the battle of Killiecrankie, 1689 ], 1794, Engraving 1 $\frac{1}{4}$  x 3 $\frac{1}{4}$ , Published in Ritson's *Scottish Song*, Vol. II, p. 1.





*Cope went along to Haddington,  
They ask'd him where were all his men;  
The pox on me if I do ken,  
For I left them all this morning.*

218.

"Cope went along to Haddington" ["Johnnie Cope"1, c. 1790/96, Pen & wash over pencil 3 1/4 x 5 1/2 (oval; later version of Fig. 182), Royal Scottish Academy.

*After James Thomson.* **K. ROBERT the BRUCE.**



*Liberty's in every blow,  
Forward let us do or die.*

219.

"K. Robert the Bruce", c. 1795/96, "the original drawing (RSA) probably late 1793 or early 1794, Etching 3 1/4 x 4 1/2 (plate mark 4 1/2 x 6 1/4). Inscribed with "D. Allan del: et fecit" and two lines of verse (Burns, altered at Thomson's suggestion). Published in Campbell's *An Introduction to the History of Poetry in Scotland*, Edinburgh, 1798, between pp. 220-21.



the mounted troopers laying about them with their heavy swords, incidents which might aptly have filled the peripheries of a Historical canvas such as he may originally have planned. Whatever is suggested by this picture, however, he soon realised that a *song* illustration is precisely that, and is neither a History painting scaled down to fit above or beside a printed text, nor a pictorial treatise upon arms, tactics or historical characters. While he did take care to provide Colonel Gardiner with a gorget and sash, and General Sir John Cope with a swift dock-tailed horse and a pair of dragoon pistols, of much greater moment in Allan's eyes was the forceful portrayal of the defiance of the one or the humiliation of the other, bringing the news of his own defeat to Haddington.<sup>136</sup>

Figure 182

Figure 218

The subject of the battle of Bannockburn allowed Allan again to reconstruct a scene from national history, the site in this case lying not far from his birthplace in Alloa. For the costume of the piece he could have drawn on the works of Strutt, on Captain Grose's *A Treatise on Ancient Armour and Weapons*, or even on *Sepulchral Monuments of Great Britain* by Richard Gough, which had commenced publication in 1786.<sup>137</sup>

Figure 219

Figure 220

The Earl of Buchan may once more have proffered advice, perhaps pointing out the score of paintings by George Jamesone imaginatively portraying Scottish monarchs, which was located during the eighteenth century at Newbattle Abbey in Midlothian.<sup>138</sup> Allan would naturally have known of the "very pretty show" made by Jacob de Witt's array of royal portraits in the Palace of Holyroodhouse.<sup>139</sup> The curling hair and beard, the jointed armour and the vigorous turn of Bruce's head in Allan's etching strongly suggest the work of his fellow Scot as a source, the king's appearance having been aged by some years from the time of his coronation, inscribed on Jamesone's picture. This is not to suggest that anyone actually thought the painting an authentic likeness — one contemporary described de Witt's grander series as a group of "paltry daubings, mostly by the same hand" — but merely that Allan felt a reference to tradition in this way was appropriate.<sup>140</sup>

Figure 221

In any case, historical accuracy is hardly a feature of the print. A figure in the kilt, with a bonnet and a broadsword, occupies an uneasy position between one in *cuirass* and seventeenth-century helmet and another sporting a horned helmet and clutching a targe. Less is made of this archaism in the etching than in Allan's preparatory drawing, but in both pictures the foot-soldiers follow their king's charger with as much precision in their step as there is determination in their faces. These ordered ranks, rows of glittering spears, officers splendidly mounted and distributed along the forefront, are all features typical of





220. JOHN HAMILTON; "A knight or man at arms", 1785, Etching 8 $\frac{1}{4}$  x 5 $\frac{1}{4}$  (platemark 9 x 5 $\frac{1}{4}$ ); from Captain Francis Grose, *A Treatise on Ancient Armour and Weapons, Illustrated by Plates taken from the Original Armour in the Tower of London and other Arsenals, Museums, and Cabinets*, London, 1786.

Plate XXXVI.

"A knight or man at arms completely armed and mounted, according to the fashion of the time of King Henry II."



221. GEORGE JAMESONE; "Robertvs Brvsivs Anno 1306", c. 1633, signed. Oil on canvas 27 $\frac{1}{4}$  x 23 $\frac{1}{2}$ . Unlocated; at Newbattle Abbey from c. 1720.



prints of contemporary battles. In such a context, the cloud in the background suggests a pall of musket smoke drifting southwards from the site of "Sheriffmuir", and the baton at Bruce's saddle is unhappily suggestive of a holster for a dragoon pistol.

Such solecisms cannot be accidental. It would be remarkable if an artist who had already "with some difficulty found out many of the old Scottish dresses", and had incorporated his discoveries in an earlier group of pictures, should have forgotten them, or, more importantly, this concern for accuracy, in a later.<sup>141</sup> Buchan's Society of Antiquaries, in comparing the ancient state of Scotland with the modern, studied *inter alia* "seals of office or arms", and the most cursory glance at these, or at the publications of Strutt or Grose, would have informed Allan that the horses of mediæval kings were garbed in heraldic caparisons. He had also, it may be remembered, observed how a portrait of James V compared with the image on a coin, and in fact Allan numbered a few silver Scottish coins among his collection, their dates unfortunately not being recorded.<sup>142</sup> Allan has in this instance disregarded historical accuracy in a manner deliberate and provocative. He cannot be said to have been appealing to the expectations of a contemporary audience familiar with prints of British victories in Europe, America or India, for this observation hardly explains the picture's being literally overloaded with anachronisms. The print is not a reduced Historical painting of the battle of Bannockburn, but an illustration of Burns's "Ode", ostensibly upon that subject. To suggest that Allan chose a depiction so modern in character simply because the song was by a contemporary is likewise specious. While many among its first audience, once the Ode was published in the *Select Collection* or in *The Scots Musical Museum*, would have recognised the patriotic impulse behind it, few could have known the full truth of its origin, an account with which George Thomson was favoured and from which Allan developed his picture. In Barbour's *The Brus*, Pinkerton's edition of which Burns had recommended in 1790, the king addresses his "Lordyngis" before dawn on Midsummer's Day, in a passage which Burns had in mind as he imagined

"the looks and feelings of the Scots Patriot Heroes on that eventful day, as they saw their hated but powerful Tyrants advance,"<sup>143</sup>

As was "almost invariably" his habit, the poet accompanied his "figuring" and composing by "humming every now & then the air" chosen by him for the piece, this being one traditionally held to have been "Robert Bruce's march at the battle of Bannockburn".<sup>144</sup> Thomson, with his customary taste and tact, decided this air was "totally devoid of interest or grandeur",



and suggested that the Ode be set to another, thus making necessary the additional and now mercifully unfamiliar two syllables inscribed below Allan's etching.<sup>145</sup>

It was not only Barbour and musical tradition which inspired Burns to "a pitch of enthusiasm on the theme of Liberty & Independance".<sup>146</sup> Having transcribed his first version of the Ode for Thomson, he added,

"P.S. I shewed the air to Urbani, who was highly pleased with it, & begged me to make soft verses for it; but I had no idea of giving myself any trouble on the subject, till the accidental recollection of that glorious struggle for Freedom, associated with the glowing ideas of some other struggles of the same nature, *not quite so ancient*, roused my rhyming Mania." <sup>147</sup>

That is, Burns — whose loyalty to the British state had already been investigated — in an Ode upholding the right of Scotland's king and law against the claims of a foreign usurper may also have "veiled his enthusiasm for the revolution of 1789 behind his admiration of the Bruce"; he was sufficiently apprehensive of the reaction which might come of the import and tone of the song to request later that it be published "as a thing . . . met with by accident".<sup>148</sup> In suggesting that the heavily stressed anachronisms of his picture, uncharacteristic as they are, arose from Allan's knowledge of the song's ambiguity, there is not even any need to suppose that he was particularly sensitive to tone and meaning. Burns's explanation is with the verses — there is nothing of a personal nature in the letter — and Thomson, even if he did not immediately alter the last stanza, surely did, at some point, "hand the poem to the artist".<sup>149</sup>

It is beyond doubt that Allan was kept well informed of much that passed between Burns and Thomson. When the poet wrote in March 1794 to a mutual friend, Alexander Cunningham, of his admiration both for the Foulis edition of *The Gentle Shepherd* — "that noble edit" of the noblest Pastoral in the world" — and for its illustrator, Allan was told of this within the month, and was "much gratified" by Burns's "good opinion of his talents".<sup>150</sup> Within the same month, Burns had been presented with a copy of the Pastoral.<sup>151</sup> It is, therefore, likely that Thomson, knowing of Allan's interests in music and literature and sharing them, would have apprised him of Burns's researches, remarking in this case on the air to which "Robert Bruce's March" was to be set, as he was later to do with reference to Pastoral subjects.<sup>152</sup> At any rate, whether they are the consequence of his having read Burns's letter or the product of his own independent interpretation of the song, the anachronisms of Allan's illustration must be regarded as having been deliberately chosen rather than ignorantly allowed.

Too much can be made of this particular aspect of the Ode.<sup>153</sup> Like any work of art, it does reflect ideas current at the time of its creation, whatever the historical events on which it was based. Yet it is, in its



most obvious meaning, eloquently true to these circumstances, as recorded within a generation or so of Bannockburn itself. The subject of Barbour's *Brus* is not only the life and deeds of Robert I, nor is the poem fully to be understood as a story that "schawys the thing rycht as it wes" and as an example of how a monarch should "maynteme richt and ek lawte".<sup>154</sup> The "fredome" of Barbour's famous apostrophe is that of *all* the Scots people who "war tretyt than sa wykkytly".<sup>155</sup> This awareness also informs Burns's song, and rather than drawing from it a number of Jacobite or Jacobin thoughts "inverted into rhyme" in allusion to the deposed Stuart line or to the French Revolution, or, for that matter, the American, it may be more accurate to regard it as a call to arms intended to stir all ages while, in the same breath, inspiring one nation.<sup>156</sup> Allan's spirited picture, then, with its minimum of historical authenticity and its array of anachronisms, is a fitting complement to the song's deeper resonance.

As is only to be expected, Allan took care at least to set the scene unambiguously, with Stirling Castle dominating the background. Together with his use of a cast of individuals in his illustrations of Historical Ballads, rather than the characteristic types found in those of Pastorals, there goes an attention to particular topography, with Dundee dying amid the steep Pass of Killicrankie, Gardiner collapsing not far from a broad sweep of the Firth of Forth, and the armies at Sheriffmuir dispersing at the foot of the Ochil Hills. One accurate detail almost lost in the throng at Bannockburn, but of some antiquarian significance none the less, is the small horn seen in *silhouette* near the picture's centre. Froissart relates how every man in the Scots army carried such a horn, the sounding of which in unison, if not harmony, made an infernal din.<sup>157</sup>

In this illustration of the climactic moment of the song, the energy and resolution accumulated throughout Bruce's "address" are suddenly released as his army bursts forward. Allan's picture is a summation of the spirit of Burns's verses. So too all the illustrations to the Heroic Ballads represent a distillation of each Epic Tale, a sharp fragment often dominating an almost dream-like glimpse of other elements in the narrative, these being slightly indicated in the background. It is an illustrative technique reminiscent of that style characteristic of the Ballads themselves, stories advancing in sudden dramatic flashes of dialogue or brittle description, with all the meaning conveyed by the most direct and powerful means.

One of the earliest of Allan's surviving song illustrations is of "Gil Morice", one of the two broadsheet ballads pinned to a door in the sixth plate for *The Gentle Shepherd*. Quite apart from its poetic merit, the popularity of the piece was assured in Scotland once Home had founded

Figure 178  
Figure 182  
Figure 212

Figure 120  
Figure 222





*Childe Morrice*

*Gin I had ken'd he'd been your son  
He'd ne'er been slain for me.*

222. "Childe Morrice", c. 1790/96 (later version of Fig. 187). Pen and wash over pencil  $3\frac{1}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{4}$ .  
Royal Scottish Academy.



upon it his tragedy of *Douglas*, and Herd granted it first place in his edition of 1776. Thomas Gray was much taken by the abrupt resolution of its mystery, which gathers tension for more than a hundred and fifty lines:

"Aristotle's best rules are observed in it in a manner that shews the author had never read Aristotle. It begins in the fifth act of the play, you may read it two-thirds through without guessing what it is about; and yet, when you come to the end, it is impossible not to understand the whole story." <sup>158</sup>

Towards the end of this story, Gil Morice is slain and beheaded, his head set on a spear and sent "trailing through the town". Only then does the ballad's "winsom dame" weep for him, for only then does she learn of his fate, and only then is the mystery resolved. Allan in his illustration, therefore, by depicting Lady Barnard wringing her hands beside a corpse, takes as many liberties with the dramatic facts of the tale as the ballad itself does with conventional narrative technique. Few would criticise his having done so. To think thus is to approach the illustration in a manner more appropriate to the rigour of a study than, as the artist intended, to the enjoyment of a performance or the appreciation of his picture. From the first he chose his ground carefully. The stark presentation of a severed head might have allowed a reference to traditional depictions of the Feast of Herod, but Allan instead chose to unite the lady's grief with the recurrent theme of the once-peaceful "grenewode", in a manner probably derived from academic theory and at least sanctioned by it. That a painter had "but one sentence to utter, but one moment to exhibit", would have led to innumerable problems in the painting of History, had not those "eminent instances" which were "commonly supplied by the Poet or Historian" been already familiar to a cultivated audience.<sup>159</sup> An illustration *ought* adequately to depict its subject, even if many Historical paintings were, in truth, calculated to remind a viewer of a story rather than actually to relate it. Thus a number of incidents, separate in time but all contributory to one narrative, or necessary for the full explication of an event, might have to be united in a picture if it were properly to represent that subject. If a painter did not, when necessary, thus abandon the techniques of poetry and adopt those more appropriate to his own art, then, as Le Brun had remarked, his audience would derive little instruction from his work, however much his merely mechanical skill might be admired. To look at it would be like reading a history of which the author, instead of following his narrative from beginning to end, gave only its conclusion.<sup>160</sup>

At the conclusion of "Gilderoy", a ballad telling of events which occurred more than a century before Allan's birth, and itself dating from





*Gilderoy*  
 Had not their laws been made sae stieck,  
 I ne'er had lost my Joy;  
 Wi' sorrow ne'er had wet my cheek  
 For my dear Gilderoy!

223, "Gilderoy", c. 1790/96, Pen and wash over pencil  $3\frac{1}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{4}$ , Royal Scottish Academy.



224, "Ettrick Banks", c. 1794/96 (later version of "Etrick banks", Figure 206), Pen and wash over pencil  $3\frac{1}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{4}$ , with border  $4\frac{1}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{4}$ , Royal Scottish Academy.



Figure 223

at least 1650, an outlaw's widow is left to mourn her "joy and heart's delight", he having been hung in Edinburgh after a desperate pursuit through the wilds of Atholl.<sup>161</sup> Allan's moving illustration depicts the moment of highest tragedy, with the poetess in whose voice the ballad is told - among the most classical in feeling of all his figures - weeping over Gilderoy while two grave-diggers toil in the middle ground and a sturdy gallows broods over the scene. A consideration of the words which Allan appended to his picture contributes a good deal to an appreciation of the illustration, and even more to an estimate of the artist. In these four lines - faithfully copied, for once, by Thomson - is contained the essence of the poem.<sup>162</sup> They reveal the clash of societies which lies behind the ballad and which occasioned the particular event it records. His widow came from the same town as the freebooter, and had shared with him the Highland way of life in which periodic raids into the Lowlands were a necessary result of the clan system. The land being incapable of supporting the numbers of fighting men required to defend it, the unfortunate *Sasunaich* were plagued by reivers who, like Gilderoy, held the Lowlanders and their laws in scorn, and bore away their gear and livestock.<sup>163</sup> The widow, therefore, does not lament her husband's desire to abandon a peaceful life so much as the very existence of the Lowland laws which condemn him. Allan the enthusiast of Scottish song appreciated the sensibility of the ballad just as surely as his drawing expresses its drama. He seized upon the strife between a Highland existence and a Lowland, the clash of a "polished" society with one regarded by the Lowlander, depending upon his mood and situation, as either wild and dangerous, or free and romantic. Such a theme must have been of particular poignancy half a century after Culloden, when the old Highland ways were a recent memory, but it seems that many had long envied the Highlander the idealised freedom with which he was often invested by writers, particularly if his "unavoidable Poverty" were not emphasised. While it is true that "the Highlands [were] but little known even to the inhabitants of the low Country of Scotland, for they [had] ever dreaded the Difficulties and Dangers of Travelling among the Mountains", certain considerations could induce a Lowlander to make the journey, at least in fancy.<sup>164</sup> Captain Burt wryly observed that there were "many of the Lowland Women who seem to have a great liking to the Highlandmen, which they cannot forbear to insinuate in their ordinary Conversation."<sup>165</sup>

Figure 224

Allan's drawings inspired by Scottish songs, at their best, are more than illustrations of these texts, as Historical paintings, from the like of which he is said to have turned, are, in their ideal form, more than





*King James & Johnnie Armstrong*

RA

225. "King James & Johnnie Armstrong", c. 1794/96.  
 (later version of "Johnnie Armstrong", Figure 215), Pen and wash overpencil 3½ x 5½  
 Royal Scottish Academy.



illustrations of the Classics. His pictures are *interpretations* of songs and ballads, by one steeped in their music and rhythm, their import, and the tradition of which they are part.

One of the most famous of all the Border Ballads, "Johnie Armstrang", was first printed in its genuine form by Allan Ramsay in *The Evergreen*, and was said by him to have been "copied from a Gentleman's Mouth of the Name of Armstrong, who is the sixth generation from that John".<sup>166</sup> Like "Gilderoy", this ballad is founded upon historical fact, and like the Highland hero Johnie too was literally beyond the law, being one of the notorious Armstrong clan of Liddesdale, and "the most redoubted Chiftain that had been, for a long Time, on the Borders, either of Scotland or England."<sup>167</sup>

In the summer of 1529, intending to "suppress the turbulent spirit of the Marchmen", the young King James V led a flying column of "earls, lords, barons, freeholders and gentlemen", said to number around ten thousand, through Ewsdale and Ettrick Forest.<sup>168</sup> It is not clear whether Armstrong appeared before him voluntarily, whether he were "enticed by some courtiers", or whether, as the ballad implies, he were duped by a royal promise of safe conduct. What is certain is that he, and probably the thirty-six well-horsed and able gentlemen with whom he had come before the king, were summarily hung at Carlenrig, and Johnie's estate granted to Lord Maxwell in June 1530.<sup>169</sup>

In Allan's pictures, the king's vigorous gesture clearly belongs to the refrain of the ballad, five times repeated, but Johnie's is nicely ambiguous. He may still be offering the various "bonie gifts" in return for his life - "Full four-and-twenty milk-whyte steids", "Gude four-and-twenty ganging mills" and the like - or he may have realised the folly of asking favour from the treacherous monarch, and be curtly casting his contempt in James's face. According to Pitscottie's *History and Chronicles of Scotland*, with which Allan was familiar, Armstrong, as witty in the face of death as any hero of Elizabethan or Jacobean tragedy, finally taunted the king with the defiant pun, "I am bot ane foole to seik grace at ane graceless face".<sup>170</sup>

To determine any exact point in the narrative as the moment illustrated is, in this instance, inappropriate. There is more implied in Allan's designs than mere confrontation between Armstrong with his reivers, not a weapon among them, and the king with many soldiers ranged behind his throne. The reactions in each group to the encounter between these antagonists are as plainly shown as are those of Mary Stuart's courtiers to the expostulations of John Knox. Armstrong's "Complices" are sunk in



despair, or ruefully look round the hall, the trap into which they have been lured, presumably surrounded by soldiers. At the same time, the king's armed men crowd forward, one glancing at their staid captain as if awaiting the moment to seize their victims. Johnie Armstrong meanwhile holds the floor magnificently, outfacing King James for all his army, his sword of honour and the richly draped dais. Clutching the arm of the chair pressed into service as a throne, James, "frowardly turning him about", almost recoils before the Border chieftain, losing in rage or frustration what should be his royal dignity and authority.<sup>171</sup>

Allan undermined the traditional representation of kingship not only by giving to the reiver a regal composure, with the king in title enthroned at a lower level, but simply by depicting Armstrong still wearing his hat. Like King James V in the ballad, any contemporary viewer, seizing upon this detail, would instantly have recognised that Johnie "was a king as well as he", at least in his own domain. That such a detail carried weight with Allan's audience might be guessed not only from his illustration to "Sir Patrick Spens", but from the words of William Robertson's *History of Scotland*. The troubles of Mary, Queen of Scots, Allan may well have remembered, included the insult done her by Paulet, her keeper in Fotheringay, who "even appeared covered in her presence".<sup>172</sup> Allan, acting upon the fanciful hint of the king's having initially "movit his bonnet" to the outlaw, adds pictorial substance and point to the suggestion of the text, but does not dwell upon the richness of Armstrong's apparel, neither the gold-embroidered girdle nor the jewelled hat. Such a view of wherein consists nobility is held only by the despicable monarch of the ballad, and Johnie's retort neatly resolves the king's ambiguous question,

*"What wants that knave that a King suld have,  
But the sword of honour and the crown,*

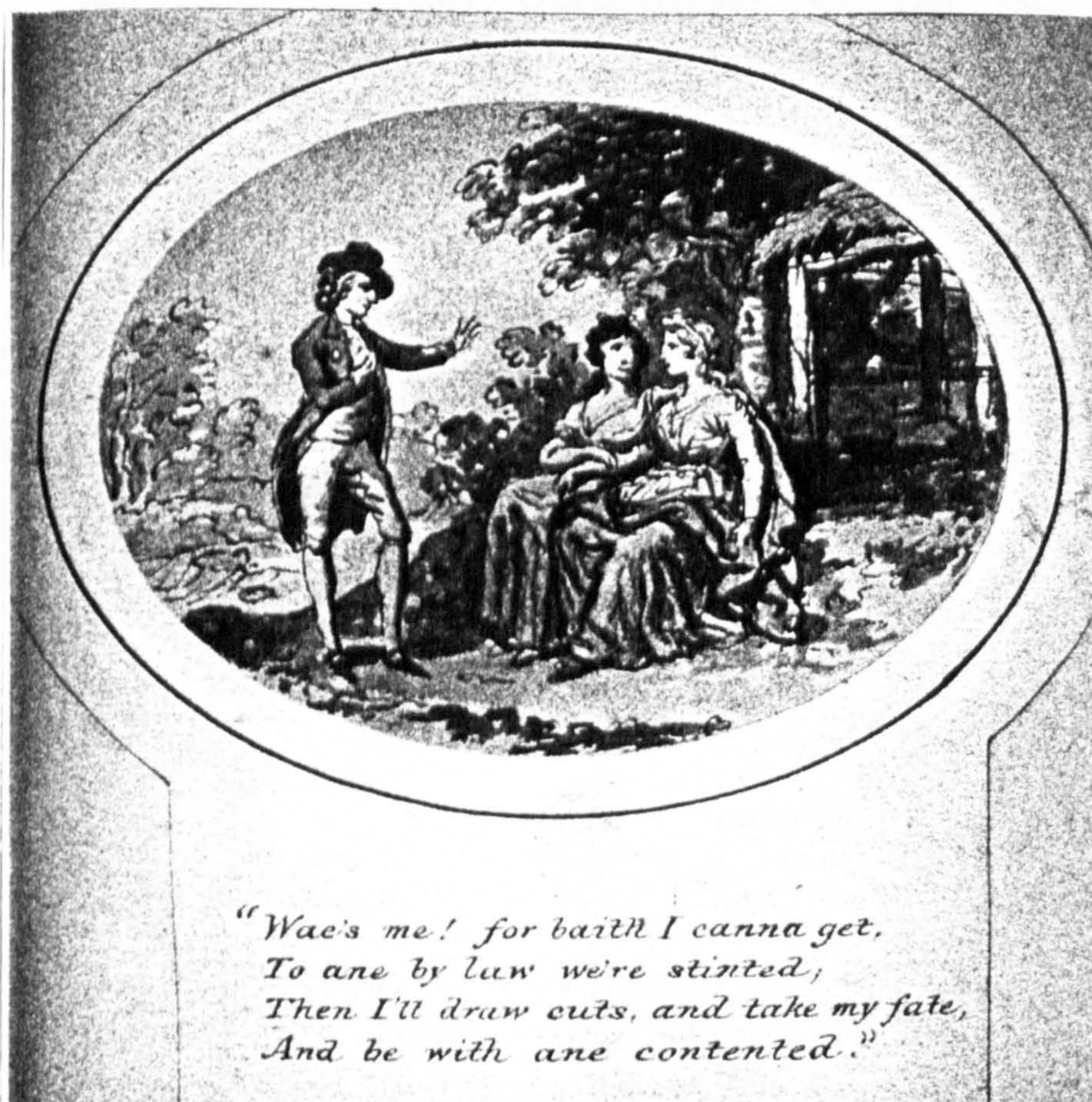
*O quhar got thou these targats, JOHNIIE,  
That blink sae brawly abune thy brie!  
I gat them in the fild fechtin  
Quhar, cruel King, thou durst not be."*

The contrast between rich apparel which may be assumed and true nobility which is innate, a contrast manifest in this exchange of words, would be less so in a picture. Thus Allan, while most plainly illustrating its refrain, has nevertheless contrived to introduce resonance from verses throughout the ballad, in order to place in sharp relief its cumulative import. He has depicted the ballad's meaning not by merely following the words, but by interpreting them.





226, "Bessy Bell & Mary Gray", c. 1790/96,  
Pen and wash over pencil 3¼ x 4½. Royal  
Scottish Academy.



227, ["Bessy Bell and Mary Gray" (by Ramsay)]  
c. 1790/96, Pen & wash over pencil 3¼ x 5¼,  
with border 4¼ x 5¼, National Library of  
Scotland, MS 15953 (Cowie), f. 33.



Such subtleties can be more fully appreciated once all the details of the narrative are known, as of course they would be to a contemporary audience. In this, parallels with Historical painting are apposite. The learned artist was working for a society with a common fund of knowledge and reference, a shared literary culture in which these pieces, these instances of "heroick action or heroick suffering" were indeed popularly known, and did strike powerfully upon the public sympathy.<sup>173</sup> Allan expected this illustration, and those of "Gilderoy", "Gil Morice" and "Sir Patrick Spens", to be properly "read", with attention to atmosphere and implication as well as to the salient facts, that the verses themselves might be properly appreciated.

There is another sense, more immediately striking, in which the picture of "Johnie Armstrang" is similar to those of "Gil Morice" and "Sir Patrick Spens", or for that matter to the illustrations of "The Childe of Elle" and "The Cruel Knight". The same dominant figure is seen in each, with changes in posture and minor variations in costume. It would be churlish to suggest that this is the result of indolence or carelessness. It would also be wrong. The use of such repetitions, conscious, indeed mannered, as they are, seems rather to be a device intended to echo one of the most characteristic structural features of the ancient Heroic Ballads, one imitated assiduously or parodied mercilessly in later years. Allan in several instances fixed upon a visual equivalent for a literary artifice, and in this case addressed the stock phrases and comparisons common to many ballads, and the typical patterns of similar lines, often involving a statement and response, which recur in many narratives and advance them with each slightly varied repetition. His use of the technique is curiously effective in suggesting a historical association from one ballad to another, achieving a pictorial complement to their verbal similarities. Within his collection of illustrations it is but one more example of his drawing attention to the coherence of the whole. In a particular case, entertaining in itself, he adapted the device to highlight the ancient origin of an eighteenth-century Pastoral, Ramsay's "Bessie Bell and Mary Gray". Two versions of the scene exist, in each of which the poses and positions of the three characters are all but identical. In one, however, they are clad in contemporary dress, as befits Ramsay's song, in the other they appear in the costume typical of Allan's illustrations to the Heroic Ballads, as befits the historical setting and events.<sup>174</sup>

Repetitions of figures, and of settings, occur quite as patently in Allan's illustrations to lyric pieces, songs almost invariably shorter than the Heroic Ballads and generally of later date. Where the ballads

Figure 225  
Figure 222  
Figure 211  
Figure 150

Figure 226  
Figure 227





Edwards  
Barbara  
Harden  
Chas  
Harden  
S.P. Sp  
Go Arm

The yellow-haired Ladie sat down on yon brae,  
Cries, milk the ewes, Caprie, let name o' them gae,  
And as she milked, and as she sang,  
The yellow-haired Ladie shall be my good man.

14.60

The for seven years &

I'll never leave thee



To day - For deep in my spirit, thy secrets are indited,  
And love shall preserve ay what love has imprinted  
Leave me, leave me, I'll never leave thee,  
Gang the world as it will, Dearest, believe me.



exist to tell a tale, whatever atmosphere they create being an incidental consequence, the lyrics, especially "Pastoral, Sentimental and Love Songs", contain much more of reflection and the sustaining of a mood.<sup>175</sup> It is more accurate to refer to repetitions of types in Allan's pictures rather than to repetitions of specific people and places. The setting of all but a handful of the Sentimental songs is a sparsely indicated landscape typical of the Scottish Lowlands, the landscape with which Allan was familiar and which he excelled in painting.<sup>176</sup> It was, incidentally, just such a countryside, represented by places like Ettrick Banks, Traquair and Cowden Knowes, the Braes of Yarrow and Craigieburnwood, that Robert Burns - who had a particular fondness for songs which included references to familiar "landskip-features" - regarded as "some of the classic ground of Caledonia".<sup>177</sup> By repeating both figures and settings Allan once again offered a parallel to the situations and characters shared by many of these songs, to say nothing of their common phrases.

The *costume* of these pictures is that which had already appeared in the plates for *The Gentle Shepherd*, each lass clad in a long dress, apron and *fichu*, with a snood binding her hair, and every country lad, at least when in his best Sunday claes, having

"Snaw-white stockings on his legs,  
And siller buckles glancin;  
A gude blue bannet on his head,  
And O but he was handsome!" <sup>178</sup>

As in many of Allan's pictures, action is largely confined to the foreground, a pastoral couple being posed on a gentle rise with a *repoussoir* tree providing a strong emphasis at one side. The close similarity to several of the illustrations to *The Gentle Shepherd* need not be stressed, though it is striking that Allan still preferred stable, generally pyramidal groupings, the shepherd usually being positioned at a slightly higher level than the shepherdess or milkmaid. Upon occasion the tightness of the composition is relaxed, when, for example, the tale is one of parting, but to maintain the other favoured mannerism could require some ingenuity on Allan's part.

An illustration of "The Yellow-Hair'd Laddie" is unusual in that interest is not confined to the foreground, but distributed between the laddie himself and his lassie milking yowes nearby. More often the middle distance is occupied by a couple of sheep and kye, all captured with a few telling strokes of Allan's pen. Occasionally a distant cottage is seen, with two or three curls of wash planting some trees around the steading. Even when specific features must be introduced to these

Figure 149

Figure 180

Figure 229

PLATE XVI

Figure 228

PLATE XVII





*Will ye go to the ewe bughts Marion,  
And wear in the sheep wi' me;*

229. "Will ye go to the ewe bughts Marion",  
c. 1790/96. Pen and wash over pencil  $3\frac{1}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$ .  
Royal Scottish Academy.



*Ye banks and braes,  
The golden hours on angel wings  
Flew o'er me and my dearie*

230. "Ye banks and braes", c. 1794/96 (later  
version of Figure 206). Pen and wash over  
pencil  $3\frac{1}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{4}$ , with border  $4\frac{1}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{4}$ , and  
with words from "Highland Mary" by Burns  
(1792) inscribed by Thomson. Royal Scot-  
tish Academy.

*Air— Maggie Lauther—*

62



231.

"Air— Maggie Lauther—", c. 1794. Pen and  
wash over pencil  $3\frac{1}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{4}$ . Title in Allan's  
hand. Royal Scottish Academy.



scenes - a bower in the foreground of "Bessie Bell", a burn rippling across the middle ground of "The Yellow-Hair'd Laddie", or a distant kirk in "The Bonny Lass of Branksome" - they are easily accommodated in this familiar landscape. If a wholly different topography is called for by a Pastoral or Sentimental song, if, for example, it tells of a meeting in the dingsome town or of a parting on the shore, the change of setting is quickly assimilated to Allan's usual pattern. Features are moulded to provide the necessary mass at one edge of the oval, the corresponding void offering a lightly tinted backdrop against which the action takes place. Often, to be sure, the action of a Pastoral song is of the slightest, its verses being concerned not to advance a story but to express emotion or to reinforce a mood, and Allan devoted much care and skill in his little pictures to a similar evocation of sentiment. Thus they capture the careless rural freedom of "Ettrick Banks" and "Will ye go to the ew-bughts, Marion?", the stillness of "The last time I cam o'er the Muir" or "Highland Mary", the pathos of "Sae merry as we hae been" and "I'll never leave thee", and the gloom of Viscount Strathallan who, taken to the rocks after his father's death on Drumossie Moor and the failure of the Forty-Five, broods alone in his remote mountain fastness.

Not that this capturing of the mood of a song, nor the depiction of an appropriate setting, is confined to Allan's illustrations of Pastorals. His picture of "Maggie Lauder" is thoroughly suffused with charm and jollity, the artist at the same time deducing that the improvised dance took place on the Fife coast, and therefore including a view across the Firth of Forth from the north. Instead of gaining some interest and variety from the familiar "wee bit sheep" and "dull cattle", the middle distance in this scene is broken up by a few vessels creaking across the still stretch of the Firth. As in the drawings for Pastorals, a little clearing is set aside in the foreground for Meg's barefoot dance, the dark mass of the uplands around Dunfermline closing the picture on the right.

Conventional Allan's compositions may be, but as an illustrative formula this is a successful one, one shared not only by some of his illustrations to Heroic Ballads and by the outdoor scenes among his plates for *The Gentle Shepherd*, but, with a few necessary modifications, by many of his pictures depicting Edinburgh Characters. In these, the slightly indicated settings are of a townscape, scenes typical of the capital or actually to be identified with Parliament Close, St. Giles' Cathedral or the like, just as the Canongate Tolbooth provides a backdrop to a conversation between a young laird and Edinburgh Katy. It is worthy of some remark that Allan's treatment of backgrounds in this series of

Figure 226

Figure 224

Figure 229

Figure 230

PLATE XVII

PLATE XV

Figure 231

Figure 273

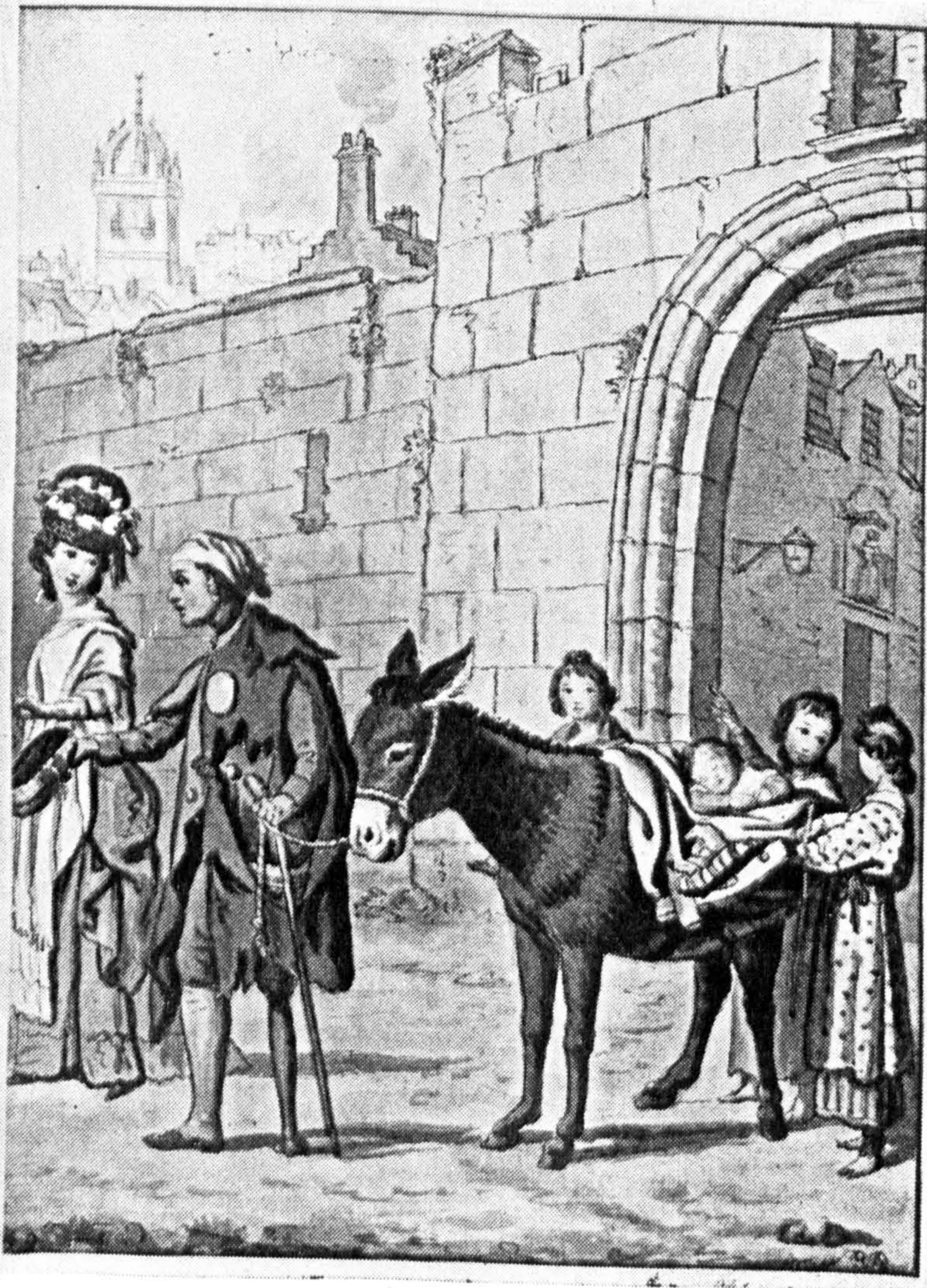
PLATE XVIII





232.

"Laird & Edinburgh Kate, the young",  
c. 1795/96. Etching 34 x 5 (platemark  
4 1/2 x 6 1/4). Proof; published as a title-page  
vignette in some copies of Thomson's *Self-  
ect Collection* National Library of Scotland,  
NLS 6.670, a folder of fifteen "Etchings"  
from Scottish Songs By D. Allan for G.  
Thomson" (MS. title on blue paper cover,  
the last three words written in a differ-  
ent ink with a finer pen).



[Figure 273, between pages 326-27, 1]



Characters is much briefer than in the earlier collections of "French and Italian Dresses", in which about as many single figures are seen in rural or coastal settings as in urban. The background to "The Young Laird and Edinburgh Katy", one of the twenty-five designs etched for publication, is more fully realised, and, in being peopled with a few "dandering cits", some servant lassies and a Salt-wife, is reminiscent of several other street-scenes of Allan's adopted home in Edinburgh, and even of the portrait of William Inglis.<sup>179</sup> In Allan Ramsay's song, the laird meets Katy coming down the street in her "tartan screen", and invites her to live with him and be his love. Deciding that this conversation takes place near the foot of the Royal Mile, Allan took liberties with perspective - a common technique - in order to include both the Canongate Kirk and the Tolbooth, as the elegant young hero in his brimmed hat and top boots suggests Katy should stroll with him up to the "readily accessible promenade" of Castle Hill, and then perhaps go a little further:

"There's up into a pleasant glen,  
A wee piece frae my father's tow'r,  
A canny, soft, and flow'ry den,  
Where circling birks have form'd a bow'r",<sup>180</sup>

To turn from Allan's pastoral compositions to his comic pictures is all but invariably to leave the countryside and enter the cottage, or at least the fermtoun. Less refined than the Pastorals in words and music, so too these Comic Songs, with the exception of "Maggie Lauder", were accorded by Allan a more restricted and earthy setting. When they are not enacted inside a cottage, the comic events take place around the onstead, by a convenient dyke-back, or at a turnpike yett, generally as indicated in the verses. The cast of these songs, seen all together as a group and again due largely to the demands of the texts, is considerably larger and more varied than that of the Pastorals. Once more, there are features shared with the prints for *The Gentle Shepherd*. The elderly women who appear in several pictures are clearly of the same type as Mause, especially as she is seen in the fourth aquatint plate, while Allan's textually fascinating illustration of "The Cogie", it could be claimed with justice, is essentially a merry meeting between Glaud and Symon.<sup>181</sup> In addition to such familiar types, and to the occasional appearance of the young lady and, even less frequently, the shepherd from the Pastorals, there is in these pictures a lively assembly of brisk young lads and weary old carles, of Highlanders and soldiers, of pipers, dandys and fiddlers.

To body forth such a rowdy menzie of characters hardly seems to have taxed Allan's invention. Nevertheless, this apparent ease is the result





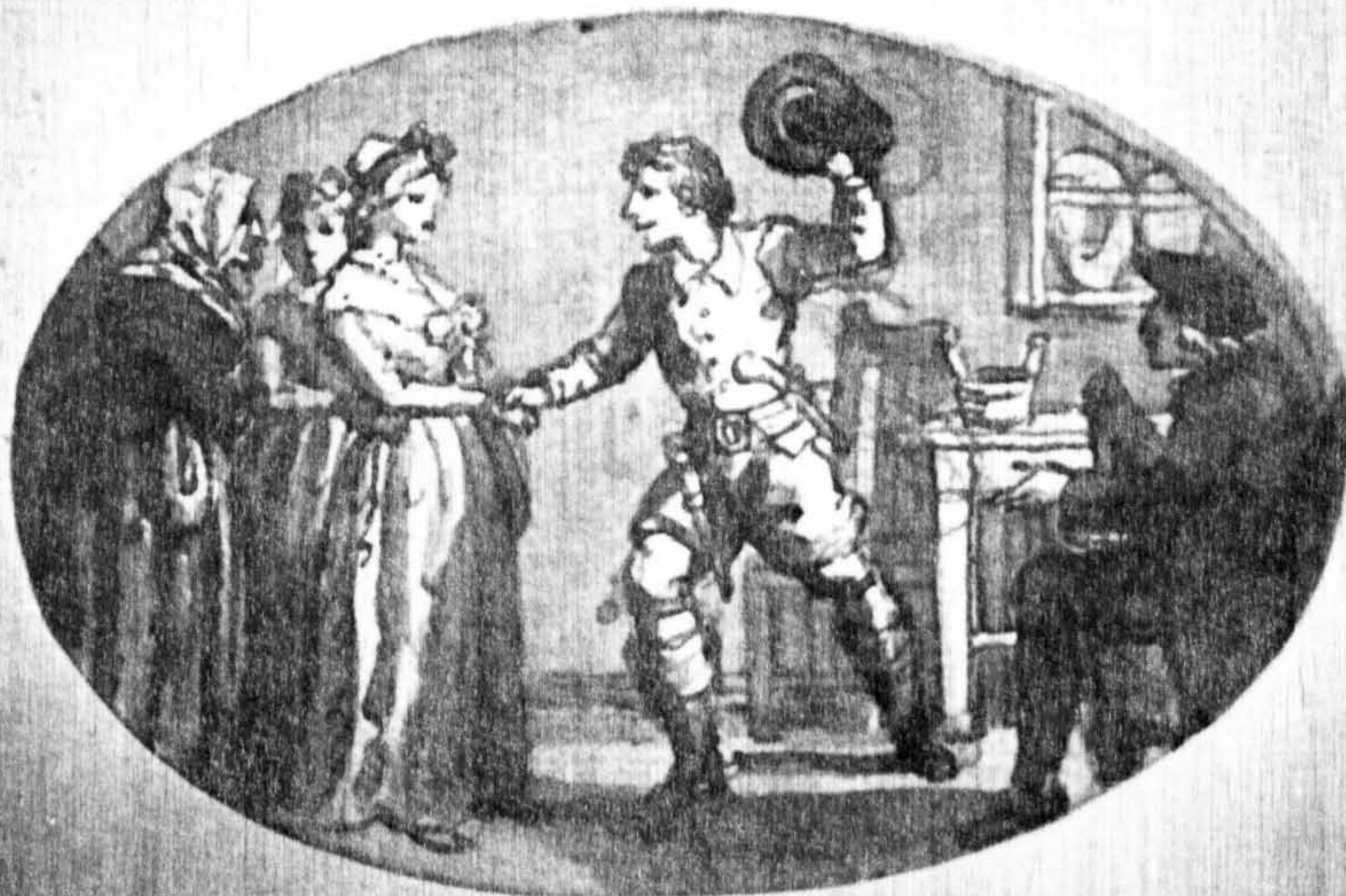
233. "I wadna gie my ain pint stoup for a the Quins in bogie", c. 1790/96. Pen and wash 5 x 7 (oval), words (from an otherwise unknown variant of "Cauld kale in Aberdeen") in Allan's hand. National Galleries of Scotland, Department of Prints and Drawings, D. 4494.





*Then out came I and sneer'd & smiled,  
Ye came to woo, but ye're beguil'd,  
Ye've fa'en in the dirt & ye're a' befild,  
We'll hae nae mair o' you.*

234, ["The brisk young Lad"], c. 1790/96, Pen and wash over pencil 3¼ x 5¼. Royal Scottish Academy.



*Muirland Willie*

235, "Muirland Willie", c. 1790/96, Pen and wash over pencil 3¼ x 5¼, Royal Scottish Academy.





The first I heard at the Goodman  
 & Syne at Giles the mother  
 An ye wad gies a bit o' land  
 wad we buckle us een thegither.

236, "Maggies Tocher", c. 1791/96. Pen outline over pencil 5 x 7 (in a rudimentary oval border). Inscribed with four lines of verse and a page reference to Herd's 1791 collection, published by Lawrie and Symington, Edinburgh. The Mitchell Library, Glasgow; Cowie Collection, SR 241 308864 ( "Baby Allan her Book Dalmeny June 29 1801" ) f. 13, recto.



of the art which conceals art. However spontaneous appear these characterisations, Allan must have drawn deeply on his store of observation and experience. He gave to every type a perfect form and expression, such as the often anonymous rhymesters who "bang'd up" these songs may originally have imagined.

One group of figure types does deserve more specific mention. Important among Scottish "Jovial" songs are those describing a traditionally rollicking, raploch, catch-the-plack view of courtship and marriage, which finds its most sustained expression in "The Blythesome Bridal", published by Watson at the beginning of the eighteenth century, and its most hedonistic eruption in the "hirdum-dirdum" at the close of "Muirland Willie", a song for which Allan made no less than three distinct designs. His partiality is not at all surprising, since the ballad is among the raciest in all of Herd's collection. It was a favourite of George Thomson's, who sang it well into his old age.<sup>182</sup> In two of Allan's illustrations of the piece, the boisterous hero - Thomson called him "a dashing sort of rustic" - seems to have escaped from his rightful place among the Heroic Ballads. The adoption of such a costume by the protagonists of both "Muirland Willie" and another song of rough wooing, "Maggie's Tocher", certainly does add to the swagger of these Braggadoccio-like characters, but Burns also had a comment to make, and a significant one, about the dirk and pistols Willie is said to bear at his belt:

"this lightsome ballad gives a particular drawing of those ruthless times, *when thieves were rife*, and the lads went a-wooing in their warlike habiliments, not knowing whether they would tilt with lips or lances. Willie's durk and pistols were buckled on for this uncertain encounter, and not for garnishing and adorning his person." <sup>183</sup>

In his illustrations to these two ballads of courtship, Allan set the action in an earlier century by the adoption, at least by their heroes, of a costume evocative of these ruthless times. After all, "Maggie's Tocher" had, like "Muirland Willie", been described as ancient in *The Tea-Table Miscellany*, each having been composed "time out of mind". So too had "The Gaberlunzie Man", in Allan's scenes of which the reputed author, King James V, appears in a similar if more ragged costume, and with considerably more confidence than he displays in the illustrations to "Johnie Armstrang".<sup>184</sup> In his illustration to another ancient song, "Tak thy auld cloak about thee", a variant of which was known to Shakespeare, Allan had the clear intention of suggesting an existence simpler and earlier still, by depicting a very austere and sparsely furnished interior, without any of the dressers, aumries or other plenishing typical

Figure 27  
Figure 235

Figure 235  
Figure 236

Figure 209  
Figure 210

Figure 225  
Figure 236





*Her mither then hastily spak: 'I had nae a plack in my pocket'*

237.

- 237 Above, "Woo'd and married and a'", c. 1795/96, Etching  $3\frac{1}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{4}$ , Inscribed: four lines of verse, "Designed & Etch'd by D. Allan", and "Published as the Act directs, by G. Thomson Edinburgh 1822". From Thomson's *Select Collection*, 1822-23 (first octavo edition),
- 238 Below, "Woo'd & married & a'", c. 1790/96, Pen and wash over pencil  $3\frac{1}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{4}$ , Royal Scottish Academy,

"I am highly delighted with Mr Allan's etchings. 'Woo'd & married & a'—is admirable! The *grouping* is beyond all praise.—The *expression* of the figures, conformable to the story in the ballad, is absolutely faultless perfection.—I next admire, 'Turnimspyke.'—What I like least is, 'Jenny said to Jocky.'—Besides the female being in her appearance quite a *virago*, if you take her stooping into account, she is at least two inches taller than her lover.—"

[Robert Burns to George Thomson, April, 1796; *The Letters of Robert Burns*, ed. John de Lancey Ferguson, revised G. Ross Roy, Clarendon Press, 1985, Vol. II, p. 379, no. 693, See also Figure 239, "Jenny said to Jocky", overleaf.]



*Woo'd & married & a'*

*Out spake the Bride's mither, I hadna a plack in my pocket  
What deil needs a' this pride, That night I was a Bride!*

238.



of his cottage scenes.<sup>185</sup> Even the archaic settings of "The Gaberlunzie Man" and the two courtship ballads are provided with coffers and kists, always in accord with the verses. Maggie of the tocher comes ben "wi' swats drawn frae the butt", the hosts of the royal vagabond search their home to see if he has stolen anything, and Muirland Willie turns from his future bride to her father with the blunt question, "Say, what'll ye gie me wi' her?". Maggie's suitor, it may be remarked, would not be content unless the guidman gave him a bit of land.

In the difference between his earlier and later illustration of this latter song, Allan's keen sense of human behaviour and expression is well demonstrated. Whereas Maggie formerly scurried back dutifully with a stoup of yill, in the final version she hovers diffidently in a doorway as property is discussed. A picture of a later variant upon the same theme, "Woo'd and married and a'", is apparently less successful. The grouping is indeed "admirable", as a "highly delighted" Burns wrote to Thomson after a parcel of Allan's etchings had been sent to Dumfries for his entertainment and criticism, the father, mother, sister and brother ranged around the thrawn young daughter.<sup>186</sup> As is evident from his preliminary drawing, Allan experimented with several positions for the fifth figure before settling upon that which most successfully closed the composition. In this comic song it is the lass who demands more gear for her tocher, her suitor being satisfied with the bargain as it stands. The artist was oddly restrained in his depiction of the central figures, a pastoral couple worthy of *The Gentle Shepherd* itself. The elegant young laddie can hardly be imagined uttering these heartening lines:

"What's the matter, quo WILLIE,  
 Tho' we be scant o' claiths,  
 We'll creep the nearer the gither,  
 And we'll smore a' the fleas;  
 Simmer is coming on,  
 And we'll get teats of woo;  
 And we'll get a lass o' our ain,  
 And she'll spin claiths anew.  
*Woo'd and married and a'*  
*Woo'd and married and a',*  
*Was she nae very weel aff,*  
*Was woo'd and married and a', "*

However delicate his art is as a rule, sheer brutal coarseness was not beyond the reach of Allan's crayon - a leering and evil *gondolier* in one of his Italian sketchbooks is ample proof - and some other explanation of the apparent failure in "Woo'd and married and a'" must be sought. Initially, the presence of George Thomson might be remembered. In his efforts to produce an elegant set of "every Scotch air and song worth

Figure 237

Figure 238





239, "Jenny said to Jocky", c. 1790/96, Pen and wash over pencil  $3\frac{1}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{4}$ , with border  $4\frac{1}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{4}$ , National Library of Scotland, MS. 15953 (Cowie), f. 36.



singing", in which none could be found objectionable on grounds of decency, Thomson had "Woo'd and married" recast by Joanna Baillie in a manner which could not offend anyone.<sup>187</sup> Ironically, Allan's unusual interpretation accords more closely, in a literal sense, with Baillie's version, altered but not improved as a result of Thomson's ameliorating intervention, and yet he could never have seen it. That form dates from a quarter of a century after his death.

It may, however, be argued that in the very incongruity of image and text the artist actually heightened the humour. Notwithstanding the evidence of Allan's dry wit in other instances, this may seem an argument more ingenious than plausible, until it is pointed out that although young couples are almost exclusively the preserve of Pastoral and Sentimental pieces he did establish a type of young couple appropriate to the Jovial songs. That is, the incongruity in this case, like the anachronisms in an earlier, is deliberate.

In his design for "Jockey said to Jenny", another song in which courtship consists largely of an enumeration of "gowd and gear", Allan depicted just such a pair as might be imagined. The young females in all his illustrations to Comic songs, it cannot be denied, are essentially the same bonnie lassies as are found in the Pastorals, though a viewer may note with some relief that they are seldom seen languishing or greiting into a handkerchief. Characters like Muirland Willie, Andro with his cutty-gun, or Jockey himself, on the other hand, are not elegant shepherds but pawky country chieles. Jockey, particularly in Allan's etching, grins broadly as he and Jenny flyte with more humour than malice. By the slightest of variations in expression and posture, Allan quite changed the aspect of the merry suitor. Such a young fellow is the very form that Willie in "Woo'd and married" would ideally have taken, a "dashing sort of rustic" in contemporary clothes rather than "ballad" dress. So just as the words of "Woo'd and married", of "Maggie's Tocher" and the like point to the earthy and economic realities of marriage, ignored in the almost ethereal courtship of the typical Pastoral, in his picture Allan satirised such artificial compositions and attitudes in a burlesque of the very style he himself had evolved for their illustration.

In the same way as characters and settings were repeated from one illustration to another, so too the lesser parts of these pictures, details of clothing, of furniture, or of the plenishing of small farms, were drawn from an equally limited vocabulary. Thus in his illustrations to Comic songs Allan typically included these items seen in the more detailed interiors of his prints for *The Gentle Shepherd*, and in those to



Pastorals restricted himself to little more than his shepherds' crooks and their rustic pipes, with here and there a small wooden bowie used in milking. These were the commonplace articles seen everywhere and every day, the judiciously chosen details which "give the force of truth to the work, and consequently interest the spectator".<sup>188</sup> At the same time, Allan dwelt no more upon these incidentals than was necessary to the convincing setting of each scene, nor did he call particular attention to them. It was action and emotion which drew his endeavour and engage the viewer's interest. In short, his Invention was employed in representing the mental picture called up when these songs are heard or remembered.<sup>189</sup>

That Allan did attach importance to accuracy of costume, in its full range of meaning, may convincingly be demonstrated, however incidental these various details are to the drama of a piece. He sought the opinion of an acknowledged expert on Scottish song and country matters about one such article, the "rustic pipe" traditionally played by shepherds on the hills. Towards the end of a long letter to Thomson, Burns had written of the instrument in great detail:

"Tell my friend, Allen (for I am sure that we only want the trifling circumstance of being known to one another, to be the best friends on earth) that I much suspect he has, in his plates, mistaken the figure of the stock & horn.—I have, *at last*, gotten one; but it is a very rude instrument.—It is composed of three parts; the stock, which is the hinder thigh-bone of a sheep, such as you see in a mutton-ham; the horn, which is a common Highland cow's horn, cut off at the smaller end . . . & lastly, an oaten reed exactly cut & notched like that which you see every shepherd-boy have when the corn-stems are green & full-grown. . . . This of mine was made by a man from the braes of Athole, & is exactly what the shepherds wont to use in that country.—However, either it is not quite properly bored in the holes, or else we have not the art of blowing it rightly; for we can make little of it.—If Mr Allen chuses, I will send him a sight of mine; as I look on myself to be a kind of brother-brush with him.—"Pride in Poets is nae sin," & I will say it, that I look on Mr Allen and Mr Burns to be the only genuine & real Painters of Scottish Costume in the world.—Farewel!"<sup>190</sup>

In his reply of the following week, Thomson - after expressing surprise that Burns should so equably accept his frequent suggestions and "improvements", sharing the poet's regret that the authors of so many songs should be unknown, and mentioning Hamilton's proposed painting of "The Soldier's Return" - concluded with a revealing passage on the shepherd's pipe, which he and Allan had discussed:

"Allan desires me to thank you for your accurate description of the stock and horn, and for the very gratifying compliments you pay him, in considering him worthy of standing in a niche by the side of Burns in the Scottish Pantheon. He has seen the rude instrument you describe, so does not want you to send it; but wishes to know whether you believe it to have ever been generally used as a musical pipe by the Scottish Shepherds, and when, and in what part of the country chiefly. I doubt much if it was capable of anything but routing and roaring. A friend of mine says he remembers to have heard one in his younger days, made of wood instead of your bone, and that the sound was abominable."<sup>191</sup>





The Lap of Patten's mill, so bonny & gay,  
In spite of all my skill she stole my heart away.  
The Broom of Cowden-Knows.



He tun'd his pipe and reed soe sweet,  
The birds stood listening by.  
E'en the Dull cattle stood & gaz'd,  
Charmed with his melody.





241, [ Scottish shepherd playing a stock and horn ], c. 1790/96. (A later version of Fig. 181; perhaps adapted to illustrate a song by Burns, its first words "Yon wild mossy mountains", 1787), Pen & wash over pencil  $3\frac{1}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{4}$ , with border  $4\frac{1}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{4}$ , Royal Scottish Academy.

[opposite,]

240, "The Lass of Patie's Mill" (Ramsay) & "The Broom of Cowden-Knows" ("S.R."), c. 1794/96. Pen and wash over pencil  $5 \times 6\frac{1}{2}$  (each oval), Inscribed with lines of verse and page references to Ritson's *Scottish Song* ( 1794 ), The Mitchell Library, Glasgow; Cowie Collection, SR 241 308864 ( "Baby Allan her Book Dalmeny June 29 1801" ) f. 15 verso.





242. "Air—The Baggie O't", c. 1795/96. Etching 3½ x 5 (oval; trimmed). Published as "Contented wi' little" (Burns), in Thomson's *A Select Collection of Original Scottish Airs*, 1823; from a grangerised copy of Campbell's *An Introduction to the History of Poetry in Scotland*, Edinburgh, 1798. Edinburgh Central Library Scottish Room, RBR X PR 8501).



243. "Auld Robin Gray", (Lady Anne Lindsay), c. 1790/96. Pen & wash over pencil 3¼ x 5¼ (oval). Royal Scottish Academy.



That is, Allan wished to avoid any merely conventional details in cases where these might actually be inappropriate. He not only wished to know the area in which the stock and horn was generally found - Burns's mention of the braes of Atholl would have suggested the region between Strathmore and Strathspey - but, with his interest in literary and musical history, that time when it was played. Only in his illustrations to *The Gentle Shepherd*, and to songs like "Cowdenknowes" or "The Wauking of the Fauld", where such rustic pipes are mentioned, to a passage from Alexander Ross's poetic history of *Helenore, or the Fortunate Shepherdess*, or in his drawings of shepherd lads lost in a contemplation of their surroundings, almost in communion with "nature in 'a' [her] shews and forms", did Allan include the stock and horn.<sup>192</sup>

That Allan did on occasion include specific details which are not part of his usual pictorial vocabulary cannot be avoided. These can invariably be explained as deliberate additions, made for purposes other than the simple provision of variety. That is, by restricting himself in most cases to the same items, when he did introduce different ones Allan was calling attention to them. It should be stressed that, as is apparent from a consideration of each picture in any case, these particular details do not divide attention within the *individual* composition. Only when the collection as a whole is studied, once each particular scene has been appreciated in turn, can the artist's more subtle designs be realised.

When specific items are alluded to in a text, as when particular characters or settings are mentioned, then the reason for their having been drawn is obvious and to be accepted with little remark. Thus a spade in "The Bagrie o't" or a graip in "Woo'd and married and a'" are touches specific, even essential to the verses, as are the spinning wheels in "My Jo Janet" or "Low doon in the broom".<sup>193</sup> On other occasions, Allan by these inclusions added his own comment, pictorially, to the songs illustrated. In his drawing for Lady Anne Lindsay's immensely popular "Auld Robin Gray", a characteristic Scots cottage interior is employed, with no sense of contrivance, to reinforce the pathos of this marriage of May and December. The gaunt father is seen admonishing his motionless and pensive daughter, while her mother gazes wordlessly into her lowered face. All the interest in this tight group is concentrated on the heroine. In contrast to these three highlighted figures is the slightly bowed figure framed by the doorway and leaning upon a stick. The gulf between Robin Gray and his unwilling bride is emphasised by the intrusion of a hallan to partition off a part of the room, and thus metaphorically to divide these two characters already separated "as far

PLATE XVI

Figure 240

PLATE XX

Figure 241

Figure 242

PLATE XXII

Figure 237

Figure 255

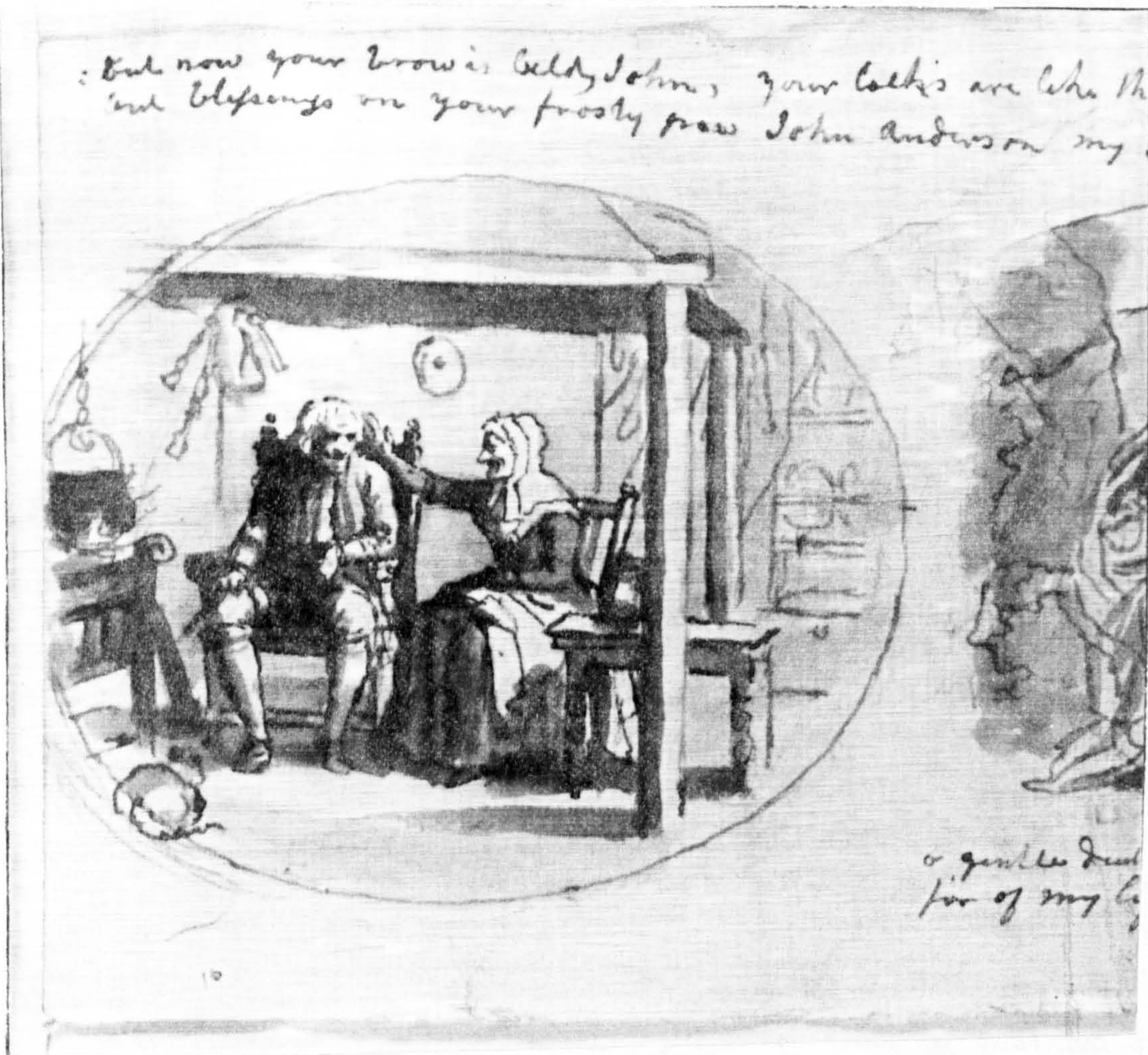
Figure 244

Figure 243





244. "Air- — Low Down in the Broom", c.1790/96.  
 Pen & wash over pencil 3½ x 5½ (oval), the  
 title and four lines of verse in Allan's  
 hand, Royal Scottish Academy.



245. ["John Anderson my Jo" (Burns)], c.1790/96.  
 Pen & wash over pencil 4½ x 5½ (oval),  
 with lines of verse and a page reference  
 to Johnson's *The Scots Musical Museum*,  
 Volume III (1790), in Allan's hand. The  
 Mitchell Library, Glasgow, Cowie Coll-  
 ection, SR 241 No. 308864 ("Baby Allan  
 her Book Dalmeny June 29 1801"), f. 10  
 recto.



as night and noon".<sup>194</sup> It is a fine example of Allan's drawing on personal observation for an effective symbol. Strangely, Herd classed the song as Comic in his collection of 1776, clearly attending more to its subject than its tone, and thus thinking it a modern version of *fabliaux* involving girls each courted by a young man but married to a *senex amans*. In *The Charmer* of 1782 it was correctly set among the "Elegiac and Pastoral" songs.

A truly comic version of the theme, first published by Allan Ramsay in *The Tea-Table Miscellany*, tells of a lassie's thoughts when "the carle he cam o'er the craft", newly shaven and bringing a costly siller brooch, and thinking that she would welcome him:

"Ane twice a bairn's a lass's jest,  
Sae ony fool for me may hae him,

The carl has nae faut but ane;  
For he has land and dollars plenty;  
But wae's me for him! skin and bane  
Is no for a plump lass of twenty,  
Howt awa, I winna hae him,  
Na, forsooth, I winna hae him!  
What signifies his dirty riggs,  
And cash, without a man wi' them?"

When Allan came to illustrate the song, he drew upon folk tradition to echo the girl's scorn, including a discarded and rotting boin at the corner of a cottage, as if to remind the viewer that

"A bicker that's gizzen'd, it's nae worth a doit",<sup>195</sup>

"Low doon in the broom" is also unashamedly a song of humour, but of human comedy rather than low jests. Allan judiciously placed another hallan across the room, in this case to suggest the constraints placed upon the young girl, constraints which she endures only for the moment. Her downcast eyes and submissive mien allow her to conceal a longing impatience:

"My aunty KATE sits at her wheel  
And sair she lightlies me;  
But weel ken I it's a' envy,  
For ne'er a jo has she,  
But let them say or let them do,  
It's a' ane to me;  
For he's low doon, he's in the broom,  
That's waiting on me;"

A specific feature which Allan repeated in several slightly different versions of one song, Burns's "John Anderson my jo", is the set of pipes laid on one side by the old man. In his earlier drawings, they hang over a peg on the wall, in a room well supplied with domestic plenishing. In the engraving by Thomson's brother, based on another picture, probably

Figure 244

Figure 245

Figure 246

Figure 247





246. ["John Anderson my Jo"], c. 1790/96. Pen and wash overpencil  $3\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{4}$  (oval). Royal Scottish Academy.



247. PATON THOMSON after David Allan; "John Anderson my Jo", 1799, Engraving  $5\frac{1}{4} \times 7\frac{1}{4}$  (oval), Inscribed: "Designed by D. Allan", "Engraved by Paton Thomson", two lines of verse and "Published as the Act directs March 1799, by T. Preston Strand, London, & by the Proprietor G. Thomson Edinburgh", Frontispiece to Thomson's *A Select Collection of Original Scottish Airs for the Voice*, Volume II (first set), 1799 (first edition).



248. J. M. WRIGHT after S. Smith ["John Anderson my Jo"], c. 1835. Steel Engraving  $5\frac{1}{4} \times 4\frac{1}{4}$ , influenced by Allan's illustration. Inscribed with four lines of verse. From *The Complete Works of Robert Burns* 2 vols., ed. Cunningham, Edinburgh [n.d.]



Allan's oil painting, and published in 1799, the sparse furnishing of the room highlights the lonely position of the pipes on a shelf, a more poignant reference to lost youth and vigour than the more usual sight of a fiddle hanging from a beam, as is depicted in the sixth plate for *The Gentle Shepherd*. John and his wife have "clamb the hill thegither", and now, hand in hand, maun totter down. The discarded pipes, flaccidly languishing as they do, are at the very least a reminder of the old couple's having put away youthful things, and, in the quite specific nature of Allan's choice, may be a covert allusion to the older version upon which Burns based his elegiac piece.<sup>196</sup>

Thus the incidental details of Allan's song illustrations are of three kinds. Most are those "concomitant circumstances" necessary to the setting and repeated from scene to scene.<sup>197</sup> Others, from the braid letter received by Sir Patrick Spens to the shoes cast off by Maggie Lauder, are mentioned in a text or implied by its action. A few, sometimes unusual in themselves and even unique in Allan's oeuvre, are his own glosses upon various songs. The rudimentary illustration of songs would get along perfectly well without these last touches, but Allan's interpretations were not intended solely to be accompanying pictures, since once again he aimed at "character and costume".<sup>198</sup> His pictures are still to be appreciated side by side with the songs themselves, and provide for the alert viewer an added enjoyment. No detail is superfluous. Painting being regarded as "a sort of Writing", a definition which Aristotle proposed for the criticism of Poetry should hold equally true for the sister art:

"That which makes no perceptible difference by its presence or its absence is no real part of the whole." <sup>199</sup>

Beyond all these considerations of detail, setting, atmosphere and historical period, it is striking that Allan placed most emphasis, properly, upon his characters. As has been shown, he relied upon well differentiated archetypes to people most of these illustrations, types having in many cases the characteristics of the actors from *The Gentle Shepherd*, and for the same reasons. Foremost in Allan's mind was the thought and discipline of Historical composition, and he knew that

"Those expressions alone should be given to the figures which their respective situations generally produce. Nor is this enough; each person should also have that expression which men of his rank generally exhibit." <sup>200</sup>

Not only did Allan draw upon his earlier experience "in the invention groupe", as he put it, upon occasion he can actually be seen to have derived his types directly from the vocabulary of History painting. The visual antecedents of these pictures are not confined to earlier





249. T. RANSON after Thomas Stothard: ["Waly, waly"], 1823. Engraving 3 $\frac{1}{4}$  X 4 $\frac{1}{4}$ . Inscribed "Stothard del:" "Ranson sculp:", lines of verse and "Pub<sup>d</sup> as the act directs by G. Thomson Edinburgh 1823", Frontispiece to Thomson's *Select Collection*, Vol. V (1823; first octavo edition). Apparently based on a drawing by David Allan (lost; original sketch, c.1790, Cowie Collection, The Mitchell Library, Glasgow: SR 241 308864, f. 10 recto).



250. [Illustration to "Scotch Song—" (Burns, 1795); first line "Now Spring has clad the grove in green"], c.1795/96. Pen and wash 3 $\frac{1}{4}$  x 5 $\frac{1}{4}$  (oval). Royal Scottish Academy.



Detail of Figure 180, between pages 243-44.



illustrations of songs or of popular literature, but include whatever of the Western artistic tradition Allan found appropriate. Both the sorrowful daughter in "Auld Robin Gray" and the grieving figures around Viscount Dundee share the same Antique prototype.<sup>201</sup> The corpse of one fair lady in an illustration of a Heroic Ballad is disposed in a manner reminiscent of a *Pieta*.<sup>202</sup> Most striking of all is the dependence of the figure of Viscount Strathallan, bitterly languishing in his lonely retreat after the Forty-Five, upon the iconographic representation of Melancholia. The situation depicted by Allan is the "very painting" of Burns's verses, and the reflection of Strathallan's "distracted mind":

"Ruin's Wheel has driven o'er us  
Not a hope that dare attend  
The wide world is all before us  
But a world without a friend," <sup>203</sup>

Similar figures, though female, such as that which Stothard copied for his illustration to the ancient song "Waly waly" - it is "at least coeval with the reign of Mary, Queen of Scots" - may have been derived from the same archetype, or from Roman sculptural representations of captured provinces, the like of which Allan had earlier drawn in Italy.<sup>204</sup>

To trace Allan's figures to specific roots in this manner is illuminating, such calculated references being incontrovertible proof of his serious regard for these illustrations. Of primary importance to him was the communicative capacity of gesture, of posture and expression, even of composition. He developed his own distinctive vocabulary of rhetorical gestures and human types, instantly comprehensible and perfect. Sorrowful females, all variations upon a type, weep into handkerchiefs in settings ranging from the Pentland Hills of Ramsay's Pastoral Comedy to the island fortress of Lochleven, and are comforted in half a dozen song illustrations. In *The Gentle Shepherd* too is first seen another of Allan's *motifs*, the melancholy shepherd of the first plate, recalled in the seventh. The posture recurs in Allan's song illustrations, offering towards the end of 1795 a realisation of a piece by Burns, in which the singer looks for objects around him which are in unison or harmony with his thoughts, as Burns himself did when composing.<sup>205</sup>

When either Thomson or Alexander Cunningham, to whom it was sent, gave him the verse to read, Allan, to judge from a brief drawing in outline, may initially have been reminded of "The Bush aboon Traquair", and with good reason. Each song tells of a lover's despair, arising from different causes but concluding in both cases with the thought of lonely wilds or hostile shores. At all events, the figure type eventually chosen for Burns's woeful hero was crushed in below Allan's first illustration to the

Figure 216

PLATE XV

Figure 249

PLATE XVII

Figure 115

Figure 250





251. *A Select Collection of Original Scottish Airs With Introductory & Concluding Symphonies & Accompaniments ... with Select verses adapted to the Airs...* Title Page of Volume V, first folio edition (1818), with vignette by T. RANSON after Allan (cf. Figure 188, p. 249). Engraving 3¼ x 5¼. Inscribed with lines from "The Bush aboon Traquair" (?William Crawford), "D. Allan inv." and "Ransom sculp".



Figure 180

earlier song. The similarities between the songs, Allan would soon have realised, are less important than their major difference. One shepherd invites every nymph and swain to hear how his Peggy grieves him; the other despairs of ever giving voice to the full depth of his woes, for all that he does so in song, and is lost in contemplation of "ilka thing in Nature". Thus it was the dowie, more introspective type which Allan chose for Burns's song, the declamatory shepherd eventually languishing and complaining, appropriately enough, on a title-page in Thomson's *A Select Collection of Original Scottish Airs*.

Figure 251

This particular depiction of grief, exclamatory as it is, was developed from a drawing made earlier to illustrate the well-known tale of "Bonny Barbara Allan". Among all his illustrations to Scottish songs, the evolution of Allan's print for this ballad may be most comprehensively studied. Five of his preliminary drawings, at least, date from around 1788, since two of these were intended to embellish *Scotish Song*, like the drawing of Patie and Peggy holding hands which is on the other side of the same sheet of paper. Perhaps because several possible interpretations of the ballad had occurred to Allan, these ideas all running in his thoughts at the same time, it is impossible definitely to establish the order in which he made these five drawings, although that in the centre was probably first, the others being arranged around it. Last of all was the very light sketch at the top of the page, the only one of these drawings to be executed wholly in pencil, a slight indication of the composition he was later to set in the oval frame more typical of his song illustrations.<sup>206</sup> In this finished picture, Barbara, quite distracted, reclines tearfully on a canopied bed before her astonished mother. The scene bears some resemblance to a plate in Otto Van Veen's *Emblemata Amorum*, Allan's possible choice being, appropriately enough, "Love refuseth help".<sup>207</sup> In the form finally adopted, and printed in etching and aquatint, one of only two such prints in Allan's first set, the principal figure is entirely of his own creation, a statuesque female turning away from her mother as she had earlier turned from "Sir JOHN GRAME in the west countrie". It is certain that he saw in the mother's raising of the bed hangings an echo of Barbara Allan's having herself drawn back the curtain of Sir John's death-bed. One of the pen and wash vignettes he considered sending to Ritson was of this scene, Allan having probably intended it to stand at the beginning of the text and to be balanced by "tail piece VIII" at the end.<sup>208</sup> Thus Allan in his print, it seems, made a synthesis of the ballad's rudimentary description and the ironic end of its heroine.

Figure 252

Figure 181

Figure 254



Barbra Allen  
last piece VIII

I am my love dead for me to day  
I'll die for him to morrow.



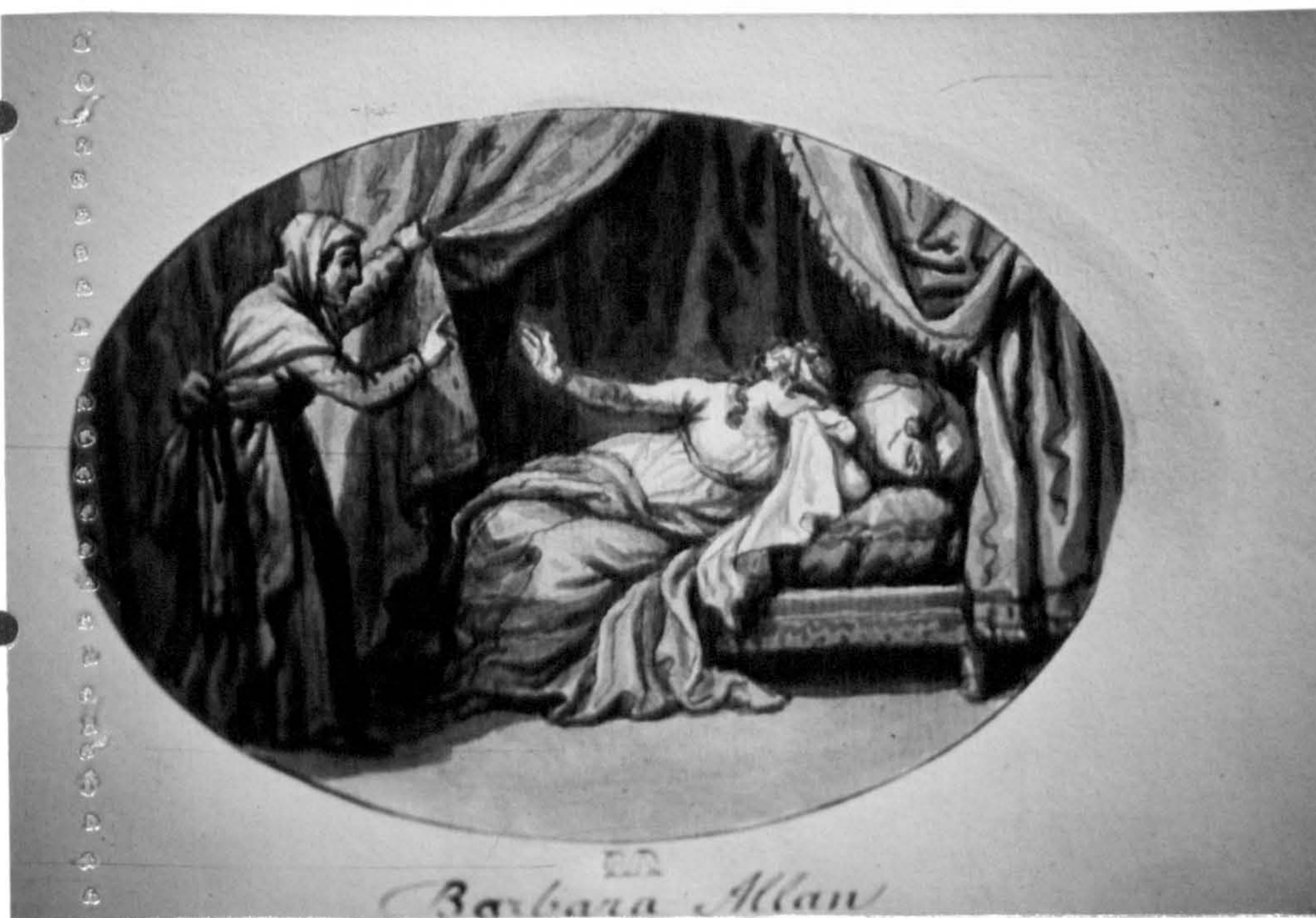
U. 1 - 19



\* O its I'm sick, & very very sick  
and 'tis a for Barbra Allen

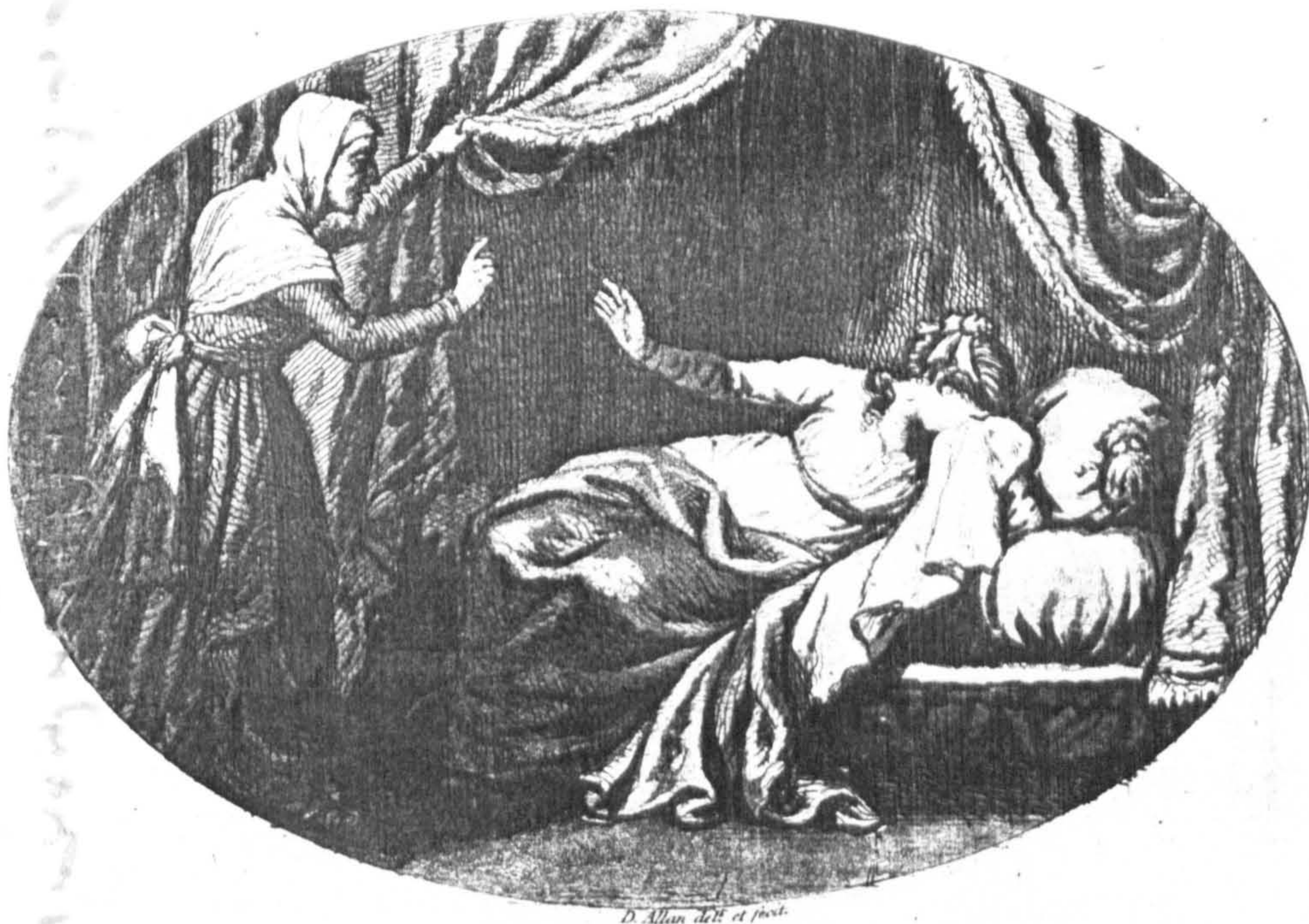
and when she drew the curtain by  
young man I think your dying. \*





253, "Barbara Allan", c. 1790/96, Pen and wash over pencil  $3\frac{1}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{4}$  (oval), Royal Scottish Academy.

AIR—BONNY BARBARA ALLAN.



Since my love "died for me to day,  
I'll die for him to morrow

254.

"Air Bonny Barbara Allan", c. 1795/96, Etching & aquatint  $3\frac{1}{4} \times 4\frac{1}{4}$  (oval; plate-mark  $4\frac{1}{2} \times 7$ ). Inscribed with two lines of verse and "D. Allan del: et fecit". Published in Campbell's *An Introduction to the History of Poetry in Scotland*, Edinburgh, 1798.

[opposite,]

252. "Barbra Allan" (five sketches), c. 1788, Top left: pencil (very faint)  $3 \times 3\frac{1}{2}$ , Top right: pen and wash over pencil  $3 \times 3\frac{1}{2}$ , Centre: pen outline over pencil  $4 \times 3\frac{1}{2}$ , and  $3 \times 2\frac{1}{2}$ , Bottom: pen and wash over pencil  $3 \times 4$ . Inscribed with several lines of verse, "tail piece VIII" and a reference to Herd's *Ancient and Modern Scottish Songs, Heroic Ballads &c.*, (1776). For Ritson's *Scottish Song*, London, 1794, The Mitchell Library, Glasgow, Cowie Collection SR 241 No. 308864 ("Baby Allan her Book Dalmeny June 29 1801"), f. 17 verso (f. 17 recto is reproduced as Figure 181, between pages 243-44).



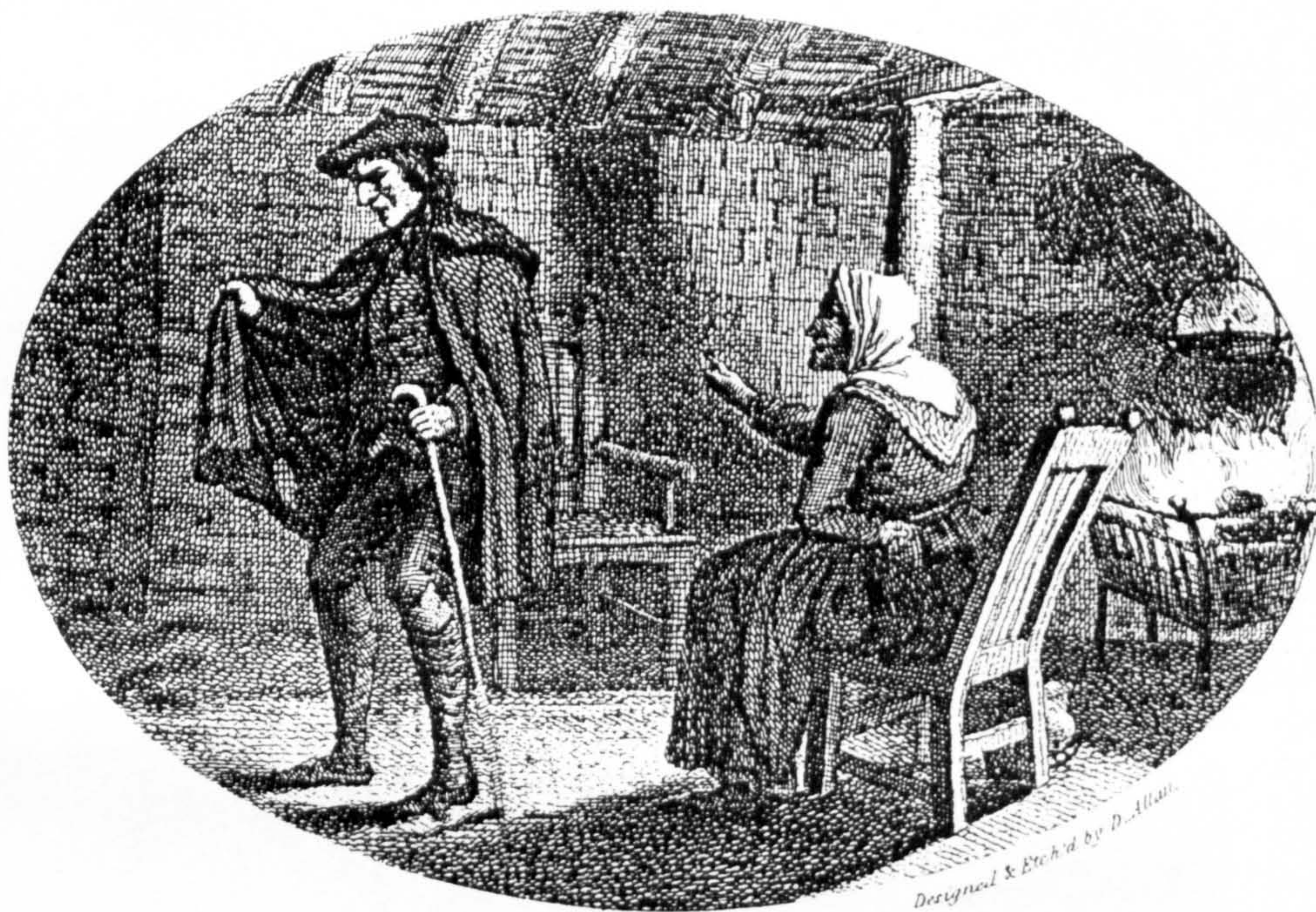


*Pace upon your spinning wheel  
My Jo, Janet.*

255

["My Jo Janet"], c.1790/96. Pen and wash over pencil  $3\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$  (oval). Royal Scottish Academy.

*Published as the Act directs, by G. Thomson Edinburgh 1822*



*Designed & Etch'd by D. Allan*

*Noights to be won at womans hand | Then I'll leave off where I began.  
Unless ye gie her a the plea. | And tak my auld Cloak about me*

256

["Tak yourauld cloak about ye"], c1795/96. Etching  $3\frac{5}{8} \times 4\frac{15}{16}$  (oval). Inscribed with four lines of verse, "Designed & Etch'd by D. Allan" and "Published as the Act directs, by G. Thomson Edinburgh 1822"; from Thomson's *A Select Collection of Original Scottish Airs*, 1822-23 (first octavo edition).



Despite the concern to study his subjects "all from Nature", that recurrent theme in Allan's various writings, the poses, gestures, and expressions of the characters in all these illustrations are quite clearly mannered and often exaggerated.<sup>209</sup> In their rhetorical nature, they call up an echo in every mind, their sentiment and import appreciable in every age. The melancholy nymph or swain, whether in *The Gentle Shepherd* or in the later illustrations to songs and ballads, is readily understood and has been sufficiently described. The gaucy figure of Glaud in the plates for *The Gentle Shepherd* has likewise his counterpart in Allan's song illustrations, the guidman happily seated in his high-backed chair, "fu' snug and bien", frequently grasping a stout stick and usually with a luggie close at hand. The ideal vision of rural content which Allan created in such illustrations is thus sustained by the simple but substantial plenishing of these cottages. So too the authority of the guidman is emphasised by both muckle sait and blackthorn, the latter seemingly having this almost symbolic function throughout Allan's pictures. Having already been seen in his illustration to "Sir Patrick Spens", it is yet to appear at a significant point in his drawing of a Penny Wedding.<sup>210</sup>

The flyting of a typical Scottish courtship, as described in a number of Comic and Jovial songs, though it may have ended in marriage, did not stop there. In any scene of domestic strife, Allan left the viewer in no doubt about how the matter would end. The wife in one song endlessly deaves her husband with requests for gifts like "a keeking-glass" and "a pacing-horse", but without success. The hope of a new pair of shoes is dashed by the auld guidman's douce advice,

"Claut the auld, the new are dear, JANET, JANET;  
Ae pair may gain ye ha'f a year, my jo JANET."

Little wonder then that her other requests are similarly refused, a nearby well being suggested as a cheap alternative to a mirror. Allan's picture shows the moment when the husband points out that Janet would be better employed with a spinning wheel than a pacing-horse. His hold on his walking-stick is firm, his place in the muckle sait is secure, and his authority is not to be overruled, however the glaiket yung wife may question it.

The situation is amusingly reversed in Allan's illustration of another song, and appropriately so, for in that the husband bows to the commands of the guidwife, seen directing him from her own chair close by the fire. An early sketch for this subject shows no more than the guidman, assisted by his wife, happing himself with his old cloak against the winter's

Figure 120

Figure 125

Figure 236

Figure 237

Figure 255

Figure 256



chill, while a collie wags its tail in anticipation.<sup>211</sup> In the version eventually etched and printed, once he had established a visual language capable of suggesting a story rather than one merely additional to the verses and dependent upon them, Allan could confer the authority, or, perhaps more accurately, the docty rauchleness, implied in the song, and thus leave in no doubt which one of the old couple wears the breeks and which yields, in order "to maintain an easy life".

The type which may be identified as the auld guidwife is more usually shown standing, hands on hips, with her sharp features aggressively thrust forward in a manner calculated to emphasise her angular appearance. Such an aspect is not only appropriate to the tenor of verses in which a scolding wife figures, it is even in accord with the music to which they were sung. One feature of Scottish song, as the whole field of interest was understood in Allan's day, which he would have been unlikely to have overlooked is the relationship of airs to verses, the manner in which "the peculiar spirit and genius of each is so admirably adapted to each other".<sup>212</sup> It was not only Herd who commented upon this, for Ritson, Captain Topham and William Tytler all enlarged upon the theme. In 1794 Allan could have read how

"It is the observation of an ingenious writer that 'The Scottish melodies contain strong expression of the passions, particularly of the melancholy kind; in which the air often finely corresponds to the subject of the song. Love' says he, 'in its various situations of hope, success, disappointment, and despair, is finely expressed in the natural melody of the old Scottish songs.' 'It were endless,' he adds, 'to run through the many fine airs expressive of sentiment and passion in the number of our Scottish songs, which, when sung in the genuine natural manner, must affect the heart of every person of feeling, whose taste is not vitiated and seduced by fashion and novelty.' For these reasons the words and melody of a Scottish song should be ever inseperable".<sup>213</sup>

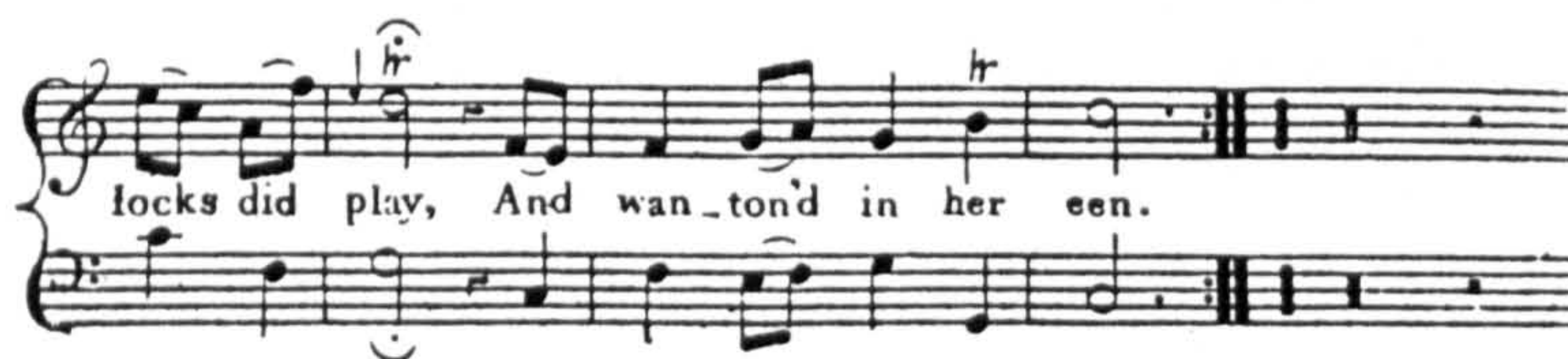
Difficult as it must have been to illustrate around a hundred texts and yet maintain freshness and variety, to suggest the music to which these were sung might appear an impossible task. Not only were these airs widely popular, they were actually so well known to Allan's contemporaries that some are now lost, editors and public alike having been content with collections containing words alone, together with the name of an air to which they were or could be sung, rather than the much more expensive publications with the notation also printed.<sup>214</sup> When Allan Ramsay, for example, took down the ballad of "Johnie Armstrang" from "a Gentleman's Mouth of the Name of Armstrong", he neglected to take down the air to which this descendant sung it.<sup>215</sup>

It is not simply probable but very likely that Allan, as he roughed in each picture and added a few lines of verse, had the music of the song



# The Lass of Peaty's Mill.

21



Her arms, white round and smooth,  
Breasts rising in their dawn,  
To age it would give youth,  
To press them with his hand;  
Through all my spirits ran  
An ecstasy of bliss,  
When I such sweetness fand,  
Wrapt in a balmy kiss.

Without the help of art,  
Like flow'rs which grace the wild,  
She did her sweets impart,  
Whene'er she spoke, or smil'd.

Her looks, they were so mild,  
Free from affected pride,  
She me to love beguil'd;  
I wish'd her for my bride.

O! had I all that wealth  
Hopetoun's high mountains fill,  
Insur'd long life and health,  
And pleasure at my will;  
I'd promise and fulfil,  
That none but bonny she,  
The lass of Peaty's mill,  
Shou'd share the fame with me.



257. [ "The Lass of Patie's Mill" (Ramsay) ],  
c.1794/96 (a later version of Figure 240,  
between pages 279-80), Pen and wash over  
pencil 3 7/8 x 5 1/2 (oval), Royal Scottish  
Academy.

258. Words and music of "The Lass of Peaty's  
Mill" ( Ramsay, the music attributed to  
"David Rezzio" by William Thomson in  
*Orpheus Caledonius*, I, 1725, and to "David  
Rizo" by James Oswald in *The Caledonian  
Pocket Companion*, 12 parts, 1745-1759 ),  
From Johnson's *The Scots Musical Museum*  
( 12<sup>mo</sup> in half-sheets, engraved through-  
out, 8 3/4 x 5 3/4 approx. ), Volume I, 1787,  
page 21, No 20.



ringing in his head at the same time. He certainly preferred "The Gaberlunzie Man" to be set to the measure of "Muirland Willie" rather than to the air it has in *The Scots Musical Museum*, as may be deduced from the words he scratched below one of his drawings of the adventure.<sup>216</sup> Words and music being so well matched, anyone could guess the kind of subject related from the air alone, even if those unfortunate Italian performers at Hopetoun House were still bemused by Allan's mischievous choice of song.<sup>217</sup> It is not claiming much for his pictures to suggest that a viewer could, in like manner, guess from their appearance alone the kind of song each illustrates. It does not require that understanding of his types, his rhetorical gestures, or his symbols, which comes from a study of all these works, to appreciate the farcical humour of "The Brisk Young Lad", the dejection of "Sae merry as we hae been", or the pathos expressed in an untitled watercolour the subject of which may only tentatively be indicated.<sup>218</sup> Nevertheless, it is true that Allan consistently stressed the grace of characters in the Pastorals, an unaffected elegance seldom seen in his illustrations to Comic songs. The Heroic Ballads, too, drew from him pictures in a mode more solemn and robust than that adopted for songs less ancient and subjects less stern.

Figure 234  
PLATE XVII

PLATE XIX

Figure 240  
Figure 257

To term a visual image "lyrical" is perhaps never entirely appropriate, even when that image is intended to illustrate a song. Yet there is no better description, or explanation, of the effect conveyed by Allan's drawings of "The Lass of Patie's Mill". The flowing grace of the figure and her drapery is enhanced, in the second "state" of the picture, by the inclusion of a rake poised upon her shoulder. She is, if tradition is to be believed, returning from "tedding of the hay, bareheaded on the green", before the admiring gaze of Allan Ramsay.<sup>219</sup>

Figure 231  
Figure 12

Nowhere has Allan with more success evoked pictorially the essence of an old melody, with its graceful lines and shapely phrasing, to which Ramsay set his charming verse compliment. There could hardly be a greater contrast than that between this illustration and Allan's picture of Maggie Lauder and the Border piper, the lass herself having already skipped through scenes set everywhere from the Bay of Naples to the East Neuk of Fife. Nor could there be found two airs more typical in their differences of the musical contrast generally held to exist between Pastorals, famed for their "tenderness and pleasing melancholy", and the sprightly Comic or Jovial songs.<sup>220</sup> The one is to be executed smoothly and with elegance, the rise and fall of each phrase complementing the one before as the song flows along in perfect balance, restrained, *sempre legato* and tastefully embellished. Music and verses reach a climax in



Wha wadna be in love &c.

See another set of this Tune Vol. I, 1<sup>st</sup> Page 99

511

Wha wad-na be in love Wi' bon-ny Mag-gy

Lively

Law-der a pip-er met her gain to Fife, And

spier'd what was't they ca'd her right scorn-fully she

answer'd him be-gone, you hallanshaker; Jug on your gate, you

blad-der-skate My name is Mag-gy Law-der.

Maggy, quoth he, and by my bags;  
I'm fidging fain to see you;  
Sit down by me, my bonny bird,  
In troth I winna steer thee:  
For I'm a piper to my trade,  
My name is Rob the Ranter;  
The lasses loup as they were daft  
When I blaw up my chanter.

Then to his bags he flew with speed,  
About the drone he twisted,  
Meg up, and wallop'd o'er the green,  
For brawly could she frisk it.  
Weel done, quoth he; Play up, quoth she:  
Weel bob'd, quoth Rob the Ranter;  
'Tis worth my while to play indeed,  
When I hae sic a dancer.

Piper, quoth Meg, hae you your bags, Weel hae you play'd your part, quoth Meg.  
Or is your drone in order? Your cheeks are like the crimson;  
If you be Rob, I've heard of you, There's nae in Scotland plays sae weel.  
Live you upo' the border? Since we lost Habbie Simpson,  
The lasses a', baith far and near, I've liv'd in Fife, baith maid and wife,  
Have heard of Rob the Ranter; These ten years and a quarter;  
I'll shak my foot wi' right good will, Gin you should come to Enster fair.  
Gif you'll blaw up your chanter. Spier ye for Maggy Lawder.

259, Words and music of "Maggy Lauder" (verses attributed to Francis Semple of Beltrees by William Stenhouse in *Illustrations of the Lyric Poetry and Music of Scotland*, 1839 "on the joint authorities of two of his descendants"), Johnson's *The Scots Musical Museum* (12<sup>mo</sup> in half-sheets, engraved throughout, 8 $\frac{1}{2}$  x 5 $\frac{1}{2}$  approx) Vol. VI, 1803, pp. 562-63, No. 544,

## The Lafs of Peaty's Mill.

21

20

The lafs of Peaty's mill, So bon-ny blythe and gay, In

Slow

spite of all my skill, Hath stole my heart a-way. When

tedding of the hay, Bare-head-ed on the green, Love'mist her

locks did play, And wan-ton'd in her een.

Detail of Figure 258 (previous page),

[Reprise of Figure 231, page 274.]



"Allan has just sketched a charming design from Maggie Lauder. She is dancing with such spirit as to electrify the piper, who seems almost dancing too, while he is playing with the most exquisite glee. I am much inclined to get a small copy and to have it engraved in the style of Ritson's prints."

[George Thomson to Robert Burns, 27<sup>th</sup> October, 1794; *The Works of Robert Burns; with an Account of his Life*, . . . in Four Volumes, edited by James Currie, 1800, the sixth edition, London, 1809, Volume IV, page 186].



the measure rising momentarily above the stave before gliding gracefully back to rest, a sense of expectancy is created with the leaning note and sustained trill, and the piece is resolved by the final, caressive ascending phrase. "Maggie Lauder", on the other hand, launches into its stride on the first beat of the bar, stamping a jaunty, unpredictable, almost challenging character on the listener's attention with its strongly marked, dotted rhythm and relentless impulse throughout the air or along the written score. There is little room for *finesse* here. Performance must be energetic, a fiddler sawing backwards and forwards with only a few inches of the bow rather than drawing its full length across the strings as is required by "The Lass of Patie's Mill", a singer meanwhile snatching breath where he can as the song skelps on from quaver to quaver, bar to bar, with hardly a respite until a single, brief pause after the lowest note and before that decisive return to the tonic. It is not to be wondered at that Rab the Ranter louns as though he were daft, the while skirling the *ceol beag* on his pipes.<sup>221</sup> Herd, echoing Ramsay, had written that the music of Comic songs was

"so well adapted to the sentiment, that any person of a tolerable ear upon hearing it, feels a difficulty in restraining a strong propensity to dance."<sup>222</sup>

Scots, it seems, whether pipers or no, would seldom haud doon this "strong propensity". Doctor Currie, in the edition of Burns's *Works* which he prepared in the last years of the century, wrote with interest but some detachment of the reels, strathspeys, country-dances and hornpipes he had seen in Scottish dancing "schools":

"The attachment of the people of Scotland of every rank, and particularly of the peasantry, to this amusement, is very great. After the labours of the day are over, young men and women walk many miles, in the cold and dreary nights of winter, to these country dancing-schools; and the instant that the violin sounds a Scottish air, fatigue seems to vanish, the toil-bent rustic becomes erect, his features brighten with sympathy; every nerve seems to thrill with sensation, and every artery to vibrate with life. These rustic performers are indeed less to be admired for grace, than for agility and animation, and their accurate observance of time."<sup>223</sup>

Currie would doubtless have felt more at home amid the candle-light and silken glitter of the Assembly Rooms than the smeeck and stour of a rockin or *ceillidh*, and yet he must have encountered the same animation, to say nothing of the same airs and measures, in the one as in the other, since these peasants' "modes of dancing, as well as their tunes, are common to every rank in Scotland, and are now generally known".<sup>224</sup> If all Scotland were not a "nest of singing birds", it was only because those not singing were tuning pipes and fiddles, or waiting their turn in the dance. Captain Topham noted that "Music in general . . . [ was ] not



only the principal entertainment, but the constant topic of every conversation", and frequently saw

"four gentlemen perform one of their reels seemingly with the same pleasure and perseverance as they would have done had they had the most sprightly girl for a partner."<sup>225</sup>

More memorable than any bare statement of the proliferation of several thousand "Garlands", chapbooks or other song collections, more striking even than much accumulated evidence of how the same musical tradition was shared among all the Scots people, "lairds and merchants as well as farmers and artisans, lawyers' wives as well as beggars' doxies", Topham's account offers the best of all reminders that the keen, almost fanatical enjoyment of national music in the society in which and for which Allan created his illustrations must ever be borne in mind.<sup>226</sup> Even when the importance of scholarly and antiquarian interest in this music is acknowledged, and even when links and parallels between these antiquarian studies and contemporary philosophy are recognised, the simple appreciation of these songs, and enjoyment of Allan's pictures, should not be overlooked. It is, of course, unlikely that many among the peasantry cared much about tracing the origins of their favourite songs, or wondered whether these did indeed "afford a specimen of the genius of the inhabitants in former years in this science".<sup>227</sup> They were content to sing the songs or dance the reels, leaving the almost equally vigorous debate to the *Literati*. So too the enjoyment of Allan's illustrations should not be restrained by knowledge gained of the artist's careful planning, nor should it be hindered by that very investigation which reveals something of his skill and their subtlety. They offer a perfect example of that blend of enthusiasm and enquiry so typical of his century, and of that balance maintained between apparent ease and thorough preparation. Burns, for example, in letters to Thomson, could assume the *persona* of an untaught "ploughing poet", one who was "cheaply pleased" with "little melodies, which the learned Musician despises as silly & insipid", and yet, to the humble engraver James Johnson, write more honestly of his researches:

"I send you also two other songs with dir[ec]tions] where to find the tunes,— I have besides many other Songs [on] the stocks, so you need not fear a want of materials— I w[as] so lucky lately as to pick up an entire copy of Oswald's Scots [Music,] & I think I shall make glorious work out of it.— I want m[uch] Anderson's Collection of [s]trathspeys &c., & then I think I will [have] all the Music of th[e] coun[tr]y."<sup>228</sup>

Like any artist, Allan hoped that his works would be appreciated. Like any Historical Painter, he knew that they ought ideally to be instructive as well as "delightful", and had declared as much in 1788, in the Preface



to his edition of *The Gentle Shepherd*. Any didactic intent in his illustrations of Scottish songs is typically of such a general kind as is to be found in "The Highland Dance" of 1780, rather than that kind which aims at specific targets, such as may be seen in some of his other scenes of contemporary life or in several of his plates for *The Gentle Shepherd*, these last having the advantage of their association with Ramsay's well known and instructive text.<sup>229</sup> Even with their frequent incorporation of wise sayings and proverbial advice, and the "narrow moralism" of the more sensational broadsides, the typical song of the time is hardly the place for resounding social criticism.<sup>230</sup> Allan was in these illustrations concerned once again to show how a Scottish artist could with advantage take up the study of national subject-matter, and develop such material in his own way.

Because of contemporary interests, such as have been summarily indicated, many songs were recognised as ancient artefacts which had survived for centuries, their performance remaining an important and enjoyable part of ordinary life. These were primarily the Heroic Ballads, of which Robert Heron - one biographer of Burns - wrote in 1797:

"In the south of Scotland, almost all the best of those ballads are still often sung by the rustic maid or matron at her spinning-wheel. They are listened to, with ravished ears, by old and young. Their rude melody; that mingled curiosity and awe, which are naturally excited by the very idea of their antiquity . . . the manners which they represent; the obsolete, yet picturesque and expressive language in which they are often clothed; give them wonderful power to transport every imagination, and to agitate every heart." <sup>231</sup>

Nor was it only these Epic Tales which were popular among

"cottagers and spinners at the wheel,  
And sun-burnt travellers resting their tired limbs,  
Stretched under wayside hedge-rows", <sup>232</sup>

Other songs of the peasantry, songs perhaps not quite so ancient, were also possessed of that simplicity which, when recognised in "humble and rustic life", was held to be expressive of a more natural and honest state of Mankind's "elementary feelings", the "manners of rural life" being themselves "more durable" because of this very quality.<sup>233</sup> Burns adroitly combined these themes of simplicity and permanence in a Preface to the second volume of *The Scots Musical Museum*, and firmly forestalled any possibility of the "well known merit of our Scottish music", as he put it in his "flaming Preface" to the third volume, being questioned:

"Ignorance and Prejudice may perhaps affect to sneer at the simplicity of the poetry or music of some of these pieces; but their having been for ages the favorites of Nature's Judges - the Common People, was to the Editor a sufficient test of their merit." <sup>234</sup>

In like manner, then, David Allan drew from different sources encouragement for his concentration upon Scottish songs in the last years



of his life. Beyond the unfeigned and universal enjoyment of these songs and ballads, parallels to his concentration may be found in antiquarian writings and literary theories of the time. From near the beginning of the century - from 1711 - date the famous numbers of the *Spectator* in which Addison discussed the "majestick Simplicity" of the ballad "Chevy Chase", drawing comparisons between verses from this traditional tale and passages from the Classics.<sup>235</sup> Allan, it is true, may never have read a word that Addison wrote. On the other hand, in the years between Addison's having broached the subject of "such vulgar pieces" and Allan's having turned to their illustration there had been a remarkable accretion of scholarly writings and popular collections.<sup>236</sup> Even the directions taken by criticism of the works of Homer, so obviously relevant to Gavin Hamilton's epic paintings, were of some importance to the study of ballads, and hence, albeit indirectly, to a proper evaluation of the pictures which came of Allan's interest in this field. In the previous century, Dryden had referred to the belief that Homer had fashioned the *Iliad* from traditional tales of the fall of Troy, and a view that the Homeric poems had been "originally only so many *Songs and Ballads*", the first and best of poets himself a "blind stroller", was current long afterwards.<sup>237</sup> Burns knew of it.<sup>238</sup> Allan's interest in "antiquities and literary history", and the evidence of his knowledge of ancient, of modern, and of contemporary authors, make it probable that he too was familiar with many of these theories and arguments.<sup>239</sup> He could not but have been aware of the ferment of opinion surrounding James Macpherson's translations from ancient Gaelic verses, and he certainly knew of Joseph Ritson's work on Scottish songs.<sup>240</sup> David Herd, in his *Ancient and Modern Scottish Songs, Heroic Ballads, Etc.*, had modestly refused to "hazard a disquisition" on any subject other than the arrangement of pieces in the collection and the "characteristic excellence" of Scottish song.<sup>241</sup> Pinkerton and Percy, in their several collections and dissertations, were less diffident and more diverse, but, since not even a page reference to their volumes is extant in Allan's hand, his knowledge of their writings, and those of other enthusiasts, can only be surmised.<sup>242</sup> The books were available, and Allan was a keen scholar.

Allan's work on Scottish songs continued the resolve expressed in his preface to *The Gentle Shepherd*, and brought to their conclusion the ideas with which he had first experimented in "The Highland Dance". That sense of tradition which he so deliberately stressed in the dedicatory epistle to Gavin Hamilton was largely evoked by reference to the songs sung by



the peasantry. Although his concern in this preface was primarily with an idea of historical continuity rather than the ideal of an enduring simplicity, he had also hoped that Hamilton would not "condemn" him for turning to the "humbler walk of Painting" represented by the set of "expressive and characteristic" plates itself.

Humbler still might appear the song illustrations to which Allan turned at about the same time. It may be significant that the earliest drawings to survive from this collection are almost all of Heroic Ballads, the subjects that had attracted him many years before, probably as early as his days at the Foulis Academy.<sup>243</sup> Allan must have recognised that while the matter of many comic songs and Pastorals is slight enough, there is the stuff of epic, or at least of high drama, in some of these old ballads. The scene of Johnie Armstrang offering defiance to James V, or the meeting of Percy and Montgomery upon the bloody field of Otterburn, like the deeds of Fingal or Macbeth tales of Scottish heroes and outlaws, are "subjects for the pencil" which could well stand beside the "great events of Greek and Roman fable and history".<sup>244</sup> That is, the transition from painting these ancient events, the traditional sources of *istoria*, to depicting similar but more modern subjects, such as the fatal "hunting of Chevy-Chace", was easier of accomplishment than the greater transition from painting scenes of, for example, "The Judgment of Paris", or of Orpheus charming the beasts with his music, to making illustrations of "The Broom of Cowdenknowes" or of Ramsay's version of "Bessie Bell and Mary Gray". The development was certainly aided by contemporary interest in national history and in literary antiquarianism. Allan was not yet twenty when Pine won the first premium at the Society of Artists with a scene from the life of Edward III, and had barely left the Foulis Academy when Percy's *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry* was published.<sup>245</sup>

The publication, from 1760, of *Fragments of Ancient Poetry collected in the Highlands, of Fingal and of Temora* - the "Poems of Ossian, the Son of Fingal" - provided artists all over Europe with an epic literature and a mythology which were emphatically Scottish.<sup>246</sup> About twenty paintings from these works, often from *Fingal*, were exhibited in Britain before the end of the century. More extensive was Runciman's heroic undertaking at Penicuik House, completed in "an astonishing season of work" in the autumn of 1772.<sup>247</sup> While the animated and romantic nature of the Ossianic tales and the controversy surrounding their origin and discovery ought both to be kept in mind, and while paintings from songs and ballads - not to mention published illustrations - were by no means



unknown at this time, it is surprising that so few paintings were derived from these other lyrical sources when so many words were written about all such "reliques" of ancient poetry, whether preserved in old manuscripts or taken down from recitation.<sup>248</sup> Even the score or so drawn from "the Poems of Ossian" is quite a modest tally. The great volume of contemporary paintings based on the works of Shakespeare, for instance, even when those commissioned by Boydell and Woodmason are left aside, is astonishing by comparison. In short, despite a good deal of critical speculation surrounding the traditional ballads, and despite the evidence of their being so popular among the people as a whole, there is little to suggest that many painters recognised in them material worthy of much attention.<sup>249</sup> They were, except among a few gentlemen of *virtù*, and these mainly literary enthusiasts, the amusement of an occasional evening rather than the occupation of many years. By contrast, then, Allan's unique concentration stands in greater relief.

If few artists were prepared to take the Heroic Ballads as sources for their pictures, fewer still chose Pastoral or Comic songs. Yet critical discussion of the language and sentiment of Pastoral poetry and "the *Scotch-Songs*" had preceded the first stirrings of polite interest in the Ballads, and was of particular importance in Scotland.<sup>250</sup> The kinship of Allan's plates for *The Gentle Shepherd* and his illustrations of Scottish songs is not solely to be traced in their appearance. The relationship of these series to his scenes of the peasantry, both of the Highlands and of the Lowlands, is also more subtle than might at first appear.

That the content of songs like "The Waukin of the Fauld", "The Bridal O't" or "The Lea Rig" originated in rural life is sufficiently obvious. Ramsay, Ross and Burns described scenes or festivities such as Allan depicted.<sup>251</sup> It was, however, upon the style of these songs that comment was most frequently made; and in this contemporary context the complex skein of association and similarity between Allan's Genre scenes and his illustrations, and the songs and society which inspired them, may best be teased out and understood. When one man of letters wrote that "there is a pleasure in taking a view of that simplicity, in opposition to the luxury of succeeding ages", his sentiments were those of many travellers in the Highlands and of several critics of Scottish songs; yet his subject was Homer, "the most ancient author in the heathen world".<sup>252</sup> When another, comparing Homer with Ossian, wrote that "it is not from the age of the world, but from the state of society, that we are to judge of resembling times", the reader is reminded that contemporaries were not only "naturally led to run a parallel in some instances between the Greek



and Celtic bard", but were also led to identify those "genuine venerable monuments of a very remote antiquity" with the "compositions & Fragments which are daily sung . . . by . . . the common people", when, that is, those people remained "uncultivated", their society, if not in its "infancy", at least "not far remote from its original simplicity".<sup>253</sup> The frequency with which men of letters extolled the "simplicity" of both words and music in Scottish songs is a measure of its perceived importance, as has previously been indicated.<sup>254</sup> In the nature of its songs the characteristics of a rural society were revealed.

Scottish song and music, if not always in "the Dorian mood", were of a part with that Arcadian simplicity perceived, somewhat idealistically, to exist among the peasantry. Airs and verses were thus natural and unaffected partly because they were ancient in fact, partly because they were the expression of a native genius regarded favourably, even enviously, as primitive. If it were hoped that the "happy volumes" of *The Tea-Table Miscellany* would live "as long as the Song of Homer in Greek and English", it was because the songs which they contained were expected to prove no less durable.<sup>255</sup> The simplicity of these songs was natural and essential. They would long continue to "affect the heart of every person of feeling, whose taste is not vitiated and seduced by fashion and novelty".<sup>256</sup> That is, the inherent merit of such simple verses - and of songs by "ingenious" poets of later date, working in emulation of their often anonymous predecessors - should long continue to charm what Wordsworth termed the "indestructible qualities of the human mind".<sup>257</sup>

The principle itself would not have been unfamiliar to Allan's contemporaries. Reynolds observed that "what has pleased, and continues to please, is likely to please again", since "there are certain and regular causes by which the imagination and passions of men are affected".<sup>258</sup> The particular application, however, and Allan's development of it, may well have appeared startling. Yet his having defended publicly and in advance his edition of *The Gentle Shepherd*, his attempt to emulate Ramsay in "the imitation of agreeable nature", could indicate more than apprehension of unfavourable or derisive criticism. It may not be entirely coincidental that Burns had hailed "the Common People" as "Nature's Judges" earlier in the same year, preferring the unaffected simplicity of their genuine taste to the fluctuating dictates of fashion.<sup>259</sup>

If a critic, then, were to slight these illustrations because of their subjects and their simplicity, if "Ignorance and Prejudice" were to regard them with a disdainful smile, such personified Condescension would reveal



a faulty taste in the viewer rather than any failure on the artist's part. Should such a viewer's ability to draw analogies between one art and others be thus limited, he would be less able to achieve a deeper understanding of any, and therefore be unlikely to appreciate Allan's pictures other than superficially. After all, if similarities between ancient tales and modern need be pointed out in justification of an artist's interests, the best Scottish Pastoral songs had nothing to fear from such a comparison. Being concerned with "rural courtship, the description of natural objects, and the incidents of rural life" rather than tales of valour and martial glory, Pastorals could be thought analogous to ancient idylls and *Georgics* rather than the *Iliad* or the *Aeneid*, to the Parables rather than the Passion.<sup>260</sup> When properly united with the texts on which they were based, and seen in the light of their own times, Allan's illustrations may be appreciated as compositions which, "with all the Beauties of Nature, have also the additional Advantages of Art".<sup>261</sup>

It is hardly necessary to suppose that Allan's contemporaries, whether friends and patrons or unknown, anonymous buyers of his prints, recognised in these illustrations a simplicity appropriate to their subjects. Burns, who thought simplicity a quality essential to songs and ballads, several times wrote of Allan's work in terms of the most generous approval.<sup>262</sup> Thomson, for his part, allowed that "in subjects of the pastoral and humorous kind he [was], perhaps, unrivalled by any artist living".<sup>263</sup> Most directly of all, some two hundred of Allan's drawings and paintings, sold in Edinburgh in 1797, were said to possess

"all that originality, character, and interesting simplicity of Composition which distinguished his Productions",<sup>264</sup>

As he had already done in conceiving and executing the largest version of "The Highland Dance", Allan, with similar intentions, in these small illustrations combined a number of ideas then current, distinct but related, into a synthesis unique and original. The results are more successful, more assured in these prints and drawings than in this painting, or in the equally muted Historical painting of the Vestals attending the sacred fire, perhaps because Allan found their smaller scale more congenial - his aquatint of "The Highland Dance", published in 1783, is an accomplished exercise in the medium - but more probably because his deliberate *naïveté* and stylised figures are more easily accepted, more obviously appropriate, in illustrations of fiction than in depictions of reality. An ungainly "simplicity" is an uncomfortable failing in some of the characters in his pictures of Highland scenes, and may be attributed to the same cause as can the stiffness of the central maiden in the

PLATE I

Figure 67

Figure 93



Historical painting of some years earlier, a figure all too suggestive of the marble from which she was derived. They are works planned and composed from a position of some detachment, the artist imposing upon them an appearance which had already been determined by his thoughts on others' theories rather than allowing a form and style, suggested by his interpretation of a subject in a particular light, to evolve in harmony with the subject itself, guided by his feeling and his understanding. That is, the style of these later pictures, particularly the song illustrations, is one which, rather than being too obviously chosen to suit the subject-matter, seems to have grown naturally from it. Such an intuitive approach would naturally occur more readily, was perhaps inevitable, when Allan based pictures upon songs which he had long enjoyed, upon a tradition with which he had grown up rather than a society which he had visited and observed, or a history which he had studied. While these early works may have been composed with as much conviction as his song illustrations, these last drawings, in their greater confidence and security, certainly suggest more true feeling and spontaneity.

At the same time, like his plates for *The Gentle Shepherd*, Allan's illustrations to contemporary songs were pointedly founded upon his observation of contemporary life. It is interesting that he never seems entirely at ease with Ossianic subjects, preferring scenes of reflection and seclusion to those of violent action. Wash drawings of a wounded *gaisgeach* beside a forest or of a frantic *ribhinn* before a stormy sea are exceptions among his pictures. In his illustrations to Scottish Songs, and to *The Gentle Shepherd*, Allan was on more congenial ground. In that "attempt to join with the Poet of [his] native country, in the imitation of agreeable nature", he had studied the landscape features of the Pentland Hills and the communities situated there, recording in his pictures the characters and places that Ramsay had depicted in his poetry. It may have been his familiarity with this pastoral comedy, with its constant reminders of rural labour and struggle, that led him to welcome opportunities of including in these later pictures, in addition to specific details like the rake carried by "The Lass of Patie's Mill", such evocative touches as a few ousen-bows and coulter, or a laden hey-wain rumbling along one of the country's many new turnpike roads. His shepherd lads and lasses are those he had seen every day as a boy in Alloa, and those he had met during the summer of 1786 among the Pentland Hills or along the North Esk water. When "the rising lark salutes the morn" in one song, Allan's drawing is of a shepherd just risen from a night spent on the hills with his flock, his plaid, heavy in its dampness, draped around

PLATE XI

Figure 179

PLATE XXI





My Jockey toils <sup>222</sup> upon the plain,  
Through wind & wet, through frost & snow  
And o'er the lea I look fu' fain,  
When Jockey's owen hameward ca'.

260, ["Young Jockey was the blythest lad"], c. 1790/96 (a reworking of older versions, and listed in Law MS. as "49. Jockey was the blythest lad - Mr. Burns's old words", this song appeared in *SMM* III, p. 297, No. 287). Pen and wash over pencil 3 1/4 x 5 1/2 (oval), Royal Scottish Academy.



261, [A Border Collie], c. 1786/88; study for Roger's dog in Plate 1, Allan's edition of Ramsay's *The Gentle Shepherd*, Foulis Press Glasgow 1788 (Figure 115, between pp 168-69). Pencil on paper 3 1/4 x 4 1/4, Glasgow University Library Special Collections, Wylie Collection 1138-1921 Bh 14-x.13.

"His breast was white, his towzie back,  
Weel clad wi' coat o' glossy black;  
His gawsie tail, wi' upward curl,  
Hung owre his hurdies wi' a swirl."

[ Robert Burns; "The Twa Dogs, A Tale", 1785/86.1

"Every shepherd is attended by his dog; he stands in the valley, and sends the dog up the hill to the sheep. When the animal hath executed in part the commission with which he was sent out, he turns, looks at his master, and waits for further orders. When, by certain words, or rather vocal sounds, he hath learned anew the will of his master, he sets off again, and moves the sheep in whatever direction he is commanded."

*The Statistical Account of Scotland*, Account of the Parish of Crawford (County of Lanark) by the Rev. Mr. James Maconochie [1792]; *SA*, Vol. VII, pp. 207-08.



PLATE XX

his shoulders against the early chill. His dog stands ready to be off, unlike the numerous other collies curled at their masters' feet. These dogs, like the sheep and kye of many a picture, are repetitions based originally upon Allan's sketchbooks, which also provided the miry beasts returning from the plough in an illustration to one of Burns's songs, and the wiry little goat sketched as it nibbled at a hedge by the roadside, or browsed beside the mineral well at Moffat.

Figure 260

PLATE XVI

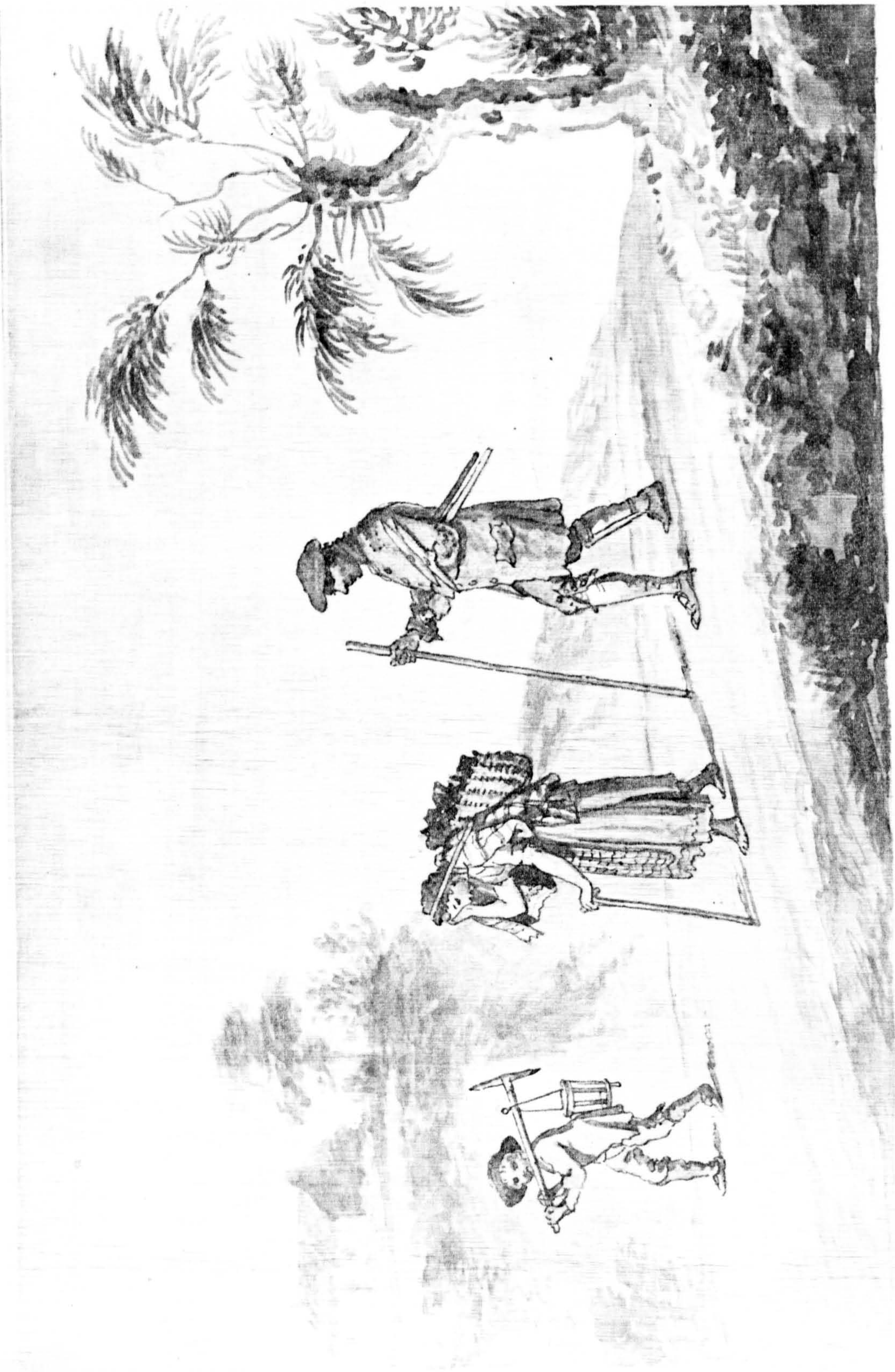
Despite their convincing settings, the most memorable feature of these scenes is not realism. As has already been pointed out, they are artfully composed pictures of artificial compositions, a personal exploration of the images suggested by songs then popular. There is in these pictures nothing of the grimness of Crabbe. On the other hand, neither are they wholly idealised. Whether a song or ballad is sentimental, humorous, pathetic, or even brutal, and although Allan's characters are always created, and his settings chosen, to complement the tone, his depictions reflect country life in a honest manner, as Burns for one recognised. Burns was quite intolerant of "Exotic rural imagery", and laughed to scorn such ludicrous pastoral conventions as "a purpose of marriage between *Adonis & Mary*".<sup>265</sup> He therefore admired the honesty in those of Allan's pictures he knew, an honesty which - within the constraints necessarily imposed by the lyrical and pastoral idiom - went beyond accuracy of costume and landscape, beyond even the frequent reminders of rural labour, to the depiction of the bent backs and lined faces of the oldest characters seen in these literary illustrations.

Such figures are both in character with the verses and in keeping with the time and the land to which they belong. If the labour of these people is more often implied than depicted, if they sometimes seem more familiar with the languor of theatrical shepherds and shepherdesses in Continental *fêtes galantes* than the birr and fyke of a Lothian market or Galloway fair, thrang with hynds and drovers, little else could be expected of Allan's drawings, if they were accurately and successfully to capture the spirit and reflect the tone of the Pastoral pieces they illustrate. Their tensions and contradictions are those inherent to the genre of Pastoral song itself.

When such demands were not imposed, when such conditions did not have to be satisfied, Allan's pictures of Scottish people could be of a less artificial cast. Related to his drawings of hawkers, trades-folk and civic officials, though not formally part of the collection, is one of his starkest images of labour and privation. "Colliers return from work" dates from 1783, and most probably shows a hewer and his two bearers

Figure 262





262.

"Colliers return from work", signed and dated 1783. Pen and watercolours over pencil 8 1/2 x 12 1/4. Sold in Edinburgh, February 10<sup>th</sup>, 1797; Glasgow University Library, Special Collections, Wylie Collection 1138-1921 Bh. 14-x 13.



from one of the many mines owned by the Earl of Hopetoun, from those near Dunfermline owned by others among Allan's patrons, the Halketts of Pitfirrane, or even from those at Alloa belonging to the Erskines of Mar.<sup>266</sup> The lad, not long in the pits, looks with wide-eyed interest at the viewer, but the years and the labour have taken their toll upon his parents. His mother, bowed beneath the weight of a laden creel, and his father, stooped, with dragging feet, seem oblivious of all but the road before them and their weary joints and muscles. Her moggans were by no means an unusual fashion at the time - country women would generally be seen "skelpan barefit" - but the mother's ragged skirt and her husband's patched coat are a world removed from the airy and joyous evenings of Pastoral song.<sup>267</sup> It is, however, in the *feeling* of this watercolour, rather than in such details, that the major difference between it and these pleasant scenes lies. These serfs, so often regarded with "mysterious horror" by others but drawn by Allan with such sympathetic humanity, could never be taken for "people of fashion" tired of masquerading as swains and shepherdesses, wearied of stooping, for the artist and only for a moment, to the position of gleaners, or seeking a guise even more novel than having themselves portrayed "in the character of gypsies".<sup>268</sup> Ragged clothes can be assumed as easily as faces can be washed, but in the slow, deliberate movement of this group, in the feeling of aching exhaustion, any suggestion of release from heavy darg is quite overwhelmed by the reminder of hours spent hunkered in the cramped, stifling, often flooded seams of the mines.

No more should the widespread contemporary enthusiasm for music be studied independently of the greater social and cultural context than the words of a song should be divorced from its air. The eighteenth century was a time of change. In Scotland, contributors to the first *Statistical Account* enthusiastically reported how "improvements were diffused through the whole country", and other writers of the end of the century noted that "all ranks of men have been changing their modes and manners and sentiments".<sup>269</sup> Some travellers might still hope to find in the Highlands "simplicity and wildness, and all the circumstances of remote time and place" so close at hand, but Johnson and Boswell, who had set out for the Highlands and the Western Isles in order to observe "a system of antiquated life", were disappointed in this object, and concluded that they had gone there "too late to see what [they had] expected".<sup>270</sup> Few could have been ignorant of the changes then taking place in the Lowlands, changes brought about both by improvements in agriculture and



by industrial developments. With greater areas under cultivation, and, at the same time, many of those who would have been tenants of small holdings forced to "fall to the ranks of the landless labourer", a class of farmer quite different from that once typified by the guidman came to occupy the properties which had been created by "the union of small into large farms" as well as by the enclosure of common land.<sup>271</sup>

From the greater efficiency both of this reorganisation and of newly introduced methods of husbandry, these farmers, despite their rents being higher, lived in "a degree of affluence unknown to their more humble predecessors".<sup>272</sup> No longer following implicitly the primitive practices of their forefathers, the "toiling and struggling cultivators of small farms", they rose "above the rank of peasantry in knowledge, education and manners, assimilating in many respects to the character of country gentlemen".<sup>273</sup> By the end of Allan's life, the "simple establishment of the rustic husbandman [had come] to emulate that of the more polished citizen of the capital", and even if he did not see within their "commodious" homes all these "comforts and conveniencies", a fouth of newly bought furniture and fabrics, evidence was all around him in the sight of many handsome new farm buildings in the Lothians, while a "rage for finery" in dress was, it seems, also "diffused through the whole country".<sup>274</sup> Twenty years after the citizens of Edinburgh thought themselves bienly clad if happit in "gude Braid Claith", even ploughmen and servant lads might come to kirk in velvet waistcoats, with "coats of English cloth, hats on their heads, and watches in their pockets", while, among country women who had formerly "dressed in gowns and petticoats of their own spinning, with a cloth cloak and hood of the same, or a tartan or red plaid", silken caps and cloaks were commonplace.<sup>275</sup>

Such material prosperity, the signs of which were everywhere evident, was won at the cost of much change to the way of life long followed in the Lowlands. Hundreds of little fermtouns, close-knit communities in which co-operative labour had been the practice for generations, were replaced by new and larger farms, managed by those who could render an "adequate rent" to the landowner and who employed at the seasonal hiring fairs hynds who may themselves recently have been tacksmen or cotters. Whatever farm workers thought of these changes, their views, and those of their families, must have been tempered by recognition of the benefits which accrued from this agricultural revolution, benefits in which they eventually shared, as did society at large.<sup>276</sup>

Things were rather different among the *Literati* and other "persons of condition". Ignorant of the real conditions of rural life, these men of



learning could write at leisure of its fancied delights, "exposing the best side only of a shepherd's life", concealing its labour and miseries, and offering to their readers "an image of what [was called] the golden age".<sup>277</sup> The rewards of progress exacted in return costs much regretted among such theorists. While the concept of "Progress" in many fields was to become an important feature of nineteenth-century thought, doubts about the benefits of civilisation, discontent with the rapid growth of cities together with their attendant "luxury" and corruption, and hostility towards excessive "refinement", had been expressed long before, most forcefully by Rousseau. Many more shared his misgivings than openly espoused his views. In Scotland, both Adam Smith and Adam Ferguson looked askance at some states of society and at "the corruptions incident to polished nations", while, in Italy at about the same time, James Barry saw "primitive" peasants in a lyrical and idyllic light:

"blessed be the poverty of this people, and long may it continue to their latest posterity. It has preserved them, (though in the state of ignorance) the elegant notions of their forefathers; it has kept it out of their power to flaunt about after the deliriums and new fangled whims of fashionable people in great cities, and you shall not be able in your Londons, Paris, Romes, &c. to cull me out such an object as one of these women, standing near a fountain, with her sweet antique formed vase upon her head".<sup>278</sup>

Thus, while Improvement was generally welcomed, its effect on "the manners" was not. Scottish farmers might be encouraged, or be forced by necessity, to abandon old methods of cultivating the land, but at the same time the *Literati* and other educated townsfolk looked with dismay upon an increase of cultivation among the peasantry. Some results of progress were more acceptable than others. David Allan, having seen how the age-old social organisation of the Lothians was being superseded, could also have heard of the effect such disruption was expected to have on the "manners of rural life", and, as a matter of course, on the traditional music of the country as a whole.<sup>279</sup> He would certainly have read gloomy predictions of the fate awaiting "the rural Muse of Scotia".<sup>280</sup>

It has been shown, and it must be stressed, that two different approaches, approaches virtually disparate, could be taken towards traditional song.<sup>281</sup> The antiquarian, rescuing relics formerly "buried 'midst the wreck of things which were", might only have a slight understanding of the contemporary song culture, since his view was circumscribed by the ramparts of manuscripts and black-letter broadsides within which he had immured himself in his quest for original texts and the light which these threw upon "the peculiar manners and customs of former days".<sup>282</sup> The Heroic ballads which most enthralled him were not properly to be regarded as so many curiosities from the past, but as familiar and vital



features of the present. Even the most ancient pieces were daily sung, often as variants peculiar to different areas, by "the rustic maid or matron at her spinning-wheel" or by the ploughman laddie or herd-callant at kirn and rockin.<sup>283</sup> More recent arrivals had also been welcomed "at the firesides of the peasantry of Scotland", or been sung by ladies and gentlemen in the towns to the "slight and delicate accompaniment" of a harpsichord or cittern, for the best part of a century.<sup>284</sup> George Thomson reminded owners of his *Select Collection* that "most of the Songs which [had] so long been favourites" had been published by Ramsay, and the influence of *The Tea-Table Miscellany* may be as easily traced in folio and quarto volumes compiled by William Thomson and Robert Bremner as in flocks of less ambitious song-books from later in the century, "new Musical Publications" like *The Lark*, *The Linnet*, *The Goldfinch* and *The Scots Nightingale: or, Edinburgh Vocal Miscellany*.<sup>285</sup>

*The Tea-Table Miscellany* provided David Herd with more than two-fifths of the *Ancient and Modern Scottish Songs, Heroic Ballads, Etc.* which, in 1776, he offered to the public as "a more compleat and better arranged collection of Scottish songs than any hitherto published".<sup>286</sup> His claim was justified, his achievement remarkable; the comprehensiveness of his collection is matched by the diversity of his sources. He was not, of course, the only editor to look beyond the pages of Ramsay's "happy volumes"; in the same year as he brought out his definitive edition there was published in Edinburgh *The Nightingale: A Collection of Ancient and Modern Songs, Scots and English; None of Which are in Ramsay*, and other contemporary miscellanies, instead of relying entirely upon pieces already popular, generally did include some more modern pastoral songs, often set to favourite traditional airs.<sup>287</sup> That these newcomers, despite an unmistakable family resemblance, had not found a place in *The Tea-Table Miscellany* was merely an accident of birth; they had not yet been composed while it was being compiled. The line of their descent from the verses written by Ramsay's original circle of "ingenious young gentlemen" is direct, and they were made equally welcome at the tea-tables of fashionable society.<sup>288</sup> Not only was he "well assured" that "new Words to known good Tunes" would prove very acceptable, Ramsay was determined that "the modest Voice and Ear of the fair Singer might meet with no Affront" from the contents of his miscellany, dedicated as it was

*To ilka lovely British lass,  
Frae Ladies Charlotte, Anne, and Jean,  
Down to ilk bonny singing Bess  
Who dances barefoot on the Green,* <sup>289</sup>

To this end, Ramsay, no doubt still drawing on the assistance of his youthful collaborators, and more obviously influenced by the sentimental



pieces then being published in London than by folk-songs current in Edinburgh, set about taming many of the traditional strains which he had waled for his collection, carefully shaping Scots song into a form "acceptable to all persons of taste".<sup>290</sup> So accurately did he judge the polite taste of his own day, and so thoroughly did he influence that of future years, that - whatever remained current among the country people themselves, whatever was still to be "heard at country firesides" turn about with favourite stall songs or the latest broadside ballad - it was Ramsay's new versions, versions all too often inappropriately refined and consequently "at once more chaste and more dull", which were circulated in the genteel gatherings of both "North Britain" and England, which were performed at "concerts both public and private", and which were regularly printed, in elegant song-books and in more homely chapbooks, throughout the century.<sup>291</sup> Herd was more adventurous than other editors, and his collection enlarged upon the repertoire defined by Ramsay in one significant way.<sup>292</sup> He did, of course, include a number of previously unpublished songs by "eminent modern Scots poets" in addition to those which he culled from various printed sources, but did not rely only upon material of this kind.<sup>293</sup> Herd's volumes differ from other miscellanies of the time in that among the verses there "collected from Memory, Tradition, and ancient authors" were many folk-songs which had "never before appeared in print", songs, sometimes fragmentary, which seem to have been published exactly as Herd and others had taken them down, neither polished and expurgated in the way that those admitted to *The Tea-Table Miscellany* had been refined by Ramsay and his coterie, nor "supplied and filled up, in the manner that old broken fragments of antique statues [had] been repaired and compleated by modern masters".<sup>294</sup>

As Ramsay's had been, Herd's collection was in its turn a reflection of the taste and interests of the time. Although he did, particularly in some of the Heroic Ballads, restore and correct "many stanzas and passages . . . by collating different versions", Herd did not, when arranging the shorter lyrics, venture to piece out "the shatter'd wrecks of these venerable old compositions" before they were published.<sup>295</sup> That "undertaking", together with the firriting out of dozens, perhaps scores of other traditional verses, and the setting of words to airs which lacked them, was left to Burns, and was accomplished principally in the six volumes of *The Scots Musical Museum*.<sup>296</sup>

Like Herd's collection, James Johnson's "text book & standard of Scottish Song & Music" was "not intended to be confined to the critical antiquarian, but devoted to the amusement of the public at large".<sup>297</sup> As



everyone would have anticipated on reading of his intention to "unite the Songs and Music of Scotland in one general collection", Johnson, in preparing his first "handsome pocket volume", quarried *The Tea-Table Miscellany* quite as evidently as Herd had done.<sup>298</sup> It was intended that each volume of the *Museum* should contain at least one hundred songs, together with "the original Music, embellished with Thorough Basses by one of the ablest Masters"; around half of the texts in the first volume, and just under a third of those in the second, would have been familiar from the pages of Ramsay's collection, or, with melody and *continuo*, from William Thomson's *Orpheus Caledonius*.<sup>299</sup> At the same time as the *Museum* addressed the interests of "admirers of social Music", however, it was, like *Ancient and Modern Scottish Songs* - despite Herd's protest that the latter was "a work of slight importance, which hath no higher aim than mere amusement" - much more than a popular collection of pieces in an established form.<sup>300</sup> Johnson intended, virtually from the first, that his "pocket-companions" would "contain all the Scotch Songs, those that [had] been already set to music and those that [had] not, that [could] be found", and it was with some optimism that he concluded his prefatory address "To The True Lovers Of Caledonian Music and Song":

"In the meantime, it is humbly requested, if any Lady or Gentleman have any Song of Merit with the Music (never hitherto published) of the true Ancient Caledonian strain, that they would be pleased to transmit the same to the Publisher, that it may be submitted to the proper Judges, and so be preserved in this Repository of our National Music and Song".<sup>301</sup>

This note was taken up again in the Preface to the second volume:

"Wherever the old words could be recovered, they have been preferred; both as generally suiting better the genius of the tunes, and to preserve the productions of those earlier Sons of the Scottish Muses, some of whose names deserved a better fate than has befallen them — 'Buried 'midst the wreck of things which were'".<sup>302</sup>

Nothing could indicate more succinctly the change in attitude which had taken place since Ramsay's day, an impression confirmed by a study of both the *Museum* and Herd's collection. Ramsay's volumes had manifestly been devoted to social amusement alone, their contents quite as miscellaneous as those of Scottish music manuscripts from the previous century, with courtly airs going through their paces side by side with more boisterous country springs.<sup>303</sup> Although he did include a fair number of songs "done time out of mind", Ramsay, far from preferring "the old words", had often deliberately suppressed them and replaced many "ane hie ruff sang" with his own verses or with those of his ingenious young collaborators, in too many cases succeeding all too well.<sup>304</sup> He set out to make popular a kind of "Scots Song", written to a "known good Tune", perhaps formed upon a traditional foundation, occasionally taking over a



line here and there, adapting a situation, sometimes even incorporating whole verses, and when his work was finished, and the *Tea-Table Miscellany* had been sent on its way with an assurance of a "favourable Reception wherever the Sun shines on the free-born cheerful Briton", the printed collections were to turn their backs on the oral tradition for the next half-century. When Herd came to write the preface for his own collection, he was sadly aware that, in many cases, the old words had been "irrecoverably lost", and a recurring feature of collectors' tales from this time is the "fine old tune, which in all probability would have been lost, had not one of the gentlemen . . . taken it down".<sup>305</sup>

The aims of the publisher of Scots songs, it seems, had merged with those of the antiquarian. This shift in emphasis became even more pronounced among the song collectors of the generations immediately after Herd and Burns, men like Scott, Leyden, Jamieson and Finlay, William Motherwell, Peter Buchan, Kinloch, Cromek and Hogg. The regular appearance in contemporary writings of persuasive words and phrases - "of a former day", "one of the most ancient", "of very high antiquity", "the original air in its ancient purity", even the hallowed "time out of mind" - shows that, above all, they and their public were eager for the oldest songs that could be heard, preferably taken down from the recitation of the oldest singers that could be found.<sup>306</sup> At least one song in the *Museum*, for instance, was noted down from the singing of James Johnson's father, a song "acquired by old Johnson in his infancy, and he was then informed that it was very ancient".<sup>307</sup> The professed object of collectors, then, was more akin to that of Ritson, painstakingly searching after the oldest notation surviving for each melody he recorded, than to that of George Thomson,<sup>†</sup> in both verses and "arrangements" for his own publications leaning towards contemporary performance in the polite gatherings at St. Cecilia's Hall.<sup>308</sup> Such an approach to these songs was but one facet of that more objective study of the past which became increasingly marked in many fields and drew upon a wide range of evidence.<sup>309</sup> Ritson himself wrote of "the favorable attention which the public has constantly shewn to works illustrating the history, the language, the manners, or the amusements of their ancestors, and particularly to such as have professed to give any of the remains of their lyric compositions".<sup>310</sup> Bishop Percy,

<sup>†</sup> Thomson, it is true, wrote that his intention had been to publish "a pure and standard Repository" of airs "in their best and most authentic form", but his volumes formed a *select* collection, a "Work from which nothing could well be taken away rather than one to which nothing might be added". His primary purpose was not to publish these airs as antiquarian relics, but with the *Select Collection* to "fix and preserve the Scottish Music from the alterations of chance, ignorance, or caprice". His concern was not that these songs might be *forgotten*, either by the peasantry or by polite society, but that they might in future generations be given embellishments and *nuances* less appropriate, in his view, than those employed in his own day by "judicious Singers" like Corri, Urbani and Tenducci.



for his part, had drawn a parallel between "fill[ing] up the breaches" of incomplete ballads and "finish[ing] and mend[ing] up" broken Antique statues, and in fact the concern with pursuit and publication of accurate texts may be directly compared with developing attitudes towards restoration.<sup>311</sup> By the early nineteenth century, Ramsay could "frequently [be] censured for suppressing the ancient songs, and substituting his own inferior productions in their stead", though the exacting standards of textual accuracy set and advocated by Ritson and Pinkerton were not always followed or, in certain instances, approved.<sup>312</sup> When William Stenhouse, in his monumental *Illustrations of the Lyric Poetry and Music of Scotland*, sighed that "the original song . . . has escaped every research of the editor", he threw into greater prominence his relief, expressed with telling regularity, that so many pieces had been "rescued from oblivion by old David Herd".<sup>313</sup>

It seems inevitable that those who studied "antiquities and literary history" — as David Allan did — and those who compiled collections of popular songs, should sometimes think ahead, to a time beyond their own.<sup>314</sup> Their speculation about the future was a reflection of their enquiry into the past.<sup>315</sup> The Scottish songs had not only grown from a rude time and a simple people, they had flourished in a peasant society that was innately conservative. As deeply-rooted a part of the life of the fermtoun as the centuries-old cycle of ploughing and hairst, their phrases might be imagined following the seasonal rhythm in an accompaniment which spanned generations. In a time of radical change, therefore, it seemed that their origin and progress were to be balanced by their decline and fall; a melancholy cadence echoing the fortunes of that communal life in which they had been nurtured. The songs, in short, were expected to vanish before the inevitable advances of Improvement, leaving, perhaps, a few fragments of verses and airs behind, like isolated wallsteads to which the people will never return.<sup>316</sup> Sir Walter Scott regretted that many "successive garlands of song [had] sprung, flourished, faded, and [been] forgotten in their turn", and continued,

"like the natural free gifts of Flora, these poetical garlands can only be successfully sought for where the land is uncultivated; and civilisation and increase of learning are sure to banish them, as the plough of the agriculturist bears down the mountain daisy." <sup>317</sup>

Allan was surely influenced by sentiments such as these. While the world which he depicted in his song illustrations was largely bounded by the rigs and loans of the fermtoun, the society with which he was most familiar dwelt among the wynds and closes of the City of Edinburgh, or the streets and squares of the New Town. Regarding fervour of spirit and



animation of language in verse and in song so highly, Allan's contemporaries could not but have regretted, with Hugh Blair, that the progress of society should inevitably cause "the genius and manners of men [to] undergo a change more favourable to accuracy than to sprightliness and sublimity", and could not but have deplored, as he did, the understanding's gaining ground upon the imagination.<sup>319</sup> The songs and verses of rude societies and barbarous ages, "irregular and unpolished" though they might be, were animated with "that enthusiasm, that vehemence and fire, which are the soul of poetry".<sup>319</sup> The "fire and enthusiasm of the most early times" might still be sought - or still be imagined to exist - in the Highlands, but was recognised to be fading away in the Lowlands.<sup>320</sup> Ritson, with whose *Scottish Song* and its masterly "Historical Essay on Scottish Song" Allan was familiar, stated from a position of apparently unchallenged authority that

"The era of Scottish music and Scottish song is now passed; the pastoral simplicity and natural genius of former ages no longer exist; a total change of manners has taken place in all parts of the country, and servile imitation usurped the place of original invention. All, therefor, which now remains to be wished, is that industry should exert itself to retrieve and illustrate the reliques of departed genius".<sup>321</sup>

There can be no question but that collectors were further stimulated by the expectation that the days of country songs were numbered. The very fervour of their activity then seems, in turn, to have confirmed the existence of such a mortal danger. A specifically antiquarian approach was certainly seen in retrospect, by a poet and collector from the next generation, as an indication that the survival of, *inter alia*, distinctively Scottish music and song as a vital part of the people's existence was truly in doubt:

"there is no surer sign of the oral knowledge of a people being on the wane, than the attempt to secure it from oblivion by collecting its fragments and printing them in books. Whenever either the National songs, the popular tales, or prudential maxims of a country are curiously and diligently gathered, and transferred to another ark of safety than that of the living voice, it may be safely inferred that changes in the character and habits of feeling and of thinking, of the people themselves, are in progress deemed inimical to their longer preservation in a pure, accurate, and authentic form. Betwixt man and oblivion there is a perpetual warfare. Whether we look upon him as an isolated individual, or part of one great family, still the solitary exertions of the individual, or the combined efforts of the whole are directed to this one grand object—perpetuity of remembrance."<sup>322</sup>

The fear, towards the end of the century, of losing such distinctive features, either "little by little" or by sharp decline, can at first sight appear to be exaggerated.<sup>323</sup> In much the same way, for example, Robert Fergusson had lamented "the Death of Scots Music" some thirty years



earlier, at a time when it was not only flourishing but was soon to be given a lift aboon by the works of Marshall and the Gow family:

"Nae lasses now, on sinner days,  
Will lilt at bleaching of their claes;  
Nae herds on *Yarrow's* bonny braes,  
Or banks of *Tweed*,  
Delight to chant their hameil lays,  
Since music's dead." 324

Hindsight, however, can be a distorting glass. A current fear is no less real for its being based on a false assumption. On the other hand, it seems likely that such anxiety was actually a symptom of another, more deep-seated but less easily diagnosed condition. If expressions of that fear seem to be more impassioned than the contemporary evidence would justify, they were given added point by a consciousness of the irresistible force of "Improvement", an often alarmed recognition of new circumstances inevitable in their progress and irreversible in their effects. Scott, having written in a "postscript" to *Waverley* that there was "no European nation, which, within the course of half a century, or little more, [had] undergone so complete a change as this kingdom of Scotland", was later to reflect that "it is seldom that civilisation having once made some progress can be compelled to retrograde".<sup>325</sup>

The anticipated loss of these "original, old, ancient, genuine songs" was really the expectation of finding in reality that which contemporary philosophy had predicted, the other side of the same coin, in fact, which showed more optimistically on its obverse the discovery of natural Man in the islands of the South Seas or the prairies of North America, and the opportune recovery of the verses of Ossian — in a form literally tailored to contemporary taste — circulating orally in the Highlands of Scotland.<sup>326</sup> Perceptions of primitive peoples and ancient poetry were shaped by the expectations of European savants, and then the native peoples, or the translated poems, served to confirm the very theories which had first given rise to these expectations. Towards the turn of the century, in Scotland as throughout Britain, those who held that the "boasted benefits" of industrialisation and commerce made "but a poor compensation for their baneful influence on the morals of the people", and who looked with antipathy on "the increasing accumulation of men in cities", believed that "the most fatal influence upon the characters of the people" had indeed resulted from "the establishment of manufactories or great works", and envisaged, with equal aversion, the weariness and woe of the increasingly numerous urban workers, huddled as they were amidst the "contagion" of towns infested with vice and "debauchery of all



sorts".<sup>327</sup> Drawn, or driven, by economic necessity from their country villages and "sunk in obscurity and darkness" as soon as they entered the great cities, members of the urban workforce became "like the parts of an engine", each labourer, "as a necessary consequence of his employment, being rendered "as stupid and ignorant as it is possible for a human creature to become".<sup>328</sup> For many more of their compatriots, "frequent and unavoidable intercourse with the city . . . [had] not been without its polluting effects", while those who still pursued a farming life remained uncorrupted, being "removed from the immediate taint of that licentiousness which destroys the lower orders in cities and great towns".<sup>329</sup> When misgivings like these were thus readily confirmed, it is easy to understand why many feared that the old songs would soon also suffer the fate predicted for them, their eclipse being one more of the unwelcome "effects of that civilization, which [had] recently produced so great a change on the manners of the nation at large".<sup>330</sup>

This fear for the survival of traditional song in a changing country, it seems, was particularly acute in Scotland. It is striking that another century was to pass before the founding in England of the Folk Song Society, "to save something primitive and genuine from extinction", although in the intervening years Progress had gathered momentum in a manner unimaginable during Allan's lifetime.<sup>331</sup> In Scotland there was a dimension entirely lacking in "South Britain". Since the publication of Watson's *Choice Collection* began in 1706, Scottish songs, at least in Scotland, were invested with unusually powerful patriotic associations. Although the popularly resented Act of Union seems to have given the initial stimulus — the date of Watson's first volume is significant — these associations extended far beyond the "narrowly dynastic" or overtly political, that is, the adaptation of familiar airs as vehicles for occasional satire, abuse being directed at Whig "traitor louns" or at Jacobite targets with equal enthusiasm.<sup>332</sup> While certain songs in any country may well be regarded as "national" songs, in few countries can the whole body of traditional song, like the "distinct national style" of music, have been so passionately associated with national identity as in Scotland at this time.<sup>333</sup> The populace being for long conscious of a "sad decay in church and state", it is hardly surprising that Herd, among others, should note that "the Scots yield to none of their neighbours in a passionate attachment to their native music", since that attachment was to one of the few remaining badges of nationhood.<sup>334</sup>

A perceived union of traditional songs with national identity was not, it is true, unique to Scotland. In Weimar, Herder had already emphasised



the importance of *volkslied* in the emergence and development of different nations, and had proposed a significant distinction between the *Rechtsstaat* — a machine-like, administrative body — and the "organic" *Kulturstaat*, a community conscious of its possessing a shared tradition.<sup>335</sup> Scott, whose first publication had, in fact, been a couple of translations from the German, was later to write that the "early poetry of every nation", when transmitted to posterity either vocally or in collections like his own *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*, gave "a glimpse of the National Muse in her cradle".<sup>336</sup> Scotland's national songs having survived, and survived with augmented vigour, the widely perceived threat of political assimilation, it must have been thought a particularly cruel blow that the encroachment of Progress and Civilisation, crushing before them the enduring peasant characteristics of simplicity and spontaneity, of *Naturverbundheit*, would eventually bring about the entombment of that same "National Muse".<sup>337</sup> The stifling of these songs by the advance of Progress entailed not only the loss of part of a national heritage, but the loss of a major surviving part of a national identity. At the very end of his original Introduction to the *Minstrelsy*, published at the beginning of the nineteenth century, Scott wrote that in its

"Notes and occasional Dissertations, it has been my object to throw together, perhaps without sufficient attention to method, a variety of remarks, regarding popular superstitions, and legendary history, which, if not now collected, must soon have been totally forgotten. By such efforts, feeble as they are, I may contribute somewhat to the history of my native country; the peculiar features of whose manners and character are daily melting and dissolving into those of her sister and ally. And, trivial as may appear such an offering, to the manes of a kingdom, once proud and independent, I hang it upon her altar with a mixture of feelings, which I shall not attempt to describe".<sup>338</sup>

Its songs, its music, its legends and "popular superstitions" were, of course, not the only distinguishing features of a nation. The medium in which much of this traditional matter was shared, and by means of which it was handed on, was, above all, a particular language. Many contemporary European writers held that each nation was possessed of its own *génie*, which, whatever its origin, shaped the customs, the manners, and the language of the people.<sup>339</sup> In his *Essay on the Origin of Language*, which won him "the prize awarded . . . for the year 1770" by the Royal Academy of Sciences in Berlin, Herder exclaimed,

"What a treasure language is when kinship groups grow into tribes and nations! Even the smallest of nations in any part of the globe, no matter how undeveloped it may be, cherishes in and through its language the history, the poetry and songs about the great deeds of its forefathers. The language is its collective treasure, the source of its social wisdom and communal self-respect." <sup>340</sup>

As is widely recognised, and as has already been noted with *The Gentle Shepherd* as focus, the question of language was of major importance in



eighteenth-century Scotland.<sup>341</sup> Scottish writers had literally been addressing the matter for generations. The interest was widely diffused, both throughout the country and among the population, its intensity being easily sensed in books, editorial notes, letters, magazine articles and poems of the period.<sup>342</sup> Even the seemingly impartial Reverend Thomas Robertson, adding to his account of the Parish of Dalmeny a brief discussion of Britain's linguistic history, from the time when "the Gaelic, or Celtic, was the original tongue of the whole Island", insinuated a claim for the venerable purity of the Scots language, which had:

"continued to be spoken in the greater part of Scotland, particularly what is called the *Lowlands*, with little deviation from the original, till near the present times, in which it has been giving place very rapidly to the modern English language. The cause of this, independent of the comparative merits or demerits of the two dialects, has been the union of the Scottish and English crowns; from which, as England is the larger and wealthier country, and is, besides, the court end of the Island, the English tongue has gained the ascendancy, and become the standard of fashion and of propriety." <sup>343</sup>

Most contemporary writers, however, took sides more actively, generally expressing a conviction that the "old Rustic dialect of Scotland" would "in a short time . . . probably be entirely obsolete and not intelligible".<sup>344</sup> In the burgeoning interest, during the last quarter of the century, in compiling glossaries of the language, a parallel with approaches to Scottish song is obvious.<sup>345</sup> Each, for whatever reason, and whether accurately or no, was thought moribund. Yet, in striking contrast to attitudes towards the songs, many of the Scottish *Literati*, in contemplating that supposedly "provincial dialect" spoken by the people and written by the Vernacular poets, actually welcomed the prospect of its being banished "entirely out of the world".<sup>346</sup> Their glossaries, in effect if not always by design, seemed to reduce it to the status of "any other dead language".<sup>347</sup> When ministers wrote for Sinclair's *Statistical Account* that their parishioners "still [made] use of the old Scotch dialect", it was not in commendation of their "maintaining ancient Scottish manners and customs".<sup>348</sup> They regarded the imminent demise of the "old Rustic dialect" with the same satisfaction as that with which they reported the adoption of ploughs "after the model of Small of Rosline" in place of the heavier "old Scots plough", at least where the land permitted.<sup>349</sup>

The inconsistency between the attitude of many of Allan's contemporaries to the songs of the people being lost, and that to their language being "reformed" is really remarkable. At the same time as sheet after sheet of recently collected folksongs and traditional ballads, or of freshly composed pastorals, "new Words to known good Tunes", were fluttering from



the printing presses of Edinburgh, Glasgow, Perth and Aberdeen, providing material to be sung to "the brisk tinkling of a harpsichord" in fashionable town-houses, or unaccompanied in country parlours some lang Scots miles away, "Scoticisms" were being solemnly and pedantically identified and arranged in order that supposed "Improprieties of Speech and Writing" might be eradicated, and North Britons like Hume and Boswell, embarrassed by what they regarded as the "provincial peculiarities" of their mother tongue, and thinking that they should have spoken or written something else, were forever substituting some approximately equivalent expression or other in the idiom of the distant London court.<sup>350</sup> Referring to "the great, the learned, the ambitious, and the vain" of Edinburgh towards the end of his *Journey to the Western Islands*, Doctor Johnson — somewhat illogically for someone who was "always sorry when any language is lost, because languages are the pedigree of nations" — wrote with weighty approval that "the conversation of the Scots grows every day less unpleasing to the English; their peculiarities wear fast away; their dialect is likely to become in half a century provincial and rustick, even to themselves".<sup>351</sup> The native language was more deeply rooted and of hardier growth than that. Exactly a quarter of a century afterwards, despite a conviction in some circles that "the Scotch . . . the prevailing language of the country" was "no doubt much inferior to the English in pronunciation and accent", and despite the fund of pious assurances offered in the *Statistical Account* that it would soon be purged of "those Scotticisms, and uncouth phrases", which, it was thought, stood "much in need of reformation", Doctor Currie, in his *Life of Robert Burns*, showed how the same "illiberal prejudice" could be brought to bear on the same vigorous target, one steadfastly refusing to fall silent:

"The greater part of his earlier poems are written in the dialect of his country, which is obscure, if not unintelligible to Englishmen, and which, though it still adheres more or less to the speech of almost every Scotchman, all the polite and the ambitious are now endeavouring to banish from their tongues as well as their writings. The use of it in composition naturally therefore calls up ideas of vulgarity in the mind." <sup>352</sup>

Burns's own minister, the "Daddie Auld" of "The Kirk's Alarm", revealed the assumptions of one great division of contemporary Scottish society when he wrote, in his account of the Parish of Machlin, that "the Scots dialect is the language spoken, but is gradually improving, and approaching nearer to the English".<sup>353</sup>

Thus, at the same time as mourning the expected passing of the "original, old, ancient, genuine songs", many could, with the antiquarian John Pinkerton, "sincerely wish a total extinction of the Scottish colloquial dialect".<sup>354</sup> An equivocal attitude to the age, the antiquity, of



both the "vulgar speech" in Scotland and the country's "common popular songs" highlights a profound ambivalence; Pinkerton, significantly enough, did not believe that anyone "of either kingdom, would wish an extinction of the Scottish dialect in poetry".<sup>355</sup> While, on the one hand, the songs and ballads were regarded as something ancient and original to be venerated and preserved, the language in which they were composed, the language of the people, was at the same time represented as being from and of the past, and therefore something to be rejected in the nation's "progress to civilisation".<sup>356</sup> The rejection must have been all the harder because, as Francis Jeffrey was later to write, "Scotch . . . the language of a whole country,— long an independent kingdom, and still separate in laws, character and manners", was then

"by no means peculiar to the vulgar; but is the common speech of the whole nation in early life,—and with many of its most exalted and accomplished individuals throughout their whole existence; and, if it be true that, in later times, it has been, in some measure, laid aside by the more ambitious and aspiring of the present generation, it is still recollected, even by them, as the familiar language of their childhood, and of those who were the earliest objects of their love and veneration. It is connected, in their imagination, not only with that olden time which is uniformly conceived as more pure, lofty and simple than the present, but also with all the soft and bright colours of remembered childhood and domestic affection." <sup>357</sup>

Just as the association of the Scots language with an attractive simplicity and primitivism had virtually compelled the Vernacular poets, if writing in Scots, to describe bucolic subjects or revel in "rude local humour", so too an identification of the enduring speech of the "uncorruptit" peasantry with that of the old Scottish Court and Estatus, and with the diction of the Makaris — an idea with particular and obvious appeal to Jacobite adherents and sympathisers — caused the Vernacular poets, actually writing in a contemporary and colloquial idiom, to be consistently appreciated for their having supposedly consulted a "dictionary / Of ancient words", and thus, ironically, ensured that Scots became even more definitely regarded as the speech of the past, in turn confirming more strongly the predictions of the glossarists and the *Literati*.<sup>358</sup> In its being thus "ancient" and "simple", the vernacular offered a link with the literary tradition of previous centuries, and, as a primitive northern poetic diction, had "a great advantage in point of touching the passions", but it was necessarily distinct from a living Scottish speech acceptable to persons of taste and refinement, and recommended to those ambitious of advancement.<sup>359</sup> The Scots songs, therefore, in providing a example or symbol, both focused and limited polite interest, allowing, on the one hand, some kind of continuity with



a glorious past to be maintained, or, on the other, permitting tensions arising from the dominant perspective on the Scots language to be contained and dissipated. By expressing concern for the survival, the "preservation" of these songs, some members of polite society could, if they wished, indulge a sentimental regret at the passing of the old ways and at the same time enjoy the benefits of the new, all the while sedulously endeavouring to banish their native language "from their tongues as well as their writings".<sup>360</sup> Happily, because the polite, the ambitious and the vain, all of whom would have been "early warned against the use of Scotch words and similar improprieties", had little place in the fermtoun or bothy, the songs and music never did flee "into the silent library", nor was the leid itself enclosed between the boards of Jamieson's *Etymological Dictionary of the Scottish Language*.<sup>361</sup>

In Scotland, then, the question of identity in a changing world was symbolised in perceptions of national songs, as patriotism had already been defined in attitudes to music.<sup>362</sup> A common inheritance of songs "familiar, from the cradle, to every Scottish ear", which had been passed orally from generation to generation down the centuries - although the lively trade in broadsheets and chapbooks during the eighteenth century ought at least to be remembered - is both one expression of a society's identity, and a powerful emotional symbol of that society's permanence and stability, and its relation to its own past, its earliest known origins, its history, its customs and its beliefs.<sup>363</sup>

The confluence of so many interests and viewpoints accounts in abundance for the Scottish songs being held in such high regard for so long, and by such disparate social and political groups. That perceived continuity with the old "independent kingdom" was reason enough why Scots should "yield to none of their neighbours in a passionate attachment to their native music".<sup>364</sup> In these patriotic associations lay a sense of shared national identity despite the absence of political recognition; Allan's homeland was Scotland *de facto*, though for the best part of a century it had, *de iure*, been North Britain. The songs could sustain this rôle in a manner more universally relevant, and altogether more popular, than the separate Scottish legal system which had been provided for in the Act of Union.<sup>365</sup> Beyond these specifically Scottish concerns, as has been demonstrated in several connections, contemporary antiquarianism, and the eighteenth-century interest in different, especially primitive societies, were particularly likely to lead to the study of traditional songs; Hugh Blair began his "Critical Dissertation on



the Poems of Ossian" with the observation that, "among the monuments remaining of the ancient state of nations, few are more valuable than their poems or songs".<sup>366</sup> The Highlands of Scotland, and not only among those ladies in Edinburgh or Glasgow who could not forbear mentioning their "great liking to the Highlandmen" at every opportunity, were the place where "the notions and feelings of our fellow creatures in the most artless ages" could be observed, before the irruption of "those refinements of society . . . which . . . disguise the manners of mankind".<sup>367</sup> The Highlands were later joined as a location for Mankind "not far remote from its original simplicity" by an idealised view of the agricultural Lowlands, the "native features" of traditional music and song according well with this interpretation.<sup>368</sup> If this latter view seems often to be a creation of those looking, with more imagination than discretion, for "that olden time which is uniformly conceived as more pure, lofty and simple than the present", a time before the advent of the change and decay which they saw all around them, it is a measure of how earnestly they yearned for stability in a time of flux, for the possibility of holding fast to a sense of a secure and undisturbed rural community while at the same time actual communities and true, physical cohesion were being rapidly lost; the typical location of newly built farmhouses, separate from the other farm buildings and from the servants' quarters, was itself symbolic.<sup>369</sup>

In addition to the perception of Scots songs which was derived from this enviably optimistic ability to find noble savages conveniently close at hand, it is likely that an image of rural contentment became even more appealing throughout Britain towards the end of the century, as a result of the popular stirrings across the English Channel.<sup>370</sup> Created and sustained by Pastoral songs and paintings alike, the myth of a prelapsarian rural past gradually hardened into the cult of a sturdy peasantry, its country's pride, hearts of oak from the glens and shires standing against the chaos of Revolution and Terror, and the tyranny of Directorate and Empire, protecting their traditional freedoms by buttressing the British *ancien régime*. The British state was threatened by Radicalism within the country as well as by Revolution without, and, while Pitt manoeuvred envoys and subsidies to keep the remaining crowned heads of Europe secure in Coalitions against the might of a risen France, and presided over repressive legislation and a busy intelligence service at home, Genre pieces dwelt fondly on the virtues of a patriotic and invincible English peasantry. In much the same way, though in rather different political circumstances, ousted and defeated Jacobites in





263, ["The Broom of Cowden-Knows"], c. 1794/96  
 (later version of Fig. 240, between pp. 279-80)  
 subsequently etched as "Wawking of the  
 fauld" (Fig. 23, facing p. 25). Pen and wash  
 over pencil  $3\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$  (oval). Royal Scottish  
 Academy.



Scotland had themselves used the songs of the people to serve their own ends.<sup>371</sup> Times of crisis led to a sustained emphasis upon the roots of national identity, an emphasis which had, however, to be kept within very carefully determined bounds.<sup>372</sup> It was all very well to find in the *Volk* the "creative source of a nation's culture", but to strike a medallion bearing the words "A nation is the source of all sovereignty", and be caught in possession of it, brought a charge of sedition.<sup>373</sup>

Allan's images of the Scottish peasantry, from as early as "The Highland Dance" of 1780, were most obviously in accord with the myth of ideal simplicity, not only in the subjects which he chose and in their associations, but often in the very style of the pictures themselves.<sup>374</sup> His song illustrations, which of course gave a more extended visual form to this perception, also take up some of the other contemporary concerns which have been identified. Most immediately, the continuity of the Heroic Ballads with the more modern songs of the people was accepted by Allan and expressed in his series with the greatest of ease and facility, and linked, however quietly and unobtrusively, with the unchanging features of the land itself, an association at which he had already hinted in his dedication to *The Gentle Shepherd*.<sup>375</sup> Side by side with this sense of permanence, of continuity from age to age, goes a powerful sense of community. A stable and ordered country life is suggested in the very aspect of his illustrations to Comic songs and Pastorals, as it is, with equal seemliness, implied by the songs themselves; the occasional appearance of a well-dressed gentleman or two from the town is, more often than not, represented as an uncomfortable intrusion.<sup>376</sup> Permeating most of Allan's song illustrations is an atmosphere of unspoiled simplicity, the quintessential evocation of "Pastoral Innocence" and "Cottage felicity", a joyous world which his contemporaries would regard as existing precariously on the very edge of doom.<sup>377</sup> That disturbing awareness of social instability in the era of the French Revolution does itself make one revealing, and surprising, entrance. Allan was certainly attuned to the modern import of Burns's patriotic ode, "Robert Bruce's March", and, recognising its ambiguity and Jacobite allusions, emphasised and broadened these in an extraordinary manner.<sup>378</sup>

Added to all those contemporary concerns and the relationship which they have to traditional song, and hence to its fascination for Allan and his contemporaries, the most fundamental charm of all should never be overlooked. Burns, ushering the third volume of the *Scots Musical Museum* into the public eye, had in 1790 referred with supreme confidence





*Frontispiece to  
Scottish Songs.*

264, "Frontispiece to Scottish Songs", 1790/96.  
Pen and wash over pencil 3¼ x 5¼ (oval),  
Royal Scottish Academy,



to his "consciousness of the well known merit of our Scottish Music, and the national fondness of a Scotch man for the productions of his own country".<sup>379</sup> Ramsay, half a century earlier, had struck the patriotic note more gently, writing:

"Altho' it be acknowledged, that our *Scots* Tunes have not lengthened Variety of Musick, yet they have an agreeable Gaiety and natural Sweetness, that make them acceptable wherever they are known, not only among our selves, but in other Countries." <sup>380</sup>

David Allan's enthusiasm for Scottish song was probably notorious, and in any case the artist could hardly have refrained from showing visitors to his studio some of the latest fruits of his Invention, particularly as he worked on the plates for his first set of etchings. No more could one of his patrons, the Earl of Buchan, have passed up the opportunity of quoting the famous observation of his countryman Andrew Fletcher, last of the Scots, to which Herd had made passing allusion some twenty years earlier:

"I said, I knew a very wise man so much of Sir Chr---'s sentiment, that he believed if a man were permitted to make all the ballads, he need not care who should make the laws of a nation." <sup>381</sup>

The "Frontispiece" which Allan designed for some future issue of etchings, one probably intended to contain a greater number of illustrations to Pastorals, is both a fitting introduction to the collection and a worthy summation of the whole.<sup>382</sup> Appropriately enough, the atmosphere is a cantily musical one, the setting a cottage spence familiar from a number of Allan's other pictures. No less familiar is the young gallant of the Pastorals and *The Gentle Shepherd*, seated by the table with a book of *Scots Songs* propped open before him. Perhaps the eldest lad of the house — for the cut of his claes shows that he is no itinerant fiddler — he may, like Patie himself, have driven a wheen sheep or nowt to the West Port that morning, returning from town in the afternoon with the gear he has coft and the claivers he has heard. Vauntie of his latest purchase, and eager to try his skill in sight-reading, he plays over a spring or two for the family. No doubt the fine new volume is one "embellished with characteristic designs composed and engraved by David Allan Esq, Historical Painter".<sup>383</sup> Across the room from him the auld guidman listens from his muckle sait, his prosperity reflected in the rack of delft on the wall behind, his contentment assured by the cogie close at hand. At the other side of the table from the fiddler a younger man, taking time to listen to the music even though the day is still bright outside, sits half hidden in the



background, a dim figure briefly indicated with a few touches of grey wash. Seemingly distanced from the others in the room, he has, though indistinct, all the buirdly presence of an archetypal peasant figure. Rising from behind the music book as he does, he may fleetingly be seen as a shadowy "Bard of rustic song", a representative of those generations of anonymous musicians whose works have outlived their memories, fit symbol of the genius of national song set down there in guid black prent even as the venerable guidman is evocative of the wealth of traditional wisdom it contains.<sup>384</sup> More prosaically, he might be seen simply as another of the elder bairns or one of the hirelin lads, lowsed from working out-owre the rigs, from tedding hay or sowing bere, mowing corn or snedding neeps, or from the work that has no particular season, the clearing of yirdfast stanes from the family's few acres, the bigging of a dyke or the howking of a sheugh, or the redding of whins and heather from the uplands. Whether returning from market, mill or smiddie, from ploughing or harrowing a few rood behind a team of horses or owsen, or drawn from infield or outhouses by the strains of reel and slow air, the lad takes his ease for the moment and, resting his head on his hand, is immediately rapt like the guidman in the music coaxed from the dinnling strings, or finds himself caught up in the dirl and scraich of jig and strathspey.

The viewer's eye, meanwhile, is inevitably led to the daughter of the house, standing in the middle of the little room and almost in the centre of the picture, the lines of her extended arm and raised distaff echoing the movement of the fiddler's bow. Focus of the composition, almost dominating its space, the lass spins with roke and reel in a manner practised since earliest times, yet still of some moment in the domestic econony.<sup>385</sup> In like manner, both past and present were united in the traditional songs of the country.<sup>386</sup> By thus drawing attention to the spinner, the kind of figure long typical of Scots peasantry, and one already ancient when the oldest of the Heroic Ballads was new, Allan suggests once more the sense of historical continuity to be found in these songs and in the association of the land and its people.

Figure 300

When Stothard prepared for one of Thomson's title-pages a "sweet Drawing of a graceful musical groupe" derived from Allan's "Frontispiece", a group later engraved in outline by Lizars, his understanding of its purpose was only partial.<sup>387</sup> He did, it is true, add the figure of the auld guidwife beside her husband, both completing the family group with the only one of Allan's four major types not included in his own

Figure 265



THE WHOLE COMPOSED FOR & COLLECTED BY  
 GEORGE THOMSON F.A.S. EDINBURGH  
 IN SIX VOLUMES



LONDON

PRINTED & SOLD BY PRESTON 71. DEAN STREET NURST, ROBINSON & CO. CHEAPSIDE.  
 AND G. THOMSON, EDINBURGH.

265, WILLIAM HOME LIZARS after Thomas Stothard:  
 Title-page vignette for George Thomson's  
*The Songs of Burns Sir Walter Scott Bar<sup>t</sup>  
 And Other Eminent Lyric Poets Ancient and  
 Modern United to the Select Melodies of  
 Scotland and of Ireland & Wales With  
 Symphonies & Accompaniments for the Piano  
 Forte by Pleyel, Haydn, Beethoven &c, 6  
 vols., Edinburgh and London n.d. (? 1828).  
 Engraving 3½ x 4½, derived from a drawing  
 by David Allan.*



Scotch Maid.

[Figure 300, page 353.]



frontispiece and creating a picture more subtly balanced than the original. That is of pyramidal form, with the young lassie forming the apex. In the print, she is still the focus, the four others arranged around her almost in a half-circle, and there too the coherence of the family group is stressed, a little *nexus* diverted for the moment by the latest "traditional" composition to become popular, or perhaps by an old favourite which had recently appeared in one of Nathaniel Gow's compilations, if not by one of the airs admitted to Thomson's own splendid *Select Collection*.<sup>388</sup> In contrast to this delicately contrived little scene, knit together by its artful interplay of glance and posture, Allan's drawing conveys an impression of detachment quite untypical of his work. There is surprisingly little sense of interaction, even of communication, within this little group, as though the contemplative mood of Allan's pictures has become even more abstracted and introspective than formerly. For all that the four are united in attending to the music, each is at the same time remote from the others, the fiddler intent on his fingering, his brother keeping time to the air, their sister remembering the last kirk or looking forward to the next, the guidman smiling wanly at memories of his own youth. Allan's having left out the auld guidwife was no oversight; her absence is a poignant accent counterpointing the idyllic but imaginary permanence of the rural community. Stothard, not possessed of Allan's knowledge of the Scots songs in their various and changeable moods, missed the note of sadness thus deliberately introduced.

Yet something more has been lost in the years between these two pictures. Stothard simply drew an imaginary scene in an ordinary farm kitchen, from which the other's near-mystical quality is banished, as the iconographical function of the spinner is absent. The little oval is really much more than a "Frontispiece to Scottish Songs", just as the scores of matching pictures are more than so many illustrations of Ballads, Pastorals, and "Comic, Humourous, and Jovial songs".<sup>389</sup> Allan, twenty-five or thirty years earlier, saw his song illustrations in a much wider perspective. The whole scheme was part of his greater interest in recording the customs and people of his native land, at the same time as it set down for ever a personal view of the songs they loved. While simple things like songs and spinning, the seasonal labour of the land and the spring and fall of the year, go on in much the same way "though Dynasties pass", a jarring note emerges from beyond the surface harmony of this "Frontispiece".<sup>390</sup> The songs may have evoked a



strong sense of continuity with the past, a knowledge or belief that the oral tradition was unbroken since a "Time out of Mind". There was less confidence for its survival in the future. Because Allan did not undertake these illustrations in isolation from his other ventures, this picture gains resonance, and the scheme of which it forms part attains a deeper significance, when these pictures "illustrative of . . . Scottish Songs" are considered in relation to the other scenes of Scottish life which he composed during these years.



## Chapter VII

### The just representation of ordinary Life.

Allan's later Genre scenes.

1784-1796

*Allan's prints—Edinburgh characters—topographical studies—civic occasions—the Kirk—the didactic purpose of Allan's Genre scenes—links with his illustrations to Scottish songs—the documentary significance of his work—the land and the people—contemporary Improvement—the view of Scotland presented by later artists.*



## VII

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### The just representation of ordinary Life.

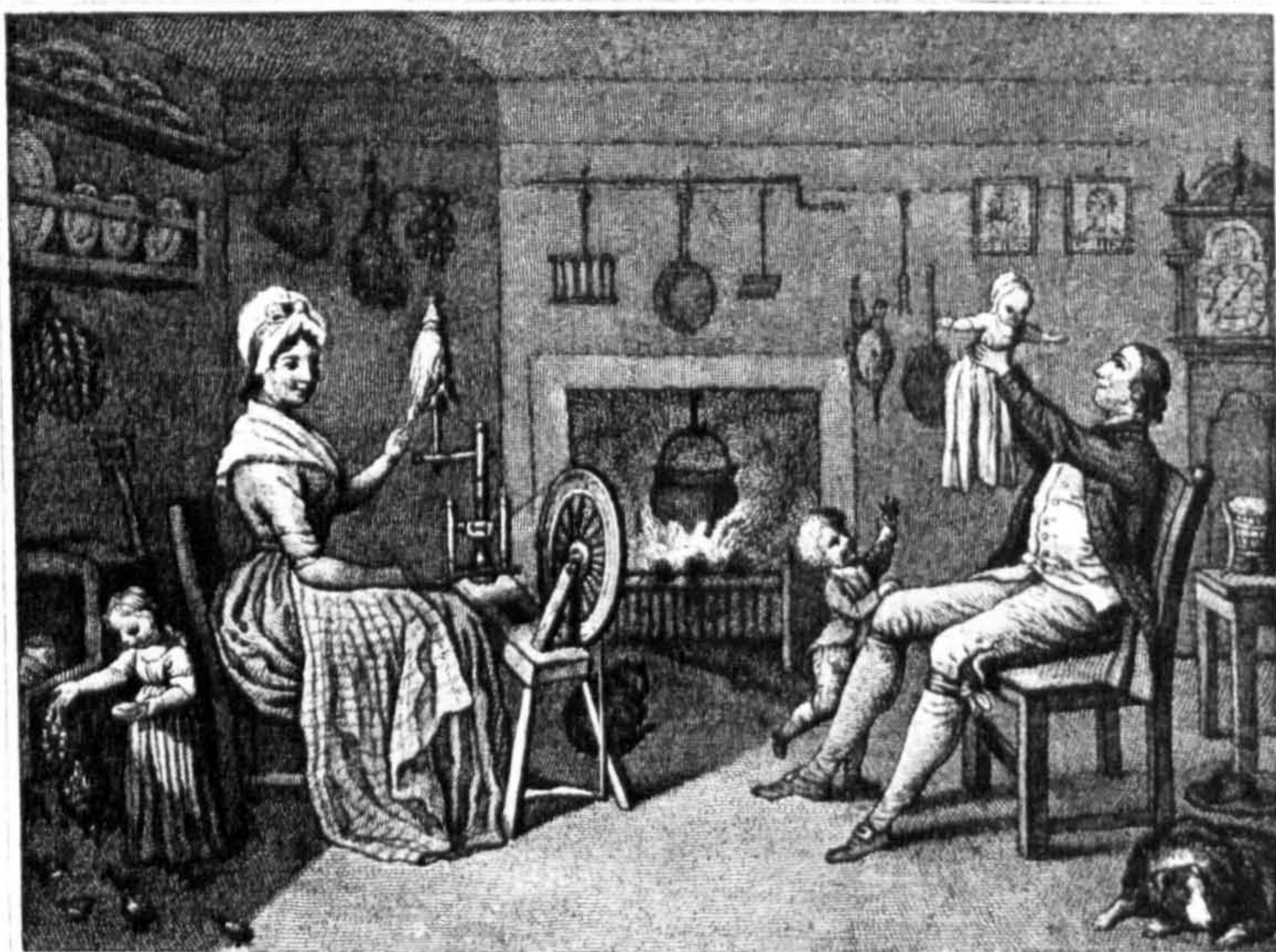
*"In the humbler walk of Painting, which consists in the just representation of ordinary Life, (by which it is believed, the best moral effects, may be often produced,) there can be no better models, than what Nature, in this country, daily presents to our view. Without descending to mean and low objects, it is possible, by a strict adherence to truth and nature, to produce compositions, which though not so striking as the sublimer efforts of the pencil, are yet capable both of pleasing and instructing, in a very high degree."*

David Allan, 1788. <sup>1</sup>

Allan's designs for *The Gentle Shepherd*, his scenes from the life of Mary, Queen of Scots, and his illustrations of Scottish songs and ballads are coherent groups of pictures with which he was occupied during particular periods. The "Pastoral Comedy" absorbed his attention from around 1786 until his plates were published in 1788, the artist making a couple of drawings after his own plates in the following year. Similarly, although a few illustrations of songs and ballads were drawn while he was concentrating upon his edition of *The Gentle Shepherd*, most of this kind of work belongs to the following decade. Between these two Vernacular series Allan conceived and executed his major Historical paintings from Scottish history. At the same time, however, and throughout all his later years in Scotland, he had steadily been amassing a collection of more than fifty pictures of "the Scotch manners". Like the illustrations of Scottish songs, these scenes were also seen by Allan as suitable material for prints.

In addition to the great undertaking represented by his plates for Tassie's *Descriptive Catalogue*, the number of prints known to have been executed by Allan himself is almost ninety.<sup>2</sup> Around seventy of these, including those illustrations to Scottish songs and to *The Gentle Shepherd*, date from his years in Scotland. Prints after more of his literary pictures, including those for *The Seasons*, for Ritson's *Scottish Song* and for "Scotland's Skaith" by Hector MacNeill - a popular rhymer who "mistook the purposes of poetry so far as to try to cure the social





# WILL AND JEAN

*Will wrought sair, but aye wi' pleasure;*

*Jean the hale day span and fang;*

*Will and Jean's her constant treasure,*

*Blest wi' them nae day seem'd lang;*

266, PATON THOMSON after David Allan: "Will and Jean" (MacNeill), 1793, Engraving 4 x 5 1/4, Inscribed: "D. Allan del<sup>t</sup>", "P. Thomson sculp<sup>t</sup>", "Published as the Act directs September 1<sup>st</sup> 1795", title and four lines of verse,



disasters of the hour aggravated by excessive drinking, through verse exhortations" - were also prepared by various professional engravers.<sup>3</sup>

Those for MacNeill's didactic exhortation, for instance, were engraved by the young Robert Scott and by Paton Thomson.<sup>4</sup> The remaining thirty or so prints made by Allan after 1780, that is, those which do not depict literary subjects, include commissioned pieces like a diploma for the Honourable Company of Golfers and an aquatint of a Roman relief, this being prepared for the Earl of Buchan, but the majority is composed of topographical views and, most familiar of all though not, in fact, particularly numerous among his prints, scenes of Scottish life and character.

An engaging feature of Allan's letters is their spontaneity - on more than one occasion he begged forgiveness for allowing his pen or his enthusiasm to run away with him - and the sequence of his thoughts in one passage is easily followed. Writing to Sir William Hamilton towards the end of 1780, he told how

"I did at Rome a set of Drawings in Bister representing the amusements of the Carnival at Rome in 8 Drawings, which Sandby bought from me for London and he has executed them charmingly in aquatinta prints at a guinea the sett. They take well and he will make money of them. If I have health and time I intend to do groups of the manners in Scotland, which would be new and entertaining and good for engraving. I have painted at Athole for myself a Highland Dance as a companion to the Neapolitan, but the Highland is the most picturesque and curious. I have made a drawing of the General Assembly of the Kirk of Scotland with many portraits, would make a good print. Whatever way encouragement may go am resolved not to be idle." <sup>5</sup>

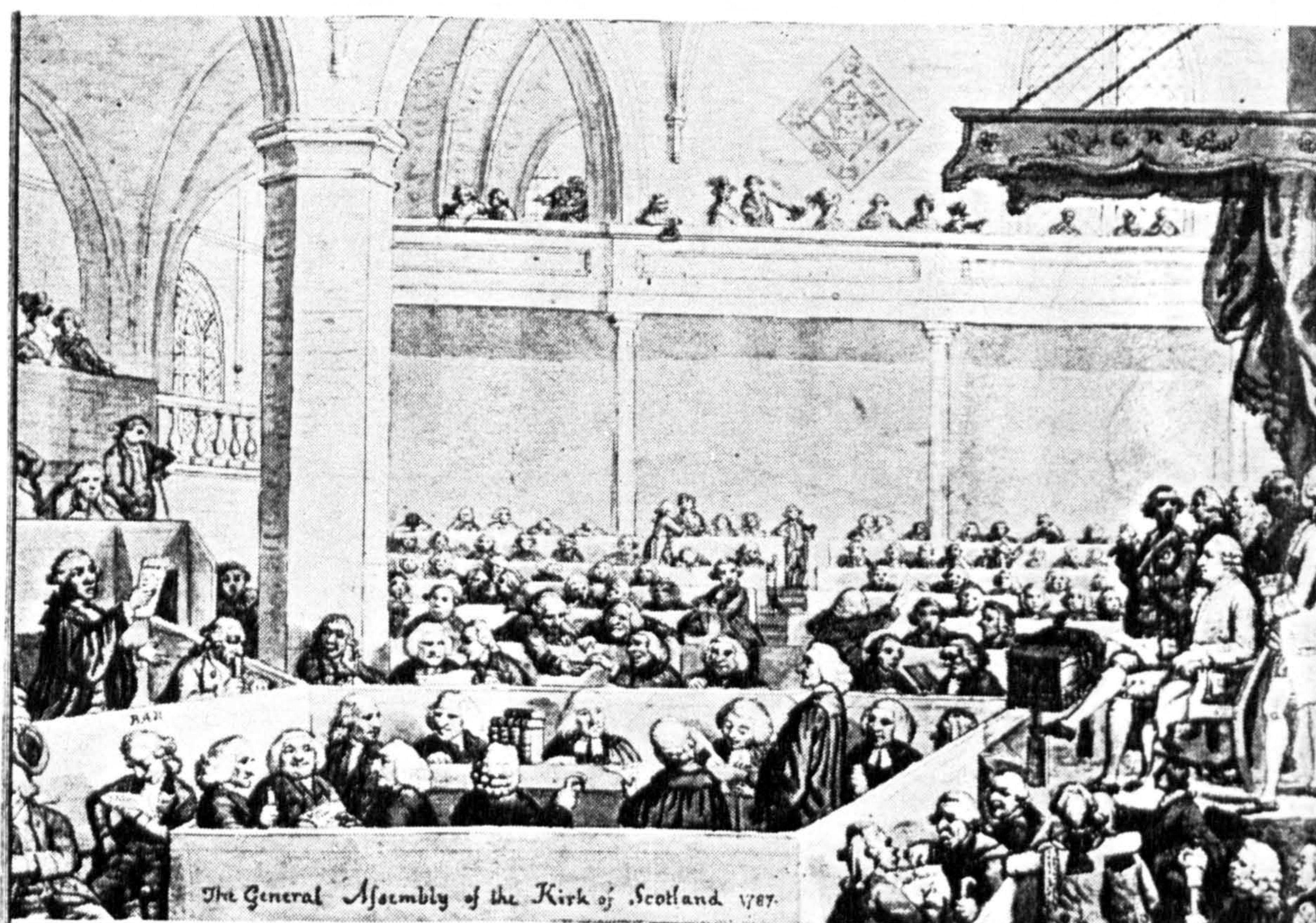
It is not difficult to read between the lines here. While Allan was sure of employment at home "in the small portrait way" for some time, the popularity of his Italian scenes on the London market suggested that he might profitably give some attention to studies of Scottish Genre, new, entertaining and picturesque as these would be. There was, of course, the added attraction of their being "good for engraving", and thus offering a source of income alternative to that from portraiture. The travelling entailed in the practice of one kind of work ensured that he would never lack a variety of material for the other.

Allan was no stranger to printing. He had received a thorough grounding in all aspects of the visual arts when at the Foulis Academy, and had early made two engravings of the activities there.<sup>6</sup> Except in a few cases, in later years he still carried out the mechanical part of the business himself.<sup>7</sup> Most of his prints - engravings, etchings and aquatints - vary in size between that of the song illustrations, some three inches by five, and the nine inches by seven of the plates for *The*





267, [ "View of the High Street, Edinburgh, in ... which is introduced his Majesty's High Commissioner and retinue" ], 1789, Pen and watercolours 18 x 25, Sold in Edinburgh, 1798, City of Edinburgh, Huntly House Museum,



268, "The General Assembly of the Kirk of Scotland", ?1780, Pen and wash over pencil 10½ x 17, Allan made prints of this subject in 1783 and 1787; the latter was published by Robert Scott, King's Topographical Collection, BM.



*Gentle Shepherd*. Some are slightly smaller; a few - "Clackmannan Tower", the "Black Stool" - are larger.<sup>8</sup> From his copperplates, a design could be repeated virtually *ad infinitum*, with reworking when necessary. Allan was pleased that one particular plate could still "throw off many more" impressions, if the four hundred already pulled were insufficient.<sup>9</sup>

The relative cheapness of prints, and the advantages of repetition, made the works of Allan, as of any artist, available in greater variety to a wider public. Apart from such technical publications as treatises on Geometry and Perspective, *Principi del Disegno*, several collections of ornamental designs, and *Anatomy improved and illustrated for the use of Painters and Sculptors*, his own collection is representative of the types of prints which, singly or bound together, were then popular with gentlemen of *Virtù*. Among about a hundred individual prints, and almost half as many volumes, there were works by Sandby, le Prince, Gilpin and Bogle; prints after Gavin Hamilton, Reynolds and Greuze, Correggio, Guido Reni and Raphael; books such as Cordiner's *Antiquities and Scenery of the North of Scotland*, Piranesi's *Vedute di Roma*, Volpato's *Logge di Rafaele nel Vaticano*, Gavin Hamilton's selection *Schola Italica Picturæ*, Gori's *Museum Florentinum*, and even a *Book of prints from the Herculaneum*.<sup>10</sup>

Allan's own Historical Composition "The Origin of Painting" was among this distinguished company, having been engraved no less than three times, by Cunego, Volpato, and Salvatore Tresca.<sup>11</sup> When he executed his own prints, however, it was with Hogarth's eye for the world around him, and probably with an eye to the taste of the town as well. He did in fact own a print of "Southwark Fair", and a copy of *The Analysis of Beauty*.<sup>12</sup> Allan's audience was, within reason, the public at large, as he deliberately set out to record many characters and events from common life. He made prints of the employments traditional in Edinburgh, as he had earlier drawn the customs and occupations of the French and Italians. Into one of his views of the High Street, as a sale catalogue noted, he "introduced his Majesty's High Commissioner and retinue", and the General Assembly, as he had foreseen, made a good print in 1783.<sup>13</sup> When invasion by the revolutionary armies of "Haughty Gaul" was feared, the raising of Volunteers in Edinburgh - an "assiduous and well-fed corps", as Cockburn called them - provided a more novel subject, as did a "Tax on Post Horses".<sup>14</sup> Allusions to transient events, thought remarkable in their day, may be lost to future time, and even with its "explanation" the satirical "Shaving Machine" remains a puzzle. It may have been inspired by some nine days' wonder of the capital, an elaborate invention designed to perform a simple task, or it may always have been just the amusing



piece of whimsy it is today. The artist may simply have been enjoying himself and entertaining others by exploring the more ludicrous possibilities of mechanical progress. At all events, the print was popular. No less than one hundred and five copies were snapped up at a sale in February 1797.<sup>15</sup>

That his "entertaining" prints sold well, bearing out his prediction of 1780, must have proved gratifying to the artist. That there are not more of them may be the consequence of his appointment as Master of the Trustees' Academy in 1786. Being assured of a regular income rather than having to seek commissions for many portraits, or having speculatively to produce numerous prints, Allan could instead plan more ambitious ventures like his edition of *The Gentle Shepherd* or his Historical paintings from the life of Mary Stuart. It is revealing that, of those prints of Scottish Genre which are dated, only five were made in the years after 1786, and only two of these after 1790.<sup>16</sup> To a dozen dated prints made between 1780 and 1786, on the other hand, half as many undated ones may probably be added, largely on the grounds of their subject-matter.<sup>17</sup>

In addition to making prints for sale singly or in sets, or as book illustrations, Allan shrewdly observed another advantage they offered. When reproducing watercolour drawings, instead of tediously tracing every design by hand, probably using a pantograph, he could etch the essential lines and details on a copperplate.<sup>18</sup> By thus issuing pictures of the High Street of Edinburgh, Clackmannan Tower, "The Highland Dance" or scenes from *The Gentle Shepherd* itself in watercolours over a printed outline Allan was putting into practice a scheme he had earlier projected for duplicating less ambitious studies of foreign costume. In 1782 he had written to Lord Hopetoun,

"I fill up the time in Drawing a Colection of Italien & french dresses between Roma & Paris & Procita some drolery & groupes from the Stetches I did from Nature . . . in all I have upwards of fifty, but in doeing a set of so many I find it so tiresom in traceing them over & over I have thoughts of doeing them slightly on copper & wash them in water Colour",<sup>19</sup>

Allan not only saw Italian and Scottish dances as complementary if not equally "picturesque and curious", he continued to create new Italian scenes during his later Scottish career, each of which incorporates at least some figures seen in pictures from his Italian sojourn and thus bears out his established pattern of repetition with slight variation. Sufficient sketchbooks remained in his possession, with the finished watercolours of the "Evening Amusements" at Rome and Naples, to ensure that at least the original drawings were studied from Nature.<sup>20</sup> One small watercolour of a dance on the shore at Naples is signed and dated 1787,





270, ["View of the High Street of Edinburgh"]  
inscribed "D. Allan f. 1793", Pen and wash  
on etched outline 16½ x 22.



269, [Group of figure-sketches], c. 1790, Pen-  
cil on paper 2¼ x 7½, Glasgow University  
Library, Special Collections, Wylie Coll-  
ection 1138-1921 Bh. 14-x. 13.



and includes a greater number of participants, themselves displaying a greater variety of individual expression than is seen in his earlier pictures of the theme. Another, larger watercolour of an Italian celebration is dated as late as 1793, and claims to be the result of a collaboration between Allan and Sandby, as did a drawing of the "Highland Dance" sold by auction in 1797.<sup>21</sup> Prints of the Highland Dance and the Neapolitan appeared as a framed pair at the same sale, that of the latter probably being Sandby's aquatint, on the scale of the scenes of the Roman Carnival, after Allan's watercolour of 1787.<sup>22</sup>

Of course, Allan never forgot a telling pose, and adaptations of the same figures and groups people his crowd scenes from the Campagna to the Cairngorms. The easy grace of a young mother supporting the weight of a babe in arms was not unique to one country, and though the figure makes its first appearance in a sketchbook kept in Italy and used intermittently from 1770 until around 1776, she is to be seen in several views of Edinburgh made twenty years afterwards, and, inevitably, in the Neapolitan dance scene of 1787.<sup>23</sup> Similarly, a pair of jovial *ragazzi* in this picture would not look out of place among the incidents on the edges of Allan's pictures of Highland weddings. His ability to capture instantly recognisable characters and emotions is never in doubt, and it is a communication achieved in Genre scenes as in song illustrations by the simplest and most direct of means. Anyone can find in these pictures the characteristic gestures and expressions everyone has seen, though few may truly have observed.

When he wrote to Gavin Hamilton that there could be no better models for Genre scenes than those which "Nature, in this country, daily presents to our view", Allan was not merely reiterating a theoretical commonplace, he was to a great extent describing his own practice. His slightest sketches capture the stances unconsciously adopted by people when engaged in conversation, as well as the more studied poses of such gentlemen as the "Highland Officer". From sketches such as these he chose incidents and onlookers for scenes of Edinburgh streets, as he had earlier done in Italy. Occasionally, close or exact correspondences can be found between these tiny flurries of a lead pencil and the figures in finished pictures of Edinburgh, Alloa or Moffat. When a burly merchant stopped on the plane stanes of the capital to ca' the crack with a diminutive acquaintance, Allan swiftly noted the little episode and in 1793 introduced it to a picture of the High Street, close to the public "fountain". This may even have been the spot on which the vignette was observed, since the heart of the Old Town, where everyone had fifty





271. "Town Gaurd Soldier", c. 1785/90, Pen and watercolours over pencil 9 $\frac{1}{4}$  x 7 $\frac{1}{4}$ , the figure 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ , National Galleries of Scotland, Prints and Drawings, D 388.



272. "Town Officer" c. 1785/90, Pen and watercolours over pencil 9 $\frac{1}{4}$  x 7 $\frac{1}{4}$ , the principal figure 5, National Galleries of Scotland Prints and Drawings, D 386.



friends within five hundred yards, was certainly Allan's major source for these vivid sketches of peculiarities in dress and gait. His home from 1788 was Dickson's Close, not far from the Tron Kirk and on the same side of the High Street.<sup>24</sup>

As his intention in painting Conversation Pieces had been everlastingly to join friends together on the canvas, so too in his urban views Allan immortalised the stairheid critic and the yill-caup commentator, the wealthy, dandering cit and the blue-goun bodies, the barefoot servant lasses, the cadies, and the soldiers of the Town Guard with their spatterdashes, cockades and powdered wigs.<sup>25</sup> Both trades' fouk and country Johnnies watch the Lord High Commissioner's procession as it nears Saint Giles', the former represented by a prosperous fellow with his thumbs hitched in his waistcoat pockets, the latter by a shepherd with his collie at his side. At the other end of the High Street, just before the beginning of the Burgh of Canongate, a fishwife with her creels of herring newly drawn from the Forth estuary is asked the price of her wares by a lady clad in silks and laces, while others take turns to fill stoups with water, listening the while to a proclamation read by the Town Officer accompanied by a couple of drummers. At the extreme right of this scene, a watercarrier, a familiar figure in Edinburgh with its towering lands but a "very singular" sight to the Englishman John Stoddart, glances up at one of the more remarkable of the tradesmens' signs, which reads:

"Legs Arms & Snufbox  
made & sold by Gav W ..  
shoe maker, " 26

Both the watercarrier and the Town Officer are the subjects of individual watercolour drawings, being members of that group within Allan's Scottish Genre works in which he recorded "the Cries and Employments common in Edinburgh, drawn and coloured from Nature".<sup>27</sup> Mostly prepared between 1783 and 1788, these pictures typically depict a single figure before a lightly indicated background which generally has some especial relevance to the subject's occupation, in that a Fishwife, or "Oyster Girl", is seen against a distant view of the Firth of Forth, a fireman is shown hurrying towards some burning buildings and a veteran of the City Guard scaurs a hostile rabble. The setting may include a familiar landmark, like the Cathedral of Saint Giles or the lead statue of Charles II which leans alarmingly in Parliament Close, each of which provides a backdrop to different scenes of the Town Officer. Two chairmen pause to share a pinch of snuff in true Highland fashion after leaving

PLATE XXIV

Figure 271

Figure 267

Figure 270

Figure 274

Figure 272

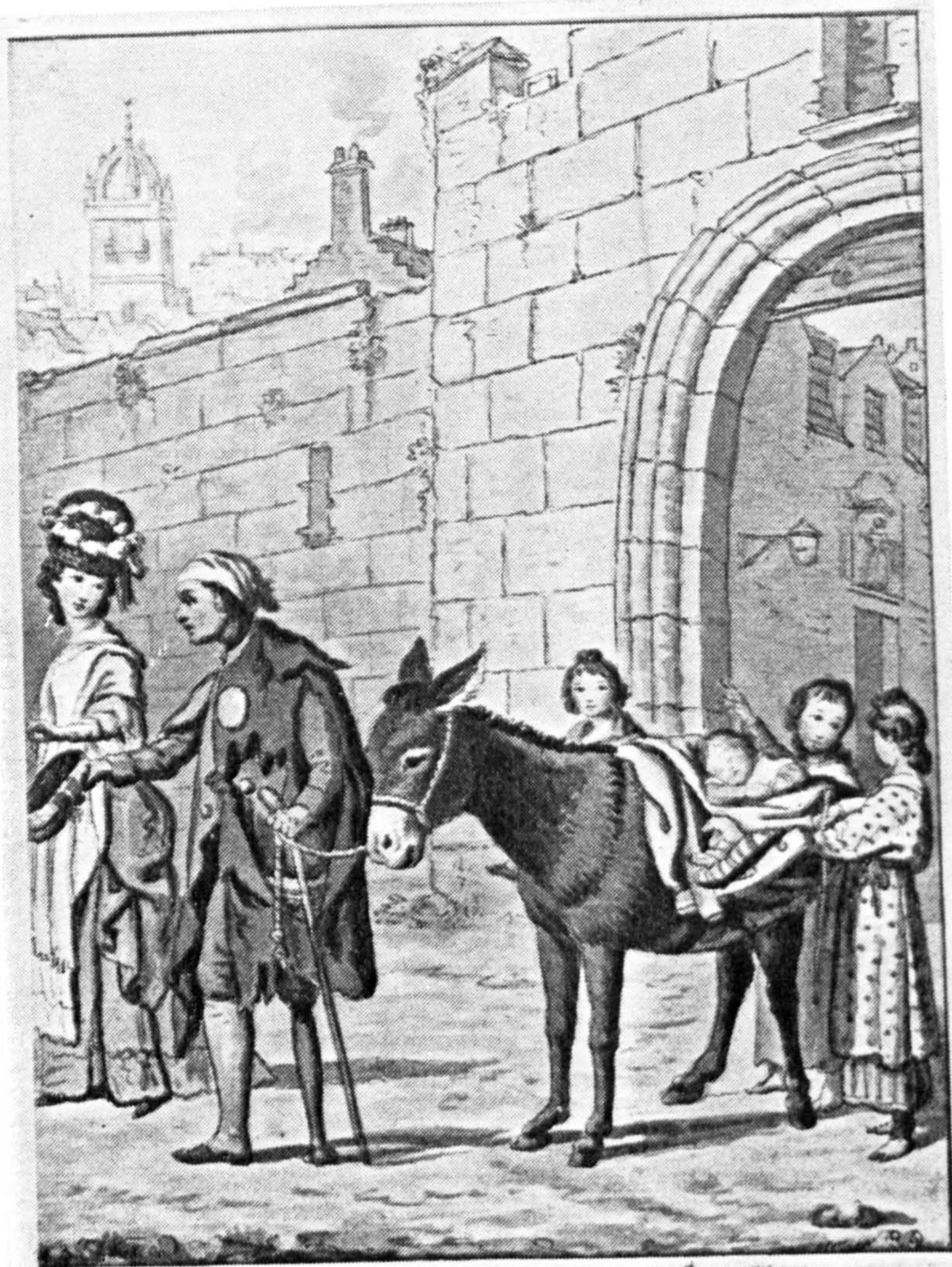
PLATE VIII

Figure 271

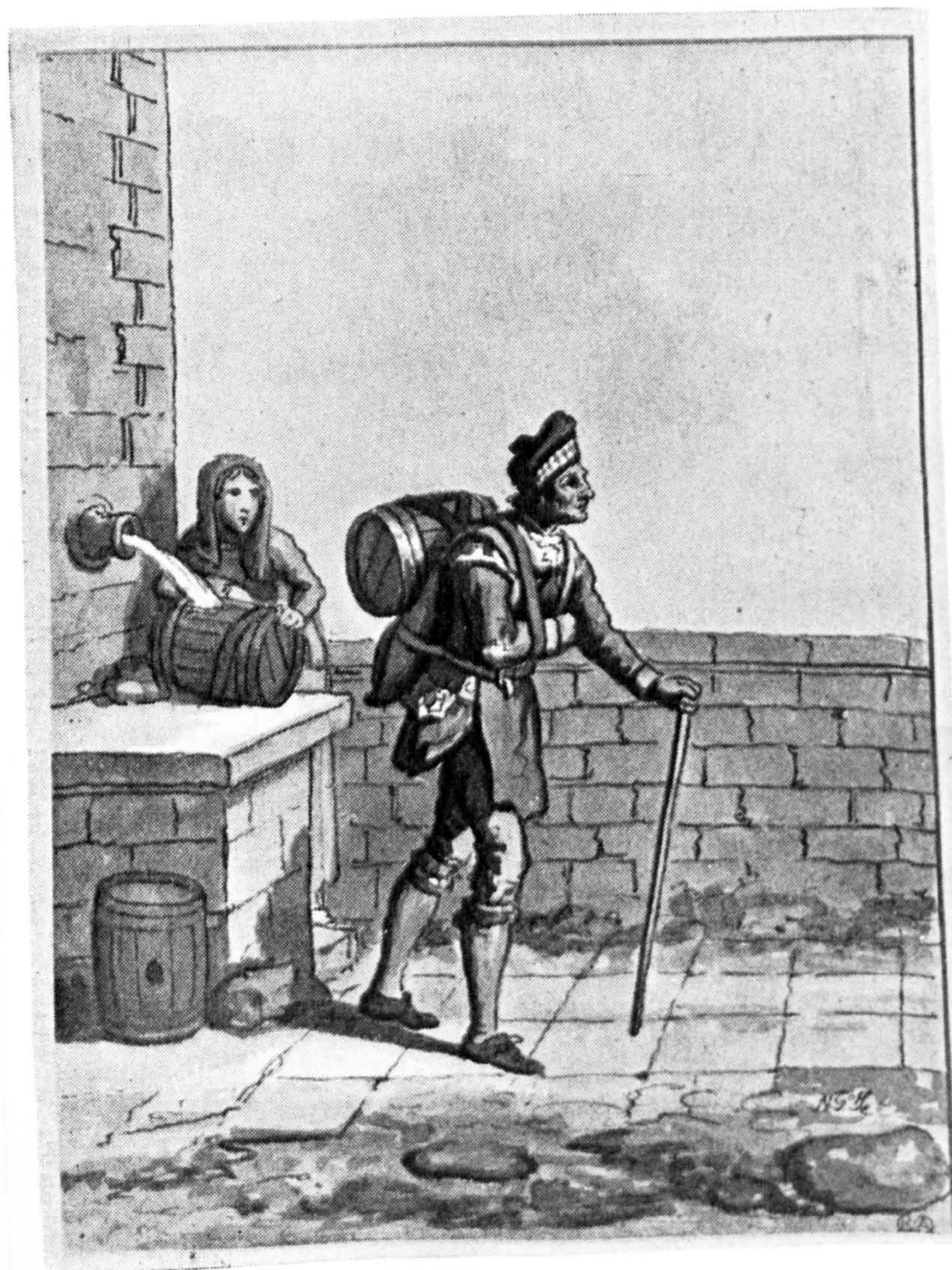
Figure 276

PLATE X





273, "Poor Man Edinburgh" c. 1783, Pen and water-colours over pencil  $9\frac{1}{4} \times 7\frac{1}{4}$ , the blue-gown  $5\frac{1}{4}$ . Allan made a print of this scene, entitled "Charity", in 1783, National Galleries of Scotland, Prints and Drawings, D 397.



274, "Water Man", c. 1785/90, Pen and water-colours over pencil  $9\frac{1}{4} \times 7\frac{1}{4}$ , the figure  $5\frac{1}{4}$ . National Galleries of Scotland, Prints & Drawings D 396





WHAL O CALLER OYSTERS

275, JOHN KAY after David Allan; "Wha'l o Caller Oysters", inscribed "I. KAY 1812", Etching 5¼ x 3¼ (platemark 6 x 3¼), the figure 4½. From *A Series of Original Portraits and Caricature Etchings by the late John Kay Miniature Painter Edinburgh*, Edinburgh, 1842.



OYSTER GIRL

*D. Allan Tinta fecit Edin: 1784*

276, "Oyster Girl", 1784. Inscribed "D. Allan Tinta fecit Edin: 1784" Etching and aquatint 6¼ x 4½ (platemark 7½ x 5½), the figure 4½.





277. "Girl & Child Procida", 1776, Pen and watercolours over pencil 9½ x 7¼. Aberdeen Art Gallery; "A Collection of Dresses by Da. Allan mostly from Nature 1776" (photograph Christie's).



Figure 284  
Figure 273

their passenger at her home, possibly situated in one of the squares of the New Town.<sup>28</sup> A licensed beggar, accompanied by four young children and leading a donkey, holds out his bonnet in lieu of an alms dish, and receives a few coins from a fashionable lady at the Cowgate Port, with another view of St. Giles' in the distance. A version of this subject in aquatint, entitled "Charity", was inscribed by Allan in 1783.

Figures 278-83

Figure 277

The compositional pattern of one, or occasionally two figures before a slight background was doubtless familiar to Allan from books of engraved Italian street-criers, or indeed from his friend Sandby's drawings of around 1760, and clearly underlies his studies of foreign costumes and Scottish occupations. Nonetheless, to suggest that in his drawings of Edinburgh Characters he was merely imitating these works, or earlier publications like Lauron's *Cryes of the Citie of London*, is to place too much emphasis on the prototypes he found in art, too little upon the inspiration he derived from contemporary life. These pictures, around twenty of which were designed, at least three of these being "engraved in Aquatinta", with other copies being made by hand, can even be regarded as portraits of real people, stylised though they undoubtedly are.<sup>29</sup> This much could legitimately be deduced from the statement that they were drawn from the life, but more definite evidence is to be found in *A Series of Original Portraits and Caricature Etchings by the late John Kay*, several of which are based on Allan's drawings. Biographical notes published with Kay's prints, while they do not give any indication of his source for these particular pictures, identify *inter alios* one of Allan's chimney-sweeps as David Gilchrist, a "worthy enough fellow in his way".<sup>30</sup>

Figures 284-86

It was, however, as characters rather than as individuals that members of the series were drawn and used. Such figures as the dozen Trone-men in their distinctive broad bonnets, that "sable fraternity" to which Gilchrist belonged, or the Newhaven fishwives with their creels and striped skirts, were as characteristic of Edinburgh as the tartan-clad garrison on Castle Rock, and a good deal more essential to the population. So, "with a fine sense of economy", Allan could happily distribute them through his various scenes of the capital.<sup>31</sup> Thus the procession of the Siller Club marches across the background of the portrait of William Inglis, the Highland Officer strikes an attitude in the picture of the Lord High Commissioner and his retinue, and a formidable cast of familiar characters adds to the bustle of the High Street in that vista taken from near the site of the Netherbow Port and including a distant view of the Luckenbooths. Not only did this "ugly mass of mean buildings", thought by Pennant to "spoil as fine a street as

Figure 90  
PLATE VI

Figure 267  
Figure 270





278. SIMONE GIULINI after Annibale Carracci:  
"Vende Quadri", 1740. Etching 10 3/4 x 6 3/4,  
from *Le Arti di Bologna*, Rome 1740 (the  
original c. 1590).

279. ABRAHAM BOSSE; "L'Aveugle", c. 1650,  
Engraving, inscribed with "Bosse jn et  
fc", lines of verse and "le Blond excud  
avec Priuilege du Roy",

280. MARCELLUS LAURON; "Buy my fat chickens"  
c 1710 Pen and wash over pencil 8 1/2 x 6 1/8  
Private collection, Lauron's *Cryes of  
the Citie of London* was published by  
Tempest in 1711.



Faut il pas a venir que je suis bien à pleindre. Et que dans les dangers qui me font à craindre.  
Puis que j'ay ce malheur de vivre sans voir rien. Mais en tout dépend de la bonté et de la miséricorde.  
Beffe jn et fc. Le Blond excud avec Priuilege du Roy





281, J F BEAUVARLET after Jean-Baptiste Greuze  
 "La Marchande de Pommes Cuites", c, 1760,  
 Engraving 17¼ x 13¼,

282, PAUL SANDBY: "The Milkmaid", c, 1760, Pen  
 and watercolours over pencil 7- x 5¼,  
 Private collection,

283, PAUL SANDBY: "The Seller of Mops" c 1760,  
 Pen and watercolours over pencil 7½ x 6,  
 The Museum of London,



LA MARCHANDE DE  
 POMMES CUITES  
 Gravé d'après le Tableau de  
 J. B. Greuze par J. F. Beauvarlet  
 Chez M. la Citoyenne de la Harpe



POMMES CUITES  
 Chez M. la Citoyenne de la Harpe  
 & M. la Citoyenne de la Harpe  
 & M. la Citoyenne de la Harpe







284. JOHN KAY after David Allan; "The Social Pinch", Etching 6¼ x 5¼, the standing figure 4¼; inscribed with title and "I. W. Kay Fecit [?] 1795", From *A Series of Original Portraits and Caricature Etchings by the late John Kay Miniature Painter*, Edinburgh, 1842 (no. 122) and 1877 (no. 242).

"In this Etching is represented the east corner of the Parliament Square, with a partial view of the Parliament House, as it existed prior to the late extensive alterations. The two chairmen, both of whom died about thirty years ago, are well remembered by the old frequenters of the Square, Donald Kennedy—seated on the pole of the sedan, and presenting his 'mull'—was a native of Perthshire . . . Donald Black, the other figure, came from Ross-shire, and was a bachelor.

The chairmen of Edinburgh, chiefly Highlanders, were at one time a numerous and well-employed body, and some of them were known to amass large sums of money. The introduction of hackney-coaches, however—together with a considerable change in the habits of fashionable life—have almost subverted the once courtly sedan".

[*A Series of Original Portraits and Caricature Etchings*, Edinburgh, 1877.]





*Wha'll buy my lucky forpit o' Sa a't; Na; Na; it 'ill nae doe;  
- I deil ane yet.*

285, JOHN KAY after David Allan; [Margaret Suttie; "Salt-Wife"], 1799, Etching 5 $\frac{1}{4}$  x 3 $\frac{1}{4}$ , the figure 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ ; inscribed "J. Kay 1799" and "Wha'll buy my lucky forpit o' Sa a't; Na; Na; it 'ill nae doe; Deil ane yet. " From *A Series of Original Portraits and Caricature Etchings*.

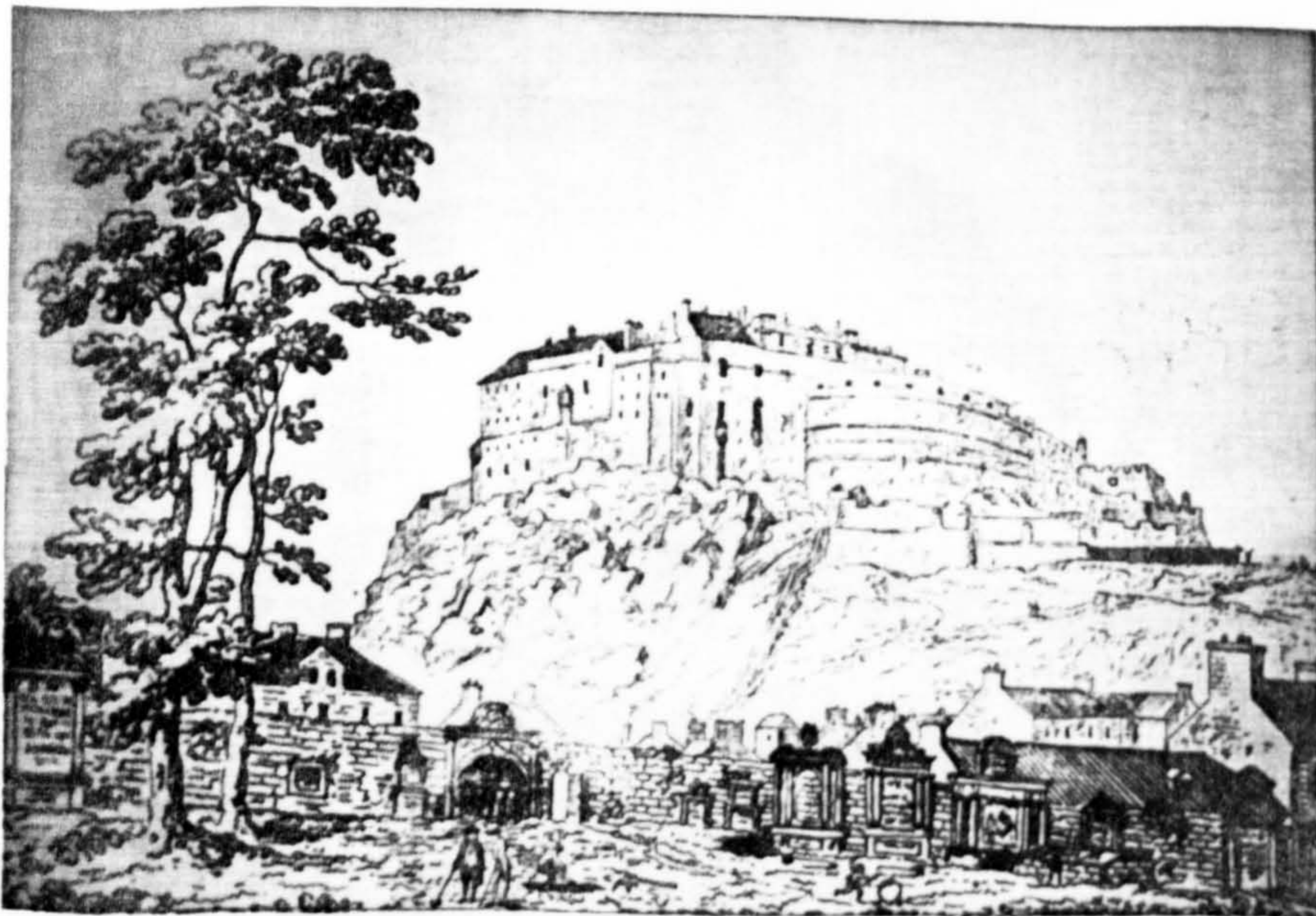


286, JOHN KAY after David Allan; [Tron-men], c.1800. Etching 7 $\frac{1}{4}$  x 4 $\frac{1}{4}$ , the taller figure 5 $\frac{1}{4}$ . From *A Series of Original Portraits and Caricature Etchings*.





[Reprise of Figure 232, page 275.]



287, ["View of Edinburgh Castle"], c. 1780/85.  
Pen outline 8 1/4 x 11. Royal Commission on  
Ancient Monuments.



most in Europe", incorporate the Tolbooth and the merchants' shops from which its name was derived, its eastern end had been the site of Ramsay's circulating library and, at the time of Allan's drawing, was occupied by Creech's bookshop.<sup>32</sup> To describe the view as "taken" from the Netherbow is not inappropriate. The perspective of this and other urban scenes suggests the use of a *camera obscura*, and Allan owned no less than three, one of which was designed to be carried in the pocket.<sup>33</sup>

The determination to "study . . . from Nature" is a recurrent theme in Allan's writings. This was understood primarily as working from a live model, but of course he visited the Pentland Hills when preparing his "set of the Gentle Shepherd", in order to see the prospects Ramsay "had in his eye". He may even have taken his *camera obscura*. It is possible, and biographically interesting, to chart the extent of Allan's travels within Scotland from the drawings, prints and paintings he made. Taking the other side of the coin, it can be said and amply demonstrated that he found material in many aspects of the life he saw around him. To widen the field of vision from the wholly personal, it can be readily appreciated that many of these works are of as much interest to a social historian as to an artist.

Many of Allan's landscapes and topographical drawings are lost. According to Dr. Wright's "biographical sketch" of Allan's life, published in *The Scots Magazine* of December 1804, some of these may have been executed as early as 1760, when Allan was a student at the Foulis Academy. The date of his pen drawing of Rutherglen Fair is securely fixed at 1764, and lost views of Dumbarton Castle and Glasgow may also come from this period.<sup>34</sup> Of those topographical pictures listed in sale catalogues often not even the location can be established, since "Views from Nature" - "various", "large", "highly finished" or "with figures and cattle" - could be of anywhere in Britain, or, for that matter, Italy. Allan's extant Scottish landscapes, or those identified as such in contemporary catalogues or other written descriptions, belong largely to the environs of Alloa and Edinburgh or to the reaches of the Firth of Forth, including a couple of watercolours of North and South Queensferry and a drawing of the Bass Rock.<sup>35</sup> There are views of Craigmillar Castle and Dunfermline Abbey, of Niddry, the Canongate Tolbooth and Edinburgh Castle, this last picture, taken from Greyfriars' Kirkyard, being later developed as one of those outline etchings intended for embellishment with watercolours.<sup>36</sup> When staying with Lord Hope, Allan made a drawing of Blackness Castle, engraving it in 1782, and a number of views of Hopetoun House itself, these last enabling Lady Hope to describe him as excelling





288. "Moffat Mineral Well 1795", Watercolours over pencil 9 $\frac{1}{4}$  x 16 $\frac{3}{4}$ , Sold in Edinburgh, 1797; £20 Dunimarle Album, on loan to the National Galleries of Scotland, Prints and Drawings.



Detail of Figure 269.

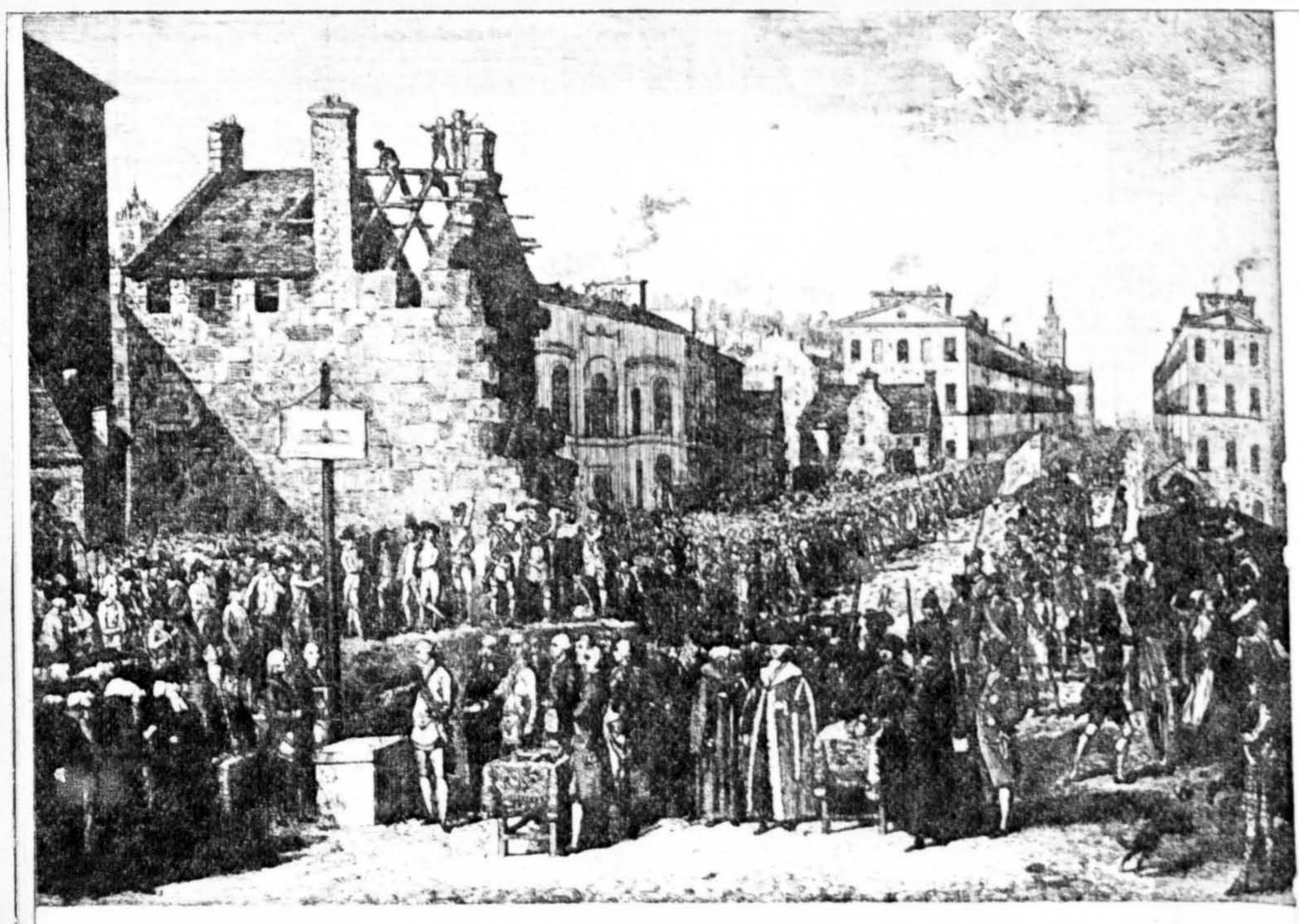


in landscape.<sup>37</sup> On visits to his half-brother James in Alloa, he found time to paint views of the port from north and south, to paint another of Stirling and the river Forth, and to make drawings of Alloa Tower, Culross Abbey, Tulliallen Castle at Kincardine and Castle Campbell at Dollar.<sup>38</sup> A small, business-like print of "Allan's Dry Dock at Alloa", complete with the dimensions of the dock and details of the tides, was published in 1791. Pitfirrane House may have been his base for an excursion to Rosyth Castle, either in 1784, when he painted the Halkett family before their home, or five years later when he found there the miniature of James V which Sir John Halkett sent to him at Edinburgh. Upon the latter occasion, it would be remarkable if Allan, his mind "upon History", had not taken the opportunity to sketch the island fortress of Lochleven and the surrounding hills.<sup>39</sup>

Latterly, his health could hardly have permitted much travelling, but in 1792 Allan revisited Glasgow, and in 1795 went south from Edinburgh in order to "taste the healthy air of Moffat", and presumably to drink from the mineral well there.<sup>40</sup> During his stay he made at least three drawings of the well and village, and probably a fourth of Moffat Church, this drawing being last recorded in 1797.<sup>41</sup> To judge from the little group of goats in one of these views, the pair of drawings entitled "Goat milk" and "Country exercise" could date from this visit rather than from the journey north in 1780, although invalids who followed Cheyne's advice on natural cures generally did so in the Highland borders.<sup>42</sup>

According to the titles of two more lost drawings, Moffat was not the furthest south Allan went in those years. One, of "Warwick Castle", may date from 1785, when he painted Sir James Hunter Blair and his family at his estate in Wigtownshire, as may also a picture of a "Farmer's Family, Anandale".<sup>43</sup> Although he clearly did have an interest in the genre, possessing, in addition to at least forty landscapes of his own and a dozen, both prints and drawings, by Sandby, views by Hackert, Barret, William Marlow and "J. Smyth of London", Allan in his own pictures of this kind - from those Italian vistas, often lightly tinted coastal scenes, in the backgrounds of his costume studies to the bleaker Southern Uplands around the Mineral Well at Moffat - generally regarded a landscape as a setting for human activity or as a sight which evoked historical or national associations, in a spirit typical of the age.<sup>44</sup> He brought home with him from Italy a painting of the tomb of Virgil at Naples, a collection of drawings of "Adrian's Villa", and one more of the villa of Mæcenat, that patron of both Virgil and Horace of whom he had written wistfully to the Earl of Buchan in 1780.<sup>45</sup>





289. *"The Ceremony of Laying the Foundation Stone  
of the NEW COLLEGE OF EDINBURGH November 16 1789"*

Etching 13¼ x 19¼, inscribed (bottom left)  
"D. Allan del et incid, Edinbr Novr 26, 1789",  
and with a numbered key:

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| 1 <sup>st</sup> Grand Lodge of Scotland  | 2 <sup>d</sup> Lord Provost, Magistrates, & Council |
| 3 <sup>d</sup> Professors & Students   | 4 <sup>th</sup> Procession of Free Masons           |
| 5 <sup>th</sup> South Bridge terminated by a distant view of the Register office |   |



Allan's concern was primarily with people, with the farmer's family in Annandale or the throng of folk in the Royal Mile. His drawings of familiar Edinburgh views are complemented by those portraying kenspeckle characters and those recording events of the social and civic calendar. "Rutherglen Fair" preceded and "Leith Races" followed his years in Italy, when a similar interest is evident in his "original Drawings of the sacrament of the Church of Rome" or his etching of the Calabrian shepherds piping to a devotional image at Christmas, to say nothing of his sequence depicting the Roman Carnival.<sup>46</sup> Soon after his return Allan had written of his already having made a drawing, "with many portraits", of the General Assembly of the Kirk of Scotland, and he was later to record scenes such as that of the Lord High Commissioner's procession or, a sight of less grandeur, the parading of the Siller Club by the Town Officer and his attendant drummers.<sup>47</sup>

The most significant event recorded by Allan was the foundation in 1789 of the New College of Edinburgh University. Twenty years earlier Pennant had thought the college "a mean building", an opinion shared by Boswell when he and Dr. Johnson visited Edinburgh a few years afterwards, on which occasion an apologetic Latin tag was offered by the Principal, William Robertson.<sup>48</sup> In October 1789 Robert Adam's plans for a new building were approved, and subscription papers were made available in Edinburgh and London. The foundation stone was laid on the sixteenth of the following month, the ceremony being attended by the Lord Provost, Magistrates and Town Council, the Principal, Professors and Students, the Grand Master Mason, representatives of different Lodges, Adam himself, and "a prodigious concourse of spectators".<sup>49</sup> Somewhere among this crowd David Allan was busily sketching, although he must surely have referred to the account of the order of the procession and the identities of those present which was printed soon afterwards in *The Scots Magazine*.

At the left side of Allan's sketching, published only ten days after the ceremony and provided with a numbered key, stand the Professors and Students with the University's Mace carried before them, in the centre are seen the civic officials with the city regalia, and behind them a long procession of Freemasons makes its way along the South Bridge between the ranks of the City Guard and those of the 35<sup>th</sup> Foot, who hold back a crowd estimated at some thirty thousand.<sup>50</sup> Between the academic body and the Town Council, and watched by Robert Adam in his own Masonic apron, Francis Lord Napier, the Grand Master Mason of Scotland, pours a vessel of wine or oil upon the foundation stone, above which an elevation of the New College building is prophetically displayed. It is clear that



this was meticulously copied for the print from an architectural drawing, possibly the very one which was carried aloft in the procession by two operative Masons.<sup>51</sup>

Allan included his own touch of homage to the architect, and emphasised it in writing. The fifth item on his key to the etching reads

"5th South Bridge terminated by a distant view of the Register Office."

By including this public building, no less than by optimistically showing the drawn elevation illuminated by the early afternoon sun, Allan gave to his print a significance beyond the accurate recording of one particular scene. The building of the New College was a single aspect of the planned urban development which had begun in Edinburgh some thirty years previously, when Brown Square and George Square, built near the Meadows to the south of the city, preceded the more ambitious expansion of the New Town to the north. Nor was such "improvement" to be concentrated in Edinburgh itself. As early as 1752, in the *Proposals for carrying on certain Public Works in the City of Edinburgh*, it had been stated:

"Among the several causes to which the prosperity of a nation may be ascribed, the situation, conveniency, and beauty of its capital, are surely not the least considerable. A capital where these circumstances happen fortunately to concur, should naturally become the centre of trade and commerce, of learning and the arts, of politeness and refinement of every kind. No sooner will the advantages which these necessarily produce, be felt and experienced in the chief city, than they will diffuse themselves through the nation, and universally promote the same spirit of industry and improvement." <sup>52</sup>

At the time of Allan's etching the principal route from the high lands and narrow wynds of the Old Town to the rigorously laid out residential areas across the valley was that provided by Adam's Bridges. Glasgow's almost proverbial elegance, the "pride of Scotland" upon which Defoe, Pennant and Johnson had all commented and of which Adam Smith had apparently boasted, was to be surpassed even before the city was changed utterly by industrialisation.<sup>53</sup> As "Auld Reekie's laureate", Robert Fergusson, exulted,

"Nae mair shall Glasgow Striplings threap  
Their City's Beauty, and its Shape,  
While our New City spreads around  
Her bonny Wings on Fairy Ground." <sup>54</sup>

Occupying a prominent position in Allan's etching is the band of instrumentalists which played during the procession and, seemingly, at appropriate moments throughout the ceremony. Beside them, Schetky's singers lean nonchalantly against a building almost roofless and partially pulled down, for demolition was an essential part of this new urban development even in the case of the New College, the site of which was vacant "with the exception of a few paltry and easily removable houses on the west and north".<sup>55</sup> The bounds of the Old Town were in



1789 still essentially those of the mediæval city, but its population was by then many times greater.<sup>56</sup>

It is probably not by chance that the tiny highlight of her white apron against the dark mass of the crowd draws attention to one of Allan's familiar figures, the young mother carrying a baby. The replacement of old, "very mean" college buildings with a modern edifice was certainly a fit occasion for civic pride, but the true state of a city, as of a country, is shown in the general condition of its people. The mercantilist view expressed by, among others, Daniel Defoe, that "the glory, the strength, the riches, the trade, and all that is valuable in a nation as to its figure in the world, depends upon the number of its people, be they never so mean and poor", had been modified by the last quarter of the century.<sup>57</sup> Dr. Johnson digressed, when writing his *A Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland in 1773*, to remark that

"the true state of every nation is the state of common life, . . . they whose aggregate constitutes the people, are found in the streets, and the villages, in the shops and farms; and from them collectively considered, must the measure of general prosperity be taken. As they approach to delicacy a nation is refined; as their conveniences are multiplied, a nation, at least a commercial nation, must be denominated wealthy." <sup>58</sup>

Allan's apparent optimism, in this print of 1789, was misplaced. Ironically, between the rational organisation of the New Town to the north and the respectability of the suburbs to the south, the Old Town of Edinburgh was allowed to become progressively more squalid throughout the following century.<sup>59</sup>

Whatever its subtleties, this print is primarily a documentary record of the ceremony. Any references to the benefits which urban renewal and education might bring to future generations is necessarily implicit, though to a contemporary audience in a country where, it has been said, the sons of lairds and of Lords of Session would attend the same parish schools as those of ploughmen, such moral import may well have been obvious.<sup>60</sup> By contrast, in the several versions of "Presbyterian Penance" the moral nature of the subject is explicit. This scene, dating from 1784, comes closest of all these Scottish works to the modern moral subjects of Hogarth. In it, Allan turned from the portrayal of innocent peasants enjoying an ideal existence to make a direct criticism of human behaviour in a real one.

David Allan, it cannot be doubted, accepted the æsthetic, academic or philosophical belief that by an "address to the mind", either a pictorial one or a poetic, the thoughts could be elevated, the "understanding improved, and the heart softened".<sup>61</sup> To the Scots clergy of the day - a



body to whose doctrine Allan of necessity alluded in this picture, as he had not in his print of the General Assembly - such notions may well have appeared frivolous and beside the point, if not heretical. Man's nature, it had been decided, was not originally innocent but sinful, and each individual, according to the doctrine of predestination, was assigned either to the ranks of the Elect or to those of "the Reprobate race". "Works done by unregenerate men" were of no significance, nor could they alter this eternal decree for the Chosen, who could "never fall from the state of justification", or for the rest of Mankind, generally understood to be the great majority, for whom perdition was foreordained.<sup>62</sup> Far less, presumably, could works made by artists, whatever their intention, make any difference to effectual calling or individual damnation.

It was a harsh doctrine, and Kirk discipline was correspondingly rigorous. Despite the anti-Catholic zeal of the Reformers, the Kirk had retained for the punishment of transgressors the stool of repentance, known by a number of names and apparently taking a variety of forms. Clerk of Penicuik had seen it as "Rome's legacy to the Kirk of Scotland", while to others it was the Cutty Stool, the "Black Stool", the creepie chair or, most colourfully of all, "the vera tassel o' the breeks o' Popery".<sup>63</sup> This "stool of terror was fashioned like an arm-chair, and was raised on a pedestal, nearly two feet higher than the other seats, directly fronting the pulpit".<sup>64</sup> Penitents, clad in a black sackcloth gown, appeared before the congregation for three successive Sundays, to be identified and publicly rebuked by the minister.<sup>65</sup>

Allan dispensed with the sackcloth gown in his various copies of the scene, in each of which the main participants are disposed in a manner similar to that described in one contemporary song:

"But ye maun mount the cutty stool,  
And I maun mount the pillar;  
And that's the way that poor folks do,  
Because they hae nae siller," <sup>66</sup>

That the cutty stool occupied a prominent place in Scottish life and society throughout the eighteenth century may be inferred from sources other than several references in the works of the Vernacular Poets and the balladry of "poor folks". The author of *Letters from A Gentleman in the North of Scotland* commented at length on the severity of Kirk discipline, the abolition of the stool was debated by both the Select Society and the Belles Lettres Society, and it appears that "so seldom was 'fautor's loft' or defaulter's pillory vacant, that some Kirk-Session records specially chronicle: 'No case of discipline to day.'" <sup>67</sup>





290, "Black Stool". Etching & aquatint 11¼ x 13½  
(platemark 13 x 14½), inscribed "Da. Allan  
inv<sup>t</sup> et Tinta fecit Ed<sup>r</sup> 1784",



291, ["Presbyterian Penance"], signed and dated  
1792. Pen and watercolours 15 x 21½. Private  
Collection (St).



Burt and the elder Ramsay in the early decades of the century hinted at the prurient concentration by the "Poacher-Court" upon one point of the law in particular.<sup>68</sup> Later, in Dougal Graham's comic chapbook relating the "whole proceedings" of the courtship of Jocky and Maggie, Jocky is brought to book by the Haly band and the Justice of the Peace, who speaks forthrightly:

"Ay, but I tell you, them that gets a bystart gets the black-stool to the bargain,"<sup>69</sup>

In Edinburgh, fines collected by the Kirk Treasurer of one parish from parents of such illegitimate children had increased more than threefold in the decade up till 1784, when Allan made and published his first picture on the theme.<sup>70</sup>

As in the case of "The Highland Dance", later versions of "Presbyterian Church Penance" have a structure almost identical to that of the first, although individual figures and details do vary. The aquatint of 1784, entitled "Black Stool" and later sold as "Presbyterian Penance", is the most "complete", later versions having fewer characters and a simplified setting.<sup>71</sup> Contrary to his ideas and practice in other cases, Allan does not seem to have pulled a number of prints of the design before aquatinting his etched plate, in anticipation of a demand for pictures embellished by hand. Prints in outline of Clackmannan Tower, the High Street of Edinburgh and the scenes of *The Gentle Shepherd* were sold in quantity, but all other surviving versions of "Presbyterian Penance" are watercolour drawings, nor was any outline etching recorded in Allan's studio.<sup>72</sup> Only one such print is known to exist, and was used by the artist to evaluate the spatial relationships between the main foreground groups and structures, and between them and the dimensions of the entire image. He had, in all probability, already established the main blocks of light and shade in a watercolour sketch, one rather more thickly worked than is typical of his exercises in this medium.<sup>73</sup> Having pulled this one proof, Allan then appears to have shortened by about a quarter of an inch the image which was to be eventually published, burnishing out and then slightly repositioning some of the major figures, altering a few of the minor ones, and generally simplifying details of dress. In short, an observation confirmed by comparison of the orthogonals provided by the flagstones, he literally tightened the composition.<sup>74</sup>

Across the foreground, half a dozen figures are arranged as in a frieze, almost in a single plane. The seated group of infant, lass and her mother has on one side the standing figures of the two officers and on the other the exasperated beadle. These soldiers are themselves flanked by seated





292 [The wedding of Jocky and Maggie] (Dougal Graham), c.1780/90. Woodcut 1½ x 2¼; from *The Whole Proceedings of Jocky and Maggie*, Glasgow [n.d.].



figures, those around the cutty stool itself and those asleep on the front pews. The drowsy guidman on one wing of Allan's stage is thus balanced by the feckfu beadle and a pack of dogs on the other, just as a contrast is made between the sobbing girl and the chuckling soldiers. The Highland officer points to the fautor's laft where the bairn's father ruefully passes muster before the congregation, tholing the "waefu' scald" of the minister, seen in theatrical *silhouette* directly opposite. To judge from the hourglass, which has apparently run out, and from Mess John's grasp of his handkerchief, the sermon has been as long as it is energetic. With piercing eye and rhetorical gesture, he rebukes the couple and exhorts them to

"reflect seriously in contrition of heart on all the instances of your sin and guilt, in their numbers, high aggravation, and unhappy consequences, and say, having done foolishly, we'll do so no more.

Beware of returning to your sin as some of you have done, like the dog to his vomit, or like the sow that is washed to her wallowing in the mire," <sup>75</sup>

Whatever effect his oratory has on its present objects, those among the remainder of the congregation who are not asleep seem diverted either by Clinkumbell's efforts to expel the unruly dogs or by the plight of the young lad at the pillory. This mirth among the members of a parish, for the most part familiar with the penitents, was often as fearsome a prospect to a couple as the official reproof. Dougal Graham's bold Jocky would think nothing of standing a time or twa on the stool to please the minister,

"if there were nae body in the kirk on a uke day, but you an' the elders to flyte a wee on me; but it's war<sup>t</sup> on a Sunday, to hae a'body looking and laughing at me . . ." <sup>76</sup>

In fact, not everybody is laughing at the curs or the couple. Almost directly below the minister's outstretched hand, Allan highlighted the figure of an exemplary Christian, apparently seeking grace for those facing Kirk censure. Originally, in the outline etching, she was shown openly praying, but in the finished aquatint her hands are concealed within her plaid, though her eyes are still devoutly cast upwards. There is something in the earnestness of her gaze, an almost extravagant parody of the pleading look of a saint or martyr, which arouses suspicion. This figure is omitted from Allan's later versions of the scene, as are three coarse youths gecking at the lad in the fautor's laft. There remains, however; another young woman nearby, depicted in *profile perdu* and partly in shadow, head lightly supported on her hand and eyes down cast on a text, who is in every version clearly deep in thought. As with the change from an irate mother shaking her fist towards her new son-in-law to one

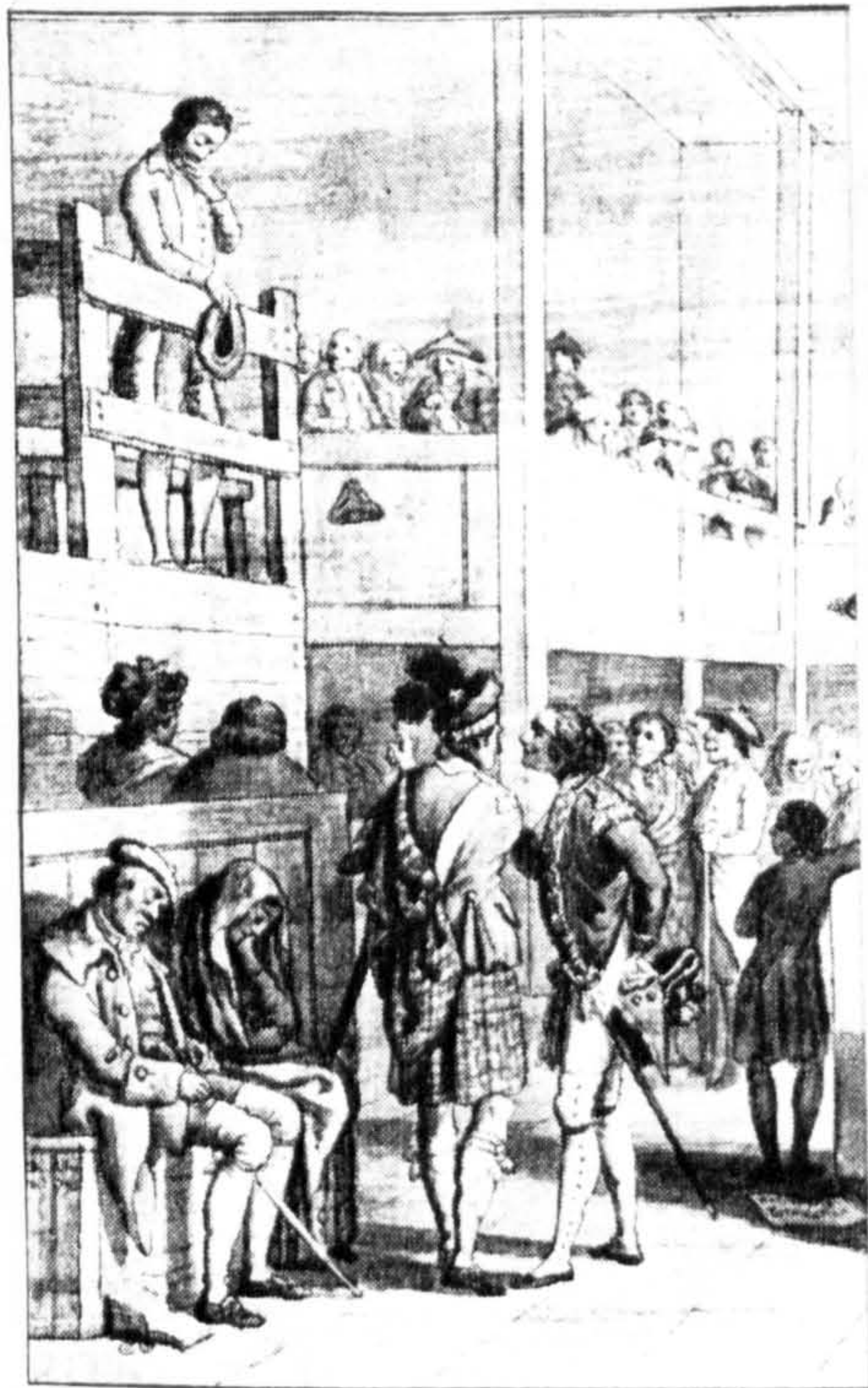
† i.e., "vaur".



regarding him with truculent resentment, the development is towards a more subtle, if no less peaceful effect.<sup>77</sup> Yet, arguably, without the overtly praying woman of the print - or the knowledge that she was part of the artist's original conception - the probable reason for all this devout contemplation could easily be overlooked, despite the hint conveyed by the similar attitudes of the pensive lass and the tearful. It is uncharitable, but probably more realistic to suggest that these young ladies are less concerned for others' predicaments than for their own. Like the "Holy Willie" of Burns's most famous satire upon hypocrisy and the Kirk, each prays or hopes that the consequence of any faults will not be similarly revealed to public view, a "living plague" to her dishonour. That the hands of one lass are hidden within her plaid may be Allan's ironic commentary upon the true motivation of her prayer.

Not only in the subject, but in his treatment of it, a more earthy aspect of Allan's art becomes prominent. The print of 1784 was not the first appearance of bawdry in his *oeuvre*, nor was it to be the last.<sup>78</sup> Some drawings of the Roman Carnival are replete with satirical barbs from a truly Hogarthian armoury. "*Cognoscenti*" in the Piazza di Spagna, for example, have eyes only for a pornographic picture, and turn their backs both on Renaissance painting - a copy of Raphael's "Madonna della Sedia" - and on antiquities newly discovered by the shovel-bearing dealers. It is an aspect of Allan's work which has been studiously and consistently avoided by commentators, or veiled under the convenient guise of his "gentle humour". It is possible to acknowledge that, in "Presbyterian Penance", "the incident, like all of Allan, is essentially serious, for the minister is dealing in public with a man and his good name", but safer to stress the "amusing and illuminating details of the religious life of the eighteenth century in Scotland" which are depicted in the print than to follow the implications of that seriousness any further.<sup>79</sup> Allan, it must, apparently, be remembered, "never tries to teach morality by his pencil", especially if an artist's having such a didactic aim is defined as his having "the conviction that pictorial imagery should serve the purpose of preaching sermons", nor can he even be allowed any "satirical intention", things simply being "recorded for their own sake".<sup>80</sup> It accords best with the innocuous identity in which this "timid, sensitive" artist has been confined to admit only that he "introduces amusing little asides, such as the beadle and the quarrelling dogs, as if he sought to relieve the severity of the scene".<sup>81</sup> Ironically, it can still be said that the picture "has to be seen to be fully appreciated".<sup>82</sup> It has also to be studied to be fully understood.





Detail of PLATE XXIII.



In the right foreground of the aquatint occurs one of those "little asides" ingenuously described as "amusing". In this case, the beadle, armed with a besom, is ridding the Kirk of an unwelcome company of dogs, not all of which are "quarrelling". His disapproval was shared by at least one owner of a print, who clumsily erased one of the offending couple.<sup>23</sup> Rather than simply being amusing, the incident is at least a satiric comparison of supposedly rational human beings with brute animals, in the manner of the sermon delivered by at least one minister.<sup>24</sup> One further ironic point, which would not have been lost on Allan's contemporaries, is given to the beadle's redding action, in that his duties included, as well as this necessary subduing of the dogs, the sniffing out of "sculduddry" such as that for which the human couple are being rebuked.<sup>25</sup>

Figure 293

This vignette is balanced, in some versions of the scene, by a quieter anecdotal episode at the opposite side of the interior. In these, and also in the companion piece "Presbyterian Church Catechising", a child in a raised pew tickles the head of a sleeping churchgoer below, or attempts to knock off his bonnet with a stick.<sup>26</sup> It is easy to dismiss the scene as merely humorous, amusing though it may be. The child disturbing the sleeping member below is, in both situations, heedless of the importance of the adult business taking place before him. Equally inattentive, indeed literally unconscious, is the somnolent character himself. Both his text and his eyeglasses have fallen unheeded from his hands. Nor is he, from even a brief glance at "Presbyterian Penance", the only one among the congregation to find the proceedings tedious, doubtless because they have heard and seen it all before. The main laft in one picture holds a number of people nodding, or slumped over the wooden barrier, almost equal to that of those still awake.

No adult takes any notice of the childish impudence thus shown. The only reaction elicited is the grin of the youngster's companion, as diverted by the little incident as most of those still awake are by the relation of one more scandal to enliven town or village life. It appears that the behaviour of the child, as well as offering, within the context of each picture, a criticism of the irreligion shown by the adults present, contains the promise of one more sinful generation, a source of dour satisfaction to some. No doubt his companions will still be grinning as he takes his turn on the black stool in years to come.

From the childrens' point of view, the weekly ritual of going to Kirk may be unwelcome. Understandably, the more refined if less frequently repeated mental torture of memorising the Catechism would be unbearable





293, ["Scots Presbyterian Catechising"], 1785,  
Pen and watercolours over pencil 13 $\frac{1}{4}$  x 19 $\frac{1}{2}$   
Paisley Art Gallery.



on such a bright summer's day as Allan indicates by the strong shadows cast in the grander of the two interiors, which has been identified as the Abbey of Dunfermline.<sup>87</sup> Some beguile the time by tickling their dozing elders. Some resign themselves unwillingly to study, but a shinty ball and *caman* suggest where their interests really lie. Others are led firmly back despite their tears, while yet more have, for the moment, eluded the hard-pressed beadle. He can only shake the massive key of the church door, in this picture a symbol of repression at the same time as it is a badge of office, as they flee like little monkeys out of his reach. Only the well-conducted little brother and sister, directly under the pulpit and unable to escape, read their Catechism with any show of contentment. Even if their piety is genuine, it is an ideal state which will not last long, to judge from the miserable faces which the adults have put on with their Sunday clothes. Edward Topham, when he visited Edinburgh in 1774, observed that Scottish churchgoers looked "so sorrowful at the time as if they were going, not only to bury their sins, but themselves".<sup>88</sup> Fergusson, in "Auld Reikie", questioned the logic of this, wondering

"Why should Religion make us sad,  
If good frae Virtue's to be had?"

It is to adopt too simple and restricted a view to suggest that David Allan, any more than Robert Fergusson, was content merely to joke about this disparity between Man's professed beliefs and actual human behaviour, traditional though the jibe may be. The observation of the "manners", or, as Hume termed this study, the Science of Man, formed the mainspring of secular debate in the intellectual clubs and societies in the Edinburgh of which the one was the poet *par excellence*, the other the painter. In his *Principles of Moral and Political Science*, published in 1792 and forming a retrospect of the lectures he had delivered in Edinburgh University over a quarter of a century, Adam Ferguson stated

"as the study of human nature may refer to the actual state, or to the improveable capacity, of man, it is evident, that, the subjects being connected, we cannot proceed in the second, but upon the foundations which are laid in the first. Our knowledge of what any nature ought to be, must be derived from our knowledge of its faculties and powers; and the attainment to be aimed at must be of the kind which these faculties and powers are fitted to produce." <sup>89</sup>

He considered this capacity for improvement, the attainment of future good "in the proper use of [human] faculties", to be "the sum of that distinction, which subsists between man and the other animals".<sup>90</sup> Man, unlike the brute animals, could make moral judgements, and choices based



upon them. Whether the "moral sense", which was understood to give rise to feelings of approval or disapproval, were innate, as Francis Hutcheson argued, or whether these feelings, and "artificial" principles such as justice, developed instead from a sympathetic response which was "natural", as Hume implied, there can be no denying that these distinctive human endowments were perceived as being of fundamental importance to society as a whole. A social context - people being "taken in groups", as "united in society, and dependent on each other" - was literally no less indispensable than a human one.<sup>91</sup> Both Hutcheson's theory of moral sense and Hume's description of the association of ideas were, ultimately, concerned with peoples' personal experiences, their perceptions, and their conduct in relation to their society. Examples of similar views and attitudes could be cited in abundance, and from sources other than the Scottish philosophers. Adam Smith, who founded *The Wealth of Nations* upon that very social concept of the division of labour, argued in a characteristically staccato manner that

"our continual observations upon the conduct of others, insensibly lead us to form to ourselves certain general rules concerning what is fit and proper either to be done or to be avoided. Some of their actions shock all our natural sentiments. We hear everybody about us express the same detestation against them. This still further confirms, and even exasperates our natural sense of their deformity. It satisfies us that we view them in the proper light, when we see other people view them in the same light. We resolve never to be guilty of the like . . . Other actions, on the contrary, call forth our approbation, and we hear everybody around us express the same favourable opinion concerning them. . . It is thus that the general rules of morality are formed. They are ultimately founded upon experience of what, in particular instances, our moral faculties, our natural sense of merit and propriety, approve, or disapprove of." <sup>92</sup>

Reynolds, lecturing primarily to artists but with every member of society in mind, reminded his audience and his readers that

"he deserves just so much encouragement in the state as he makes himself a member of it virtuously useful, and contributes in his sphere to the general purpose and perfection of society." <sup>93</sup>

In concentrating solely upon the behaviour of the individual in relation to his society, as the question was understood in Allan's day, it soon becomes apparent that such theories have a bearing not only upon his pictures treating of the Scottish Kirk, but, to some extent, upon wider concerns which informed other areas of his art. The resolution of the tension between a selfish, sensual human nature and that continence essential to social happiness, such as had been considered in Smith's *Theory of Moral Sentiments*, was seen as being of primary importance in the progress of society from primitive to refined, barbaric to cultured. Only with a coherent and shared social code could the individual live at



peace with his fellows and be himself of practical benefit to the commonwealth in actively contributing to the general good. A savage, however noble, is still a savage; a child, however free he may be born, must learn — effectively, be instructed in — a proper moral code if he is to be assimilated to his place in the world. Hand in hand with the reading and personal enquiry undertaken in every Scottish household went the determination of the Kirk to uphold orthodoxy of faith. That is, the danger that some, like Hume, might actually reach conclusions of their own, or at least have doubts about those provided by others, could be avoided by the enforcement of conformity. The duty of learning their Catechism may be irksome to the children in Allan's drawing, but it was a duty no less essential to social stability than to personal salvation. Even Hume, admittedly with reference to civil government, agreed that it was a sense of common interest which was the "original motive to obedience".<sup>94</sup>

The rôle played by religion in education and upbringing was, needless to say, viewed differently by ministers of the Kirk, whether Auld Licht or New, and by the more sceptical of the *Literati*. Fundamentally, the question was whether there actually were any absolute standards by which "the manners or behaviour of men" could be judged; Adam Ferguson nicely countered empirical explanations for the general approbation of virtuous conduct, and showed how "the intelligent and associated being" ought truly to understand "the essential distinction of moral right and wrong".<sup>95</sup> If there were not such an absolute standard, then Virtue, "the morality of external actions, and the propriety of manners" were indeed no more than so much acquiescence in the fashions of the time, religion but an opiate for those of all classes anxiously seeking a purpose for their existence.<sup>96</sup> Blair's *Sermons*, emphasising the importance of private devotions, had commenced publication in 1777. No doubt that savage doctrine of predestination was satisfying for those rigidly convinced of their being each "a chosen sample", but it must have entailed agonies of despair for those uncertain of their own election.

When attention is turned on such a philosophical and cultural background, and on the additional detail provided by literary and historical observations, there may readily be identified in Allan's pictures of Kirk business a similar questioning of human behaviour, in visual terms. Each scene allows the viewer to imagine the true motives for attendance in the congregations depicted. Since few, in "Presbyterian Penance", appear to be taking the proceedings seriously, then the people have placed what Topham called "a superstitious reliance on the efficacy of going continually to church", without regard to anything but their own physical presence, even



if their being smitten wholesale with weariness is an allowable exercise of artistic licence.<sup>97</sup> Even the employment by Scottish ministers of the "sough" - the "whine", as Captain Burt succinctly defined it - in their preaching suggests, regrettably, that many among them were more concerned with the method and art of their performance than with its content. If churchgoing becomes merely habitual, it is at best unthinking, at worst hypocritical. Appearances may weekly, or more frequently, be satisfied,

"But there's an unco Dearth o' Grace,  
That has nae Mansion but the face,  
And never can obtain a Part  
In benmost Corner of the Heart,"<sup>98</sup>

A dozen years after Fergusson wrote, Burns was to extend this criticism from the individual to the social, in his attacks on empty show in churches where

". . . men display to congregations wide,  
Devotion's ev'ry grace, except the heart!"<sup>99</sup>

In "Presbyterian Penance", there is not even this token show of reverence. Many of the congregation, apparently in the best Scottish tradition, are openly amused by the proceedings, taking advantage of the minister's being carried away by his own rhetoric. The officers in the foreground, conversing as freely as though they were strolling along Leith Walk or in the Meadows, are personally disinterested and thus oblivious not only of any religious or moral import, but also of the huddled group on which they turn their backs. For the couple, disciplining does not end with their compearing before the congregation. If the full rigour of Kirk ordinance is applied, not only will six pounds Scots be lodged with the Session, the lass may be sent to the house of correction at the foot of Leith Wynd, not five minutes' walk from Allan's home in Writers' Court.<sup>100</sup>

That this aspect of Kirk discipline was severe cannot be denied. That it was dreaded cannot be doubted. Many delinquents fled from the wrath of the Kirk, for all that a marriage *de præsenti* was valid in Scots civil law, and instances of suicide among young girls and infanticide of "wee, unchristened bairns" were distressingly frequent.<sup>101</sup> Arnot and Maitland both recorded that

"four women, condemned to death for child murder on one day, declared that the dread of the pillory was the cause of their crime",<sup>102</sup>

Despite the willingness of many Moderate clergymen and some of the less unbending Kirk Sessions, towards the end of the century, to exact a fine





*Place upon your spinning wheel  
My Jo, Janel.*

[Reprise of Figure 255,]



combined with the administration of a private rebuke in lieu of a public appearance, Kirk discipline was in some places enduring in its harshness.<sup>103</sup> Keats, in 1818, remarked on the "horrible dominion" of Calvinism in Ayrshire, concluding that "these Kirk men have done Scotland harm":

"A Scotch girl stands in terrible awe of the Elders — poor little Susannahs, they will scarcely laugh, and their Kirk is greatly to be damned . . ." <sup>104</sup>

The darkest aspects of the relationship between the Kirk and the common folk cannot have been unknown to Allan. Printed histories apart, the cutty stool figured in as many works of imaginative literature as it had different names among the people, and writers were seldom reticent about its consequences. Ramsay recorded in verse how it was girls' fear of grappling with "kirk-censure"

"Whilk gart some aft, their leefu' lane,  
Bring to the world the luckless waen,  
And sneg its infant thrapple." <sup>105</sup>

Even one of the songs Allan was later to illustrate, popular since its appearance in the first volume of *The Tea-Table Miscellany*, contains "an unforgettable reference to the solution taken by some pregnant girls in a Calvinist community".<sup>106</sup> Upon asking her husband to buy her a mirror, it will be remembered, one young wife is advised to look into the well instead, whereupon she replies,

"Keeking in the draw well clear,  
What if I shou'd fa' in,  
Syne a' my kin will say and swear  
I drown'd my sell for sin,  
Had the better be the brae, JANET, JANET;  
Had the better be the brae, my jo JANET." <sup>107</sup>

It was, apparently, commonly believed that Allan had taken the subject of "Presbyterian Penance" from Penicuik's satirical poem "Rome's legacy to the kirk of Scotland", but Cunningham sensibly commented,

"it is more likely to have been suggested by what he must often have seen with his own eyes, and which has been rendered famous by the verse of Burns", <sup>108</sup>

Whatever its various sources, Allan's knowledge of the contemporary situation must have influenced his approach to this subject, and to "Presbyterian Church Catechising". While the latter picture clearly does uphold the necessity of due attention to religious instruction, the artist in "Presbyterian Penance" was more ambivalent in his attitude to Kirk discipline. The ostensible interpretation of this picture is, of course, in accord with the minister's stance and with the typical sermon he would deliver, but it has also been seen as a criticism of Calvinist severity, though only as "a mild tilt indeed at the penitence stool".<sup>109</sup> To regard it as expressive of that robust *gusto* so typical of the eighteenth



century, whether this is regarded as frankness or vulgarity, is to ignore the fact that this accords ill with the tenor of Allan's work as a whole, and with what is known of his own character, though such a view would find many an echo in "merry" songs of the time. Nothing can really be adduced in this matter with regard to Allan's own religious views. All that can reasonably be made of his work for Saint Peter's Episcopal Chapel in Roxburgh Place is that the choice of the authorities fell upon Edinburgh's leading Historical Painter and the Master of the Trustees' Academy.<sup>110</sup> Similarly, Biblical themes among his Historical compositions are far outnumbered by subjects from classical and Scottish history, and his pictures of Catholic practices in Rome are really to be classed among his other scenes of daily life and custom. It is, at the same time, worthy of some note that he should own *The Jesuit's Perspective*, published in 1698.<sup>111</sup>

Of more importance are his artistic views, especially his ambition to please and instruct by his representations of ordinary life. The print could be as didactic as the Historical painting. Furthermore, these subjects were familiar to a public much greater than that conversant with those of the Grand Style. Of particular relevance in the case of "Presbyterian Penance" is the satirical potential of widely circulated prints, as is implied in Hogarth's lines,

"Prints should be prized as Authors should be read,  
That sharply smile prevailing follies dead."<sup>112</sup>

Allan's criticism was not levelled at any one target in particular. This is certainly a fault, if didacticism is understood to mean the concern to teach a particular moral. In a book, if the writer so desired, the numerous incidents and references in the scene of public admonishment could coexist with a direct authorial judgement, or an implication conveyed sufficiently strongly by the tone adopted, any latent ambiguities being retrospectively viewed as irony. Allan was concerned that his pictures should be "capable both of pleasing and instructing", but was equally clearly determined to create them by "a strict adherence to truth and nature."<sup>113</sup> To have implied that Kirk censure was as effective as it was implacable would have involved a distortion of the reality he perceived, and that he would not have countenanced. It was enough that he should demonstrate the existence of prevailing follies and vices, including the irreligion of the congregation.

A viewer from any age is here confronted with an impulse at once documentary, creative and didactic. The artist recorded sights familiar to any of his contemporaries, from which he developed a composite picture of religious observance, one containing at the same time fairly



comprehensive social criticism, as may be recognised by those prepared to concede that he may actually have had a deeper purpose than that of simply being humorous. Allan's representation is imbued with as much ambiguity as is reality itself. The beadle may thrash the dogs from the building and the minister may rebuke every erring couple in the parish by turns, but all the evidence suggests that both are temporary correctives. Just as Mess John's energetic exhortation is counterpointed by the scutching action of his beadle, so too the contritely bowed head of the lad in the fautor's laft is echoed by that of the guidman slumped far below him, insensible alike to the child close beside him, the hurlie at the church door, or, most importantly of all, the words of the sermon. It seems that even those awake, perhaps even those under correction, are as likely to ignore the official reproof as the scampering tykes are to jouk the beadle. To neglect the significance of anything Allan saw fit to include is to adopt too narrow a view of both print and artist. Choices - moral, æsthetic or critical - have to be made in the fullest understanding of reality, or of an artistic representation, available to each individual. Nor does the complete artistic meaning of "Presbyterian Penance" lie in any reconciliation of differences, but in that clearsighted and honest noting of coexistent antitheses - of appearance and reality, of profession and belief, of the ideal and the actual - which finds equally resolute expression in the last stanza of "The Holy Fair".

Fortunately, the discipline of the Kirk did not unduly oppress the spirits of the Scots, appearances on the Sabbath (except, presumably, when the Black Stool was occupied) to the contrary. Immediately after marvelling at the sepulchral gloom of a Scottish congregation, a relieved Captain Topham recorded that "at other hours, they are as cheerful as possible".<sup>114</sup> One of the occasions on which they were thus cheerful was that of a marriage. Predictably, the "holy beagles" had a down on the traditional custom of the Penny Wedding, whereby the union was celebrated by a communal enjoyment of music and dancing, the funds necessary to pay for this entertainment being provided by an informal subscription among the guests.<sup>115</sup> All the "spiritual artillery" of the Kirk was brought to bear on the custom in order to blast it out of existence.

The General Assembly passed acts against "promiscuous dancing", Kirk Sessions at various times throughout the century passed resolutions condemning both the gatherings and the participants, and in "one of their printed Papers, which was cried about the Streets, it was said that the Devils are particularly busy upon such occasions".<sup>116</sup> Some churchmen





[Reprise of Figure 26, page 27.]

"A Penny Wedding", signed and dated 1795, Pen and watercolours over pencil 13 $\frac{1}{4}$  x 17 $\frac{1}{4}$ , the frame 13 $\frac{1}{4}$  x 18 $\frac{1}{4}$ , National Galleries of Scotland, Department of Prints and Drawings, D (NG) 613.



believed in frustrating these devils by stopping the corruption at source, warning betrothed couples that "whosoever shall have pypers at their wedding shall forfeit pawns", and that they should not "meet in a change-house after their wedding under the same pain".<sup>117</sup> Merely to be found in possession of a fiddle resulted in a summons to the Session, but to have

"played at gatherings where there had been promiscuous dancing entailed a penalty of £20 Scots for each offence, and all persons participating in them were sometimes refused 'sealing ordinances' or communion".<sup>118</sup>

It is not clear whether musicians were fined by the air or for each assembly, but there was apparently much competition to play at them. Alexander Ross, a schoolmaster from Aberdeenshire several of whose poems Allan illustrated, claimed that pipers and fiddlers could "smell a bridal unco' far", but this proverbial ability was more often ascribed to their dogs.<sup>119</sup> These fines may have been dictated as much by shrewd opportunism as by sanctity, for

"by the frequent forfeiture of these pledges - the pleasure of the bridal far outweighing the pain of losing the pawn - no small addition was made to the revenue of each parish." <sup>120</sup>

Figure 26

That which has long been known as Allan's last dated picture is of such a celebration.<sup>121</sup> "The Penny Wedding" of 1795 shares a common theme and a similar composition with "The Highland Dance" of fifteen years earlier, though the massing of tables and chairs probably represents an artistic adaptation of what was actual practice, one which Allan also used in small illustrations of the songs "Muirland Willie" and "Tullochgorum". In "The Penny Wedding" it is some Lowland village which is emptied of its folk one festive evening, as they gather in a barn specially cleared for the occasion. An actual location has been suggested for this interior, the "Baron's Hall of the Devon Tower at Sauchie, the property of the Cathcarts of Schawpark".<sup>122</sup>

Figure 27

Figure 295

By showing only two couples dancing, Allan may depict an identifiable moment. The reel could be the first dance of the celebration, performed by bridegroom, bride's-maid, best man and bride, and "from the 'mauvais honte' which they usually displayed, it was called the Shame o't Reel".<sup>123</sup> The dancers are flanked by revellers of every age and station, but few among this company are still watching them. One fiddler drouthily accepts a brimming luggie as his companion, the thong of his walking stick looped around a coat button, bears the lively melody. Perhaps it is "Tullochgorum" itself, chosen by Fergusson as a fit counter to the tricks and trills of Italian music, and thought by Burns "the best Scotch song





294. [ Sketch for *The Penny Wedding* ], c. 1795;  
Pencil with red chalk additions 134 x 184,  
National Galleries of Scotland, Prints and  
Drawings, D 3808.



ever Scotland saw".<sup>124</sup> The Reverend John Skinner, like Ross also from Aberdeenshire, wrote the set of words to which Burns referred, words which anticipate the spirit of Allan's picture:

"For blythe and cheerie we's be a'  
As lang as we hae breath to draw,  
And dance till we be like to fa'  
The Reel of Tullochgorum."

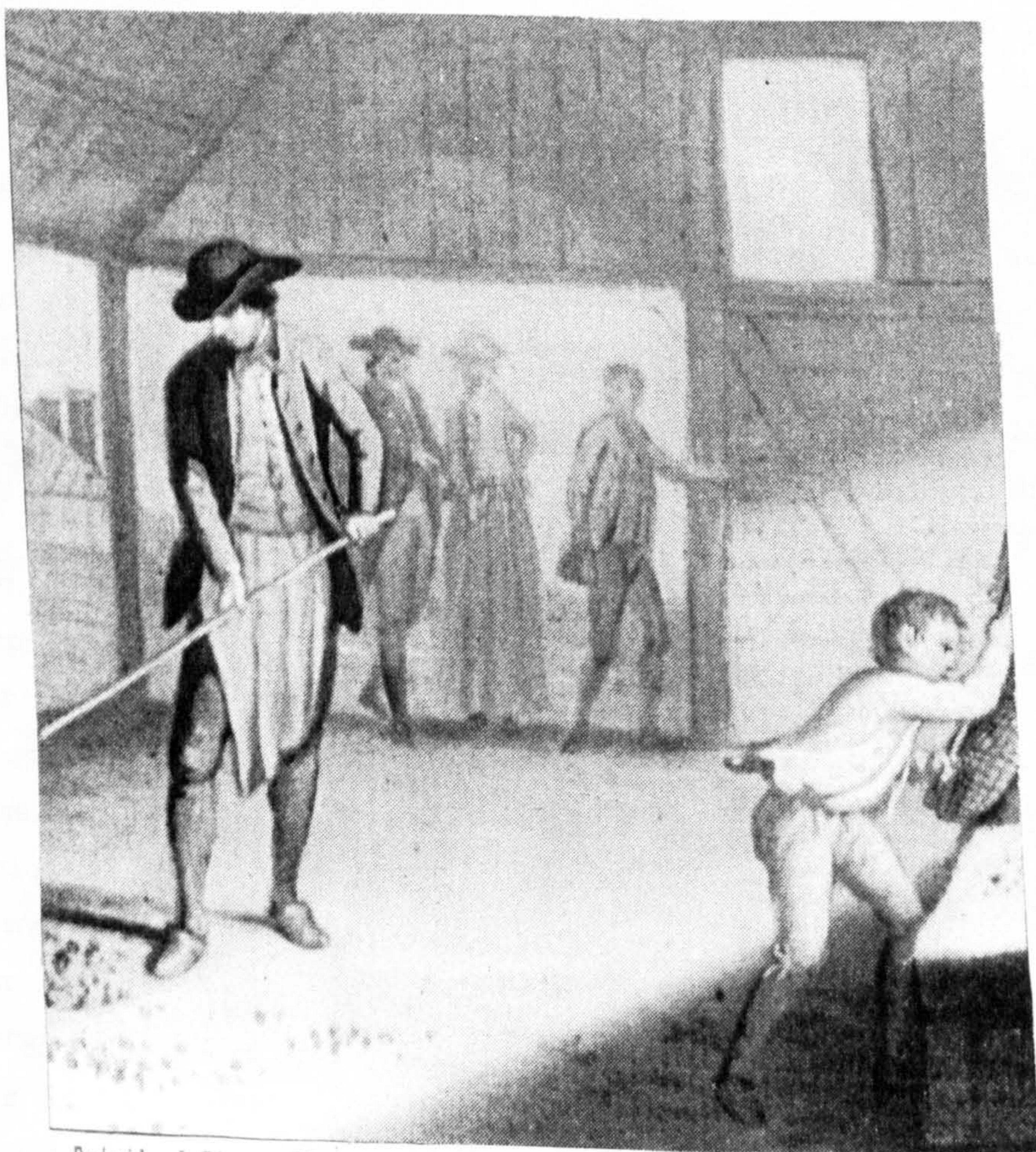
More soberly, an auld guidman seated on the left - reminiscent of another elderly guest in "The Highland Dance" - pauses before prying a lock of sneeshin, and looks across the floor towards the usual towsie tykes girning over a bone while their masters jostle around a sturdy farmhouse table. There, another guest, probably the father of one of the newly married couple, carves up the "Bride's pie" on the ashet before him. One lusty ploughman drains a pewter tassie, another, sated, blinks round as if at the entrance of more villagers, while a young lad holds out his plate for a share of the repast, perhaps claiming that it is for his friends across the floor or up in the hey-laft. On the other side of the barn some are busy blethering, some are forming their various assignations, and others are giving a lift to the jauris and barrels.

Figure 294

In his large pencil sketch for this watercolour drawing, Allan's addition of details to the main lines of the composition may be easily followed. As well as experimenting with the positioning of certain figures and groups, which is to be expected, he can also be seen to have followed his favourite tendency towards simplicity and representative generality. The number of children on a ladder in the background was cut to one, and another group of birkies sprauchling atween the bauks and the cabers was omitted entirely.

Allan's economy is most evident in his treatment of one of the musicians. In the sketch, both were originally kittling "hair on thairms", until he reworked the seated fiddler in red crayon, drawing the posture seen in the finished watercolour.<sup>125</sup> A fiddler of the beginning of the century, the Patie Birnie whose life and acts were commemorated by Ramsay in imitation of the famous verse epitaph on the piper Habbie Simpson, was said to take a sowp after ilka tune. This anonymous fellow does not even wait until then but leaves his companion to continue the spring as a *solo* while he reaches round for the proffered luggie. The incident, quite in harmony with the mood of the piece, is not merely humorous and "characteristic". Two fiddlers, one seated while the other stands, had originally served to integrate the higher part of the composition with the rest, but the second was simply duplicating the musical accent of the first. By showing him thus interrupting his performance, Allan, while keeping the musical emphasis and actually improving the





Detail of Figure 76, page 118.



compositional feature, added the further suggestion of that hot, dusty atmosphere in which all this revelry takes place.

Even with the wealth of anecdotal interest in such momentarily glimpsed scenes as these, the composition is wholly unified, without any tendency to become fragmented into its subsidiary details. Every figure is both an individual and part of the throng, linked together by action and gesture, and all are bound to the celebration Allan recorded by virtue of their places in society. An entire community, from the gaunt and pensive old women standing in the shadows to the children who peer down from the loft, has assembled in honour of two of its members. Cunningham, born into the kind of society he is describing, later recalled how

"people of condition mingled with the peasantry; the high-born damsel 'set and reeled and crossed and cleekit' with the ploughman, while a shepherd girl went down her two dozen couple of a country dance with the lord or a laird, just as it happened."<sup>126</sup>

This may well have been so. Yet, however egalitarian a Penny Wedding might appear to be while the dancing lasted, once the stour had settled the social distinctions remained. Allan's picture reveals a deeper awareness than its noisy exuberance would seem to suggest. A figure in the background, one which in the preparatory drawing was but another member of the crowd, is in the finished watercolour differentiated by his wearing a brimmed hat and top boots instead of the usual blue bonnet and knitted hose. It is a dress similar to that of Lord Hopetoun in one of Allan's paintings of the works at Leadhills, and of several young lairds or other wealthy gentlemen in his illustrations to Scottish songs. Slighter differences than these, it seems, carried sufficient weight with Allan's contemporaries for George Thomson specifically to criticise one of the copies made of these song illustrations. Writing to Stothard in 1815, he complained:

"The breeches of the young man appear too light, and indicate the fashion of a smart town lad, rather than that of a Scottish Shepherd or Rustic; Such a thing may to you seem trifling, but it really does in the eyes of a Scotchman take away from the simplicity of the Country Character".<sup>127</sup>

Just as Allan, in several of his drawings of songs and ballads, had also equipped leading characters with a walking-stick or cane, so too he provided the expensively dressed figure in "The Penny Wedding" with this additional symbol of authority.

Not only is he thus distinguished by his apparel, and both he and his companion, who wears a tricorne hat, by their somewhat aloof stances, the very structure of the picture sets them apart. When a youth at the large table indicates his friends in another part of the barn, his outflung arm

Figure 76  
Figure 232  
Figure 234  
PLATE XVIII

Figure 211  
Figure 255





[Reprise of Figure 27, page 27.]



295, "Tullochgorum", c. 1790/96. Pen and wash over pencil  $3\frac{1}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{4}$  (oval), in border  $4\frac{1}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{4}$ , Royal Scottish Academy.



initiates a circular movement around the building and through the company at the other side. These flanking groups of guests thus form one half of a circle with the young couple at its centre, the viewer himself imaginatively joining the other half, while the gentry is effectively excluded. This dance at least, unlike the wedding at Blair Atholl, is of the common people. The laird and his factor, highlighted though in the background, were an important part of the community which Allan depicted, but they are for the moment shut out of the social union being celebrated.

Another element of society is tacitly excluded, as anyone from the time would have recognised. This is a secular Lowland celebration, the common folk dancing despite the official opposition of the Kirk. It is a defiance of the shackles of Scots Calvinism akin to the earlier response of fashionable Edinburgh society to the prohibition imposed on drama, when plays were performed "gratis" after concerts of music in the Taylors' Hall; akin, but ultimately less successful.<sup>129</sup> The Penny Wedding, a custom beleaguered in Allan's day, one "almost obsolete" within a few years of his death, was finally abandoned in the early decades of the nineteenth century.<sup>129</sup> Wilkie's later version in oils, closer to the Dutch Little Masters than to Allan's seemingly naïve watercolour, and possibly "nearer the real character of the scene", evokes a tradition gone.<sup>130</sup>

Allan's "Penny Wedding" clearly shares a common origin with two more of his drawings, one illustrating "Muirland Willie" and the other "Tullochgorum", in the second of which Niel Gow and his brother Donald make a final appearance. It is impossible to decide exactly which of the three is the earliest, and also unnecessary. Their common origin was in the life of the people. It might well be said that these three related drawings are representative of all the social and literary aspects of Allan's Genre pieces. One is the result of the artist's having observed and interpreted a national custom, another was inspired by the verses of an Episcopalian clergyman, educated at Aberdeen University and working in the revived Vernacular tradition, and the third derives from an anonymous "lightsome ballad" of the common folk, a song recognised as already ancient when Ramsay compiled *The Tea-Table Miscellany*.<sup>131</sup> In each picture, Allan was concerned, as ever, to "catch the manners living as they rise".<sup>132</sup>

Apart from such merely technical differences as the oval framing of most of his illustrations to songs, there is essentially no separation of the literary from the real among Allan's Scottish Genre scenes. Although in "Leith Races" his depictions of a regular event certainly do make reference to Fergusson's poem and are allied to the enduring literary





THE COTTER'S SATURDAY NIGHT.

296, ROBERT SCOTT after David Allan: "The Cotter's Saturday Night" (Burns), Engraving  $2\frac{3}{4} \times 4\frac{1}{2}$  (original drawing, lost, c. 1795, sold in Edinburgh 1797) Print inscribed with title "Drawn by D. Allan", and "Engd by R. Scott Edinr.". From *The Works of Robert Burns*, ed. the Ettrick Shepherd [James Hogg] and William Motherwell, 1834-36.



297, JOHN BEUGO after Alexander Nasmyth [Portrait of Robert Burns], 1787. Stipple engraving  $3\frac{1}{2} \times 2\frac{3}{4}$  (oval), published as a frontispiece vignette in *Poems, Chiefly in the Scottish Dialect*, Edinburgh, 1787.

"Ten thousand thanks, my dear Sir, for your elegant present; though I am ashamed of the value of it, being bestowed on a man who has not by any means merited such an instance of kindness.—I have shewn it to two or three judges of the first abilities here, & they all agree with me in classing it as a first-rate production.—My phiz is *sae kenspeckle*, that the very joiner's apprentice whom Mr<sup>s</sup> Burns employed to break up the parcel (I was out of town that day) knew it at once.—You may depend upon my care that no person shall have it in their power to take the least sketch from it.—My most grateful compliments to Allan, that he has honored my rustic Muse so much with his masterly pencil.—One strange coincidence is, that the little one who is making the felonious attempt on the cat's tail, is the most striking likeness of an ill-deedie, damn'd, wee, rumble-gairie hurchin of mine, whom, from that propensity to witty wickedness & manfu' mischief, which, even at twa days auld I foresaw would form the striking features of his disposition, I named Willie Nicol; after a certain Friend of mine, who is one of the Masters of a Grammar-school in a city which shall be nameless.—Several people think that Allan's likeness of me is more striking than Nasemith's, for which I sat to him half a dozen times."

[From a letter sent to George Thomson, May 1795; Morgan Library, New York. *The Letters of Robert Burns*, 2 vols., edited from the original manuscripts by J. De Lancey Ferguson, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1931, Vol. II, pp. 300-01, no. 670; second edition, revised by G. Ross Roy, II, pp. 355-561.



tradition of peasant foregatherings, a tradition earlier represented in Scotland by "Peblis to the Play" and "Chrystis Kirk on the Grene", they are just as surely derived from the artist's own observation, as "Rutherglen Fair" and the drawings of the Roman Carnival had been in his youth. Such a separation is artificial and needless. In one of his illustrations to "The Cotter's Saturday Night", Allan depicted the family worship, the artistic centre of the poem and a central part of Scottish life.<sup>133</sup> In another, he brought together incidents and details from a number of verses, drawing the prattling infant on the Cotter's knee, the elder bairns returned from other farms, reminders of the mattocks, spades and hoes lately put aside, and in the background the neebor lad who has come over the muir with the eldest daughter. From scenes like these Allan, as in his illustrations to Scottish songs, created a composite view of the poem and a rich evocation of peasant life and society.<sup>134</sup> Even in his illustrations to Pastorals, artificial though many of these songs are, Allan's art is as firmly rooted in the real Scottish countryside as is the verse of Burns. The results were necessarily simplified, the immediate impression often idealised, but the preparation had been thorough, as thorough even as for a painting based upon Classical history, and the authenticity remains an eloquent testimony to the artist's sympathetic engagement. When researching material for his edition of *The Gentle Shepherd* Allan had gone to breathe awhile

" . . . the caller air  
'Mang herds, an' honest cottar fock,  
That till the farm and feed the flock", <sup>135</sup>

He made valuable use of the experience. In the small illustrations to particular songs, he would introduce reminders of the true life and work of the people, reminders called for not by the often conventional texts but by his own keen observation of a country setting. Thus a roughly sketched hey-wain can be seen in one unfinished background, and a herd-laddie, winding his stock and horn in the misty light of morning, is bienly rowed in his plaid, at least, though his feet are chill and bare, and wet with dew. It is remarkable that it should be Burns, impatient as he was of much dull dependence upon conventional and repetitive poetic devices, to say nothing of "Exotic rural imagery", who suggested that one such reminder be replaced by a detail perhaps equally authentic but more often associated with the artificial world of Pastoral song.<sup>136</sup>

At least a dozen of Allan's Scottish pictures, forbye the score of designs recording "the Cries and Employments common in Edinburgh", were directly concerned with labour or with manual workers, scenes without any

Figure 296

Figure 298

PLATE XXI

PLATE XX





298.

["The Cotter's Saturday Night"], 1794. Pen and watercolours over pencil 12½ x 18 (trimmed), Glasgow Art Gallery and Museum.

My dear Sir,

I return you the plates, with [which] I am highly pleased; only your criticism on the grouping of the young lad being introducing to the mother, excepted.—There I entirely agree with you.—I would humbly propose that in N<sup>o</sup> I<sup>st</sup> instead of the Younger knitting stockings, I would, in preference to your "Trump", to put a Stock & horn among his hands, as if he were screwing and adjusting it.—I would have returned them sooner; but I waited the opinion of a friend of mine who is positively the ablest judge on the subject I have ever met with, & though an unknown, is yet a superior Artist with the *Burin*, & he is quite charmed with Allen's manner.—I got him a peep of the Gentle Shepherd; & he pronounces Allen a most Original Artist of great excellence.—

For my part, I look on Mr Allen's chusing my favorite Poem for his Subject, to be one of the highest compl<sup>ts</sup> I have ever received.—"

[From a letter sent to George Thomson, May 1794; Morgan Library, New York. *The Letters of Robert Burns*, 2 vols., edited from the original manuscripts by J. De Lancey Ferguson, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1931, Vol. II, p. 243, no. 625; second edition, revised by G. Ross Roy, II, p. 294. This text is taken from the second edition, with the exception of the word "which", omitted by Burns but silently added by Ferguson].



literary or musical associations.<sup>137</sup> As son of the Shoremaster at Alloa, the artist when a boy would have been familiar with the activities of the harbour, and have taken a particular interest in all those "ships of various burdens [which were then] perpetually passing in full sail up and down the river".<sup>138</sup> It was inevitable that he should record such sights as the Dry Dock there, its wide gates, together with the depth and breadth of the nearby anchorage, making it "capable of receiving vessels of great burthen".<sup>139</sup> His engraving, dating from 1791 and providing the dock's dimensions and details of the tides, shows a ship being refitted in the foreground and, in the middle distance, a horse and waggon owned by a "carrier tenant" returning after bringing coal from one of the Erskines' pits to the shore.<sup>140</sup> Drawings entitled "Coal Waggon at Alloa" and "Colliers return from work" were sold as a pair in 1797, the latter showing a family of three making its weary way to a cottage segregated from the rest of the community, for until nearly the end of the century colliers, and incidentally salt-miners, were by statute thirled to their labour and their masters for life, and, in the eyes of the rest of society, formed "a separate and avoided tribe".<sup>141</sup> An "Extensive Drawing of Shipping" may have been made either from Alloa or from the Harbour of Leith, also recorded by Allan, but it may, if it were of the scene from Glasgow's Broomielaw, have to be placed with those early pictures that his friend Dr. Wright considered "neither landscapes nor sea pieces, but composed of both".<sup>142</sup>

Figure 262

It is not likely that the young Allan would have been blind to the commercial success of Glasgow, a success founded as it was upon exploitation of the Atlantic trade routes between the Clyde and the Americas and West Indies.<sup>143</sup> While the city's trade in tobacco and cotton, and its equally thriving export of ale, leather goods and even hats was without doubt one of the most colourful features of its burgeoning economy, the multifarious growth of manufactures serving the domestic market also contributed greatly to Glasgow's rapid expansion during the artist's lifetime. Foremost amongst these was the textile industry, and Allan at some point recorded the ceaseless activity which he could have seen repeated in village after village from Renfrewshire to Fife. His lost drawing "Weaving" may have been of the 1760s and have shown, for example, a cottage in Govan or in Paisley, but was more probably of later date, perhaps an acknowledgment of the remarkable number of looms in the parish of Dunfermline, or a scene of the "muslin looms, with fly shuttles", which by 1791 had been introduced with great success to his home town of Alloa.<sup>144</sup> Above all, however, it is evident





299, ["Taylors at Work"], c. 1785/90, Pen and wash over pencil 7¼ x 10¼, one figure on a superimposed patch of paper. Sold Edinburgh 1797; Dunimarle Album, on loan to National Galleries of Scotland.



that Allan's chief interest was in people in all the diversity of their occupations and conditions; he, at least, did not "regard them merely as the ornament of scenes".<sup>145</sup> He added to his drawing of a "Farmer's Family, Anandale" a "Sketch of a Lothian Farmer, in a good and a bad season", this record of contrasts surely to be dated soon after the "calamitous year" of 1782 when "a great part of the crop was destroyed by frost and snow", a general failure of the harvest which led to a "considerable scarcity" throughout the country.<sup>146</sup> At about the same time Allan observed and recorded the warmer business of smelting ore at Leadhills, and in an attic somewhere in the Old Town of Edinburgh sketched "Taylors at Work", sewing, shearing, measuring, ironing, and reading a London newspaper aloud.<sup>147</sup>

Figure 75  
Figure 76  
PLATE XIV

Figure 299

All of these pictures, and those forming the series of "Scotch Figures", present a lively and sympathetic view of ordinary life at the time, an account which, in all probability, was originally more comprehensive than surviving drawings indicate. Allan had not far to look for subjects complementary to the "Penny Wedding", "Scots Presbyterian Catechising", or a "Tent Preaching".<sup>148</sup> With the exception of the unruly merry-making in his juvenile view of "Rutherglen Fair", there is no extant record from Allan's hand of any of the numerous fairs and trysts then held in every town throughout the country, often for days at a time. Edinburgh itself had the horse fair on Bruntsfield Links and the week-long Hallow Fair, the one providing Robert Fergusson with an array of targets for his observant wit, the other the subject of a couple of drawings by Paul Sandby. It is not likely that Allan would have neglected occasions such as these, favourite material of later generations of Scottish painters.<sup>149</sup> In 1791, when staying with James Allan in Alloa — a town which itself held four "stated annual fairs" — he could even have been among the onlookers at a ploughing match involving no less than forty competitors, where "the improved chain plough, on Small's construction, was the only one used; and it was computed that 1,600l. never placed the horses and ploughs on the field".<sup>150</sup> Some twenty years earlier, Allan had noted below a pen sketch made on the spot in Italy, in handwriting as hasty as the sketch itself, "at Lojano in the State of Bologna they plow thus with the wheels & four or six oxen".<sup>151</sup> An artist who took such an interest in all around him would certainly have felt no lack of material in contemporary Scotland; at the same time, any Scot who shared Allan's interest in his country's culture and fortunes would have seen one particularly good reason for setting down a record of the Scottish people, their occupations, their dress and their national customs. As has



already been shown, awareness of the changes wrought by contemporary Improvement, or consequent upon the Industrial Revolution, and, in particular, attitudes to these changes, made a harmonious view of "rural manners" especially evocative for the town dwellers among whom Allan's public was largely found.<sup>152</sup> Agricultural developments, chiefly enclosure of common land and the union of farms, were accompanied by "expulsion of cottagers" and a depressing depopulation of many areas.<sup>153</sup> The people thus "compelled to leave their native home" were driven "from the active, healthy employments of a country life, to take refuge in manufacturing towns and populous cities, which may literally be said to be the graves of the human species".<sup>154</sup> By coincidence, Allan - an "Alloa bairn", as he styled himself on one occasion - was afforded an early impression of the coming age.<sup>155</sup> Steam power, the development which was to free heavy industry from dependence upon a powerful source of running water, thus allowing its concentration in cities, had been used in Alloa since 1764, and drove the engine which drained one of the mines in the area.<sup>156</sup>

Alloa may have been the setting for Allan's "View of Lint Mills", sold in 1797, and there can be no doubt about the pair of drawings entitled "Water Engines near Alloa" which appeared at the same auction.<sup>157</sup> These engines, served by a reservoir and a system of lades and sluices planned by the eleventh Earl of Mar, and draining the town's oldest colliery, had for long been a feature of Alloa - David Allan would have grown up within sight and sound of them - but a glass works, conveniently situated not far from the harbour and within easy reach of the Alloa Pits, and the lint mills themselves, making use of the same water supply as the drainage engines, were among a number of more recent developments soon to be joined by the Devon iron works, an industrial project "of considerable extent" in the adjacent parish of Clackmannan.<sup>158</sup> With examples like these in his birthplace, together with what he must have seen in Glasgow in 1792, Allan would neither have been ignorant of the encroachment of mechanised industry upon the rural life typical of most of the population, nor unaware of the increasing crowding of country people into the major cities.<sup>159</sup> Above all, in Alloa as in the Lowlands generally, he would already have seen the appearance of the countryside steadily being altered by the thorny grip of enclosure.<sup>160</sup>

While his "groups of the manners in Scotland" were primarily made for the didactic possibilities or the intrinsic value which Allan saw in the customs and characters thus recorded, he must also have known that change, radical change, was inevitable. The recognition that conservation is never thought on until extinction is threatened holds true for national





300. "Scotch Maid", c. 1785/90. Pen and wash over pencil 9 1/4 x 7 1/4, the figure 7 1/4. National Galleries of Scotland, Prints and Drawings, D 408.



customs and *costume* as well as for music and song.<sup>161</sup> As Dr. Johnson pointed out in the last of the *Idler* papers,

"Value is more frequently raised by scarcity than by use. That which lay neglected when it was common rises in estimation as its quantity becomes less. We seldom learn the true want of what we have till it is discovered that we can have no more." <sup>162</sup>

Allan, of course, neglected neither customs nor songs. He was not the only contemporary artist thus occupied with the "just representation of ordinary Life" — Rogers, Bogle and Kay have been mentioned among those who "were beginning to look about them and were chronicling passing events" — but he was by far the most consistent and important in preserving some glimpses of what was being lost.<sup>163</sup>

It is significant that when one of Allan's "Scotch Figures" is identified not by civic office or particular occupation but simply as a "Scotch Maid", the depiction should be conspicuously archaic. Neither does this drawing have a precise setting, a trace of wash giving the merest suggestion of a patch of grass. With her left hand the lass deftly draws prepared wool from the distaff poised at her side, twining the separate fibres into yarn by the birling of the weighted spindle which hangs from her right. Allan had drawn women spinning thus at least as early as 1769, on the island of Procida in the Bay of Naples, and may have done so earlier still in Scotland.<sup>164</sup> Similarly, women "twynin at their rocks" are frequently seen in his illustrations to songs, such a figure being one more of his archetypes, though in every case but one the spinner is seated.

Even as he was drawing it, however, the roke was being replaced by various types of spinning-wheel. One account, perhaps too enthusiastically, states that "Rock and reel were going out about 1730 in the Lowlands, and had disappeared by 1740", but the "smaller spinning wheel fitted for flax" was certainly known, and said to be unpopular, among Highland women only a few years later.<sup>165</sup> Pennant recorded that Lord Breadalbane distributed among his tenants "a great number of spinning wheels, which [would] soon cause the disuse of the rock".<sup>166</sup> At the same time, he also noted that women still spun with the roke "while they do attend their cattle on the hills", the simplicity and convenience of a distaff allowing it to survive, and to keep hands occupied, in these circumstances long after it had been economically superseded.<sup>167</sup>

Spinning was an essential part of the domestic economy. Burt had early taken note of the "good Linnen" found everywhere, but particularly in the Lowlands, and had pitied the serving lasses "kept to spinning" by their mistresses once their other household work was done.<sup>168</sup> Whether preparing





300. "Scotch Maid", c. 1785/90. Pen and wash over pencil 94 x 74, the figure 74. National Galleries of Scotland, Prints and Drawings, D 408.



flax for linen or wool for hodden grey plaiding, women of all ages seem to have spun continually, from Captain Burt's busy servant girls to the grandmother at "The Farmer's Ingle", powerfully reminiscent of Allan's fourth illustration to *The Gentle Shepherd*:

"Yet *thrift*, industrious, bides her latest days,  
 Tho' age her sair dow'd front wi' runcles wave,  
 Yet frae the russet lap the *spindle* plays,  
 Her e'enin stent reels she as weel's the lave," 169

Furthermore, beyond its economic significance, the roke can readily be seen to have had a social rôle. Rockings were communal gatherings when country folk, especially the young, "held o'er the moors to spin", making a pleasure of necessity.<sup>170</sup> It was, as might be guessed, the roke rather than the cumbersome spinning-wheel which was carried with them on these outings. That queans and birkies would both ca the crack and sing once they were "merrily seated to spin" or to weave their stockings makes Allan's choice of the "Scotch Maid" as a statuesque part of his "Frontispiece to Scottish Songs" particularly appropriate.<sup>171</sup> This vignette, of course, must not be thought a wholly realistic depiction, as has earlier been hinted.<sup>172</sup> At the very least, the lassie is a representative of the common people, the "uncorruptit poor" among whom, according to the antiquarian Dr. Alexander Geddes, the Mither Tongue found an open door, surviving in traditional songs the neglect of the Great Fowk:

"There aft on benmaist bink she sits,  
 And sharps the edge of cuintry wits,  
 Wi' routh of gabby saws, an' says,  
 An' jokes, an' gibes of uther days;  
 That gi'e si'k gust to rustic sport,  
 And gar the langsome night leuk short," 173

Geddes chose a "blate an' bashfu' maid" telling the deeds of former days as a personification of the Scots leid. Allan's modest country lass, gracefully engaged in an activity necessary to all the population, and accorded as background a typical and familiar setting, is no less than a symbol of the country and the nation.

It is ironic that one maid should tell of far-off things, while another spins in an antiquated fashion. With this picture, Allan accidentally anticipated that preoccupation with subjects drawn from the past, even that general mood of escape and fantasy, found in Scottish painting, and paintings of and about Scotland, during the following century. The archaism of the "Scotch Maid" is a deliberate departure from that honesty characteristic of his depictions of the world around him for a vision of a pastoral innocence already lost. His contemporaries would have understood and appreciated this almost instinctive allusion to the manners of



other days, directly comparable to Gilbertfield's reference to "the garb our muses wore in former years", and made with similar purpose.<sup>174</sup> Unlike artists who, in later years, appealed mainly to a mood of nostalgia, Allan wished to show that such a former idyll as that which he evoked, a Gowden Age of virtuous peasantry and affecting songs, had its part to play in the awakening and development of his country. Only with a knowledge and understanding of its past could any nation confidently approach its future.

Of the "greatest public utility" to his own time, naturally enough, were the delightful and instructive compositions which Allan saw as "the just representation of ordinary Life", pictures such as those which Hogarth had earlier termed "modern moral Subjects".<sup>175</sup> It was Allan's scenes of "the Scotch manners" which were to have the greatest effect of any of his works upon subsequent Scottish painting, but, while there are superficial similarities between this group of pictures and the mass of Genre pieces painted by, among many others, Carse, Lizars, Fraser, Faed and Nicol, the true nature of these later works is quite different from that of Allan's most significant Genre scenes. His "groups of the manners in Scotland" had as consistently didactic a purpose as his Historical paintings. When artists of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries painted rural scenes, the peasants were frequently represented as objects of curiosity, or of amusement, to those in a different walk of life, presumably

"in order to repeat that pleasure of doubtful moral effect, which persons of elevated rank and superior refinement oftentimes derive from a happy *imitation* of the rude unpolished manners and discourse of their inferiors,"<sup>176</sup>

As Allan had stated in his edition of *The Gentle Shepherd*, his "imitation of agreeable nature" had a more worthy object than that. In this work, he truly combined "the power of exciting the sympathy of the reader by a faithful adherence to the truth of nature, and the power of giving the interest of novelty by the modifying colours of imagination"; in any of his scenes of Scottish life, even the slightest, he might justly claim to have "drawn faithfully, and with taste, from Nature".<sup>177</sup> As a consequence, in endeavouring to express the ideas of poetry, in delineating the characteristic sights of Edinburgh, and in "pleasing and instructing" his fellow citizens, Allan also preserved for future ages the *costume* of his own. Later Scottish painters, more concerned to entertain than to "improve the mind" were, in this respect, less reliable.<sup>178</sup>

A neglect of themes truly representative of contemporary reality in the following century may have come about partly because industrial



development was then more complex and far reaching, but it is probably more correct to attribute it to the constantly increasing alienation of the wealthier classes — an artist's potential market — from the country's agricultural labourers and urban *proletariat* alike. The most important of Allan's successors in Genre painting, Sir David Wilkie, was a part of the community which he depicted in "Pitlessie Fair", for all that the painting owes as much to Dutch art as it does to Scottish life. When other artists, in Scotland or throughout Britain, took their lead from Wilkie, they chose subjects from rural life calculated to amuse, or appeal to the emotions of the public which bought their paintings and the prints made after them, a tendency anticipated by Morland, Wheatley and a host of minor painters in the previous century.<sup>179</sup>

The most popular subjects for Scottish Genre paintings — in addition to that familiar type, the intimate or "domestic" treatment of stories taken from history or from historical novels — were in the nineteenth century drawn from the aristocratic hunting-ground of the Highlands, from the countryside or seashore, and from the lives of the invariably pawky inhabitants of the couthy wee touns and villages. Scottish subjects were tacitly expected to be of certain types, or, perhaps, could not be conceived except in a particular mode. A comparison with the writings of the so-called Kailyard School is irresistible, although such productions are by no means as representative of Scottish prose fiction of the time as has been commonly accepted.<sup>180</sup> Scottish verse of the period was all too often similarly restricted both in subject-matter and in idiom.<sup>181</sup> The lightest and most pleasant of the themes treated by Burns, Hogg, and Galt, or imagined to be the stuff of life in rural Scotland, were perpetually reiterated and progressively diminished.

A successful imaginary recreation of reality had been established by those of original genius and resource, whether in visual art or in literature, and later imitators were content to exist in their shadows. In later Genre pictures, the comfortably bucolic subject-matter was unchanged from the days of Wilkie, but the social conditions were radically different. Industrial Scotland, no less representative of national life, might as well not have existed. Views of Glasgow, characterised as "the second city in the empire" from surprisingly early in the century, were selectively — and predictably — concentrated on the prettier vistas of the Trongate or the High Street, Glasgow Green or the Broomielaw, the forest of masts thronging the Clyde the only evidence, the only suggestion, of the daily ebb and flow of a human tide of labourers,



the "bustle and din" of the city's "industrious population" being thus decorously silenced.<sup>182</sup> Earth had not anything to show more fair, at least under certain aspects. Distance alone could no longer lend that enchantment to such a view as had inspired the idyllic picture of Glasgow painted in the *Statistical Account* half a century before:

"On the banks of the Clyde . . . the landscape is rich, various, and delightful. The river winding through richly cultivated fields, and frequently lost among the trees, which grow upon its banks; interspersed with many gentlemen's houses, and the large and populous city of Glasgow, with its numerous spires and venerable cathedral, present to the eye various striking views, and fill the mind with the pleasing ideas of industry, wealth, security, and happiness".<sup>183</sup>

Some forty years later, if a stranger were "desirous of obtaining an almost perfect view of Glasgow", he was advised, in addition to choosing a vantage point some miles distant, to behold the prospect "early in the morning, ere it is obscured by those clouds of smoke which, through the day, so frequently hang above the city".<sup>184</sup> If such a beautiful, distant view from the farm of Sheils, or the historical associations of the city itself, should entice the viewer further, he was coyly warned against venturing too close to the objects of his admiration:

"This ancient street [ The Briggait ] has fallen exceedingly from its former dignity; and indeed, as it now is, we rather think that the greater portion of our readers will be more inclined to admire its picturesque appearance in an engraving, than to explore its recesses, or admire its beauties in the original".<sup>185</sup>

Save in the dress of the inhabitants and the provision of a few lamp-standards, these images of Glasgow were little altered from that recorded or created in a drawing by one J. Brown in 1793, an unassuming imitation of Allan's work by one who may well have been a friend of his.<sup>186</sup> Paintings supposedly of contemporary life were in truth no more typical or truly representative of nineteenth-century Scotland than were those inspired by history or earlier literature, though by their meticulous finish and accretion of detail they laid claim to an authenticity for their subject-matter which it often did not deserve. In looking on pleasant and touching representations of Scottish peasants, any member of the public could rejoice that "amidst all the corruption of rotten and rotting burgh . . . they still retain much of that simplicity of life, and purity of manners, which renders pastoral description so pleasing to contemplate".<sup>187</sup> Pastoral poetry had in former ages offered to a polite audience a vicarious experience of a simple and innocent life; conscious detachment was indispensable. Scottish Genre paintings of the nineteenth century performed a comparable function. By then, amongst



those of the wealthy professional and mercantile classes with the leisure time and the inclination to visit exhibitions, and the money to spend on pictures, the detachment, the physical separation from such a life was so complete, that scenes with any sort of rural background answered this perennial need for a brief, imaginary escape from ordinary and familiar life, a need understandably more acute in a grey, industrial world. Straying sheep were no longer obligatory.

Perhaps the view of country life presented by Allan himself had often been welcomed for reasons much the same, but the underlying honesty of his work, that authenticity which Burns had specifically praised in his literary illustrations, marks a judicious balance of the artificial and the real, the characteristic and the accidental.<sup>188</sup> Throughout the following century, Scottish painters chose consistently to depict some aspects of "ordinary Life" and neglect others, to emphasise some features of their country and ignore what did not accord with established tastes. The first steamboat on the Clyde makes a very modest appearance in the middle distance of one landscape.<sup>189</sup> A passion for "scenery which bore so strongly the impress of a grand melancholy", in which tourists could "well imagine the presence of those Ossianic spirits which pervade Macpherson's poems", shows that a desire for the vicarious relief of Pastoral description was not unique in its persistence.<sup>190</sup> While painters like McKay and Hugh Cameron, in pictures often displaying affinities with the works and interests of contemporary and earlier French artists, did convincingly evoke "the labour of field or farmyard and man's relationship to the soil", the prevailing mood in scenes of daily life is that nostalgic sentimentality so dominant in the anecdotal paintings of Thomas Faed.<sup>191</sup> However successfully and sympathetically such subjects might be explored, the field was limited, and a restricted, provincial view can never be wholly satisfactory; McTaggart's feeling for colour and atmosphere, for the brilliance and transience of light against the contrast of shadows and darker tones, never prompted him to paint "the steam locomotives in Waverley Station and life in Edinburgh as well as the Scottish coast and countryside".<sup>192</sup> It is not hard to imagine which among Fildes's paintings could have been countenanced as the work of a Scottish painter dealing with Scottish subjects, and William Bell Scott's "Iron and Coal", only slightly less crowded than Ford Madox Brown's "Work", was conceived not in the shipyards of industrial Greenock but in Newcastle, part of a series illustrating the history of Northumbria.<sup>193</sup> The "strict adherence to truth and nature", the





*D. Allan Tinta fecit Edin 1784*

# OYSTER GIRL

[276.]

"OYSTER GIRL" inscribed "D Allan Tinta fecit Edin 1784" Etching and aquatint 6¼ x 4½.

"The *Fish-wives* . . . are . . . particularly distinguished by the laborious lives they lead. They are the wives and daughters of fishermen, who generally marry in their own cast, or tribe, as great part of their business, to which they must have been bred, is to gather bait for their husbands, and bait their lines. Four days in the week, however, they carry fish in creels (osier baskets) to Edinburgh; and when the boats come in late to the harbour in the forenoon, so as to leave them no more than time to reach Edinburgh before dinner, it is not unusual for them to perform their journey of five miles, by relays, three of them being employed in carrying one basket, and shifting it from one to another every hundred yards, by which means they have been known to arrive at the fishmarket in less than ¼ths of an hour\*.

\* It is a well attested fact, that three of them, not many years ago, went from Dunbar to Edinburgh, which is 27 miles, with each of them a load of herrings on her back of 200 lb, in 5 hours. They sometimes carry loads of 250 lb."

*The Statistical Account of Scotland*, Account of the Parish of Inveresk (County of Midlothian), by the Rev Dr. Alexander Carlyle [1792]; *SA*, Volume II, pp. 295-96.



representation of the characteristic and general which Allan had so valued was, in depictions of his "compeers, the common people", and of their environment, at least in Scotland, the province of the photographer, or of the graphic illustrator.<sup>194</sup> In painting, the view of Scottish life which was provided and for long endured was a distortion or a fabrication such as Allan's wide-ranging and extraordinarily versatile art, if viewed sympathetically and as a whole, cannot present. His print of an "Oyster Girl", for instance, shows how an artistic cast may be thrown over a record of reality. The picture is carefully composed, the lights and masses judiciously arranged, the foreground dashed in with remarkable verve and freedom, but the Fishwife's heavy stance is not disguised, her features are not idealised, and the nature of her daily labour is not concealed.

The genteel urban classes, and presumably many of the artists in the generations after Wilkie's success with amusing Genre scenes of Scottish rustics, seem to have been content to be entertained or touched by such pictures and descriptions, careless, perhaps ignorant, of the contemporary reality which was passed over by fictional works of this kind. They were as far removed from the common people supposedly shown in these pictures as their forefathers had been from bathing nymphs and hireling shepherds singing "smooth alternate verse" and sporting names like Damon and Phyllis, Corydon and Amyntas, all the pleasant conventions employed by writers of Pastoral, or all the "nonsense of Painters of Arcadia".<sup>195</sup> A more profound dissociation was to occur later still, when greater attention was given to the formal appearance and technique of a painting than to its "instruction" or even to its subject. Narrative subjects in general were no longer regarded as indispensable to paintings in the forefront of European practice. A concentration in art upon the human form itself, not to mention "the manners" in civil society, could eventually be dismissed as an "illusion which the greatest of all Western peoples fixed so early and so indelibly in the European mind".<sup>196</sup> Human involvement was no longer taken for granted, as it is in Genre scenes and — since by its very nature a Historical Composition is conceived as a narrative painting — in works in the Grand Style, the pinnacle of visual art in the classical tradition.



## Chapter VIII

### The last purely Scotch age.

Conclusion.

1779-1796

*A contemporary criticism of Allan—the "general taste of the public"—Allan's response—his edition of 'The Gentle Shepherd'—Invention and Instruction—the purpose of all the arts—his cycle of Historical Compositions—his "modern moral Subjects"—his attitude to Scottish subject-matter—Decorum and the Ideal—his song-illustrations—the Scottish songs—a last look at the Scots Arcadia—the Classical and the Vernacular—the analogies among the arts—ancient purity and national virtue—Allan's patriotic purpose—a distinctively Scottish visual idiom—the "final Scotch century"—last impressions of Allan's art.*



## VIII

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### The last purely Scotch age.

*"The manners not only of the age and nation in which we live, but of our city and family, stick closely to us . . . these we understand, and can paint to perfection."*

Thomas Blackwell, 1734.<sup>1</sup>

In 1797, a year after David Allan died in Edinburgh, a remarkable poem was published there. Its comprehensive title was daunting:

*Compliments to Painters of Eminence, Natives of Scotland; with a critical dissertation on the works of the present professors of that charming art in this city. Subjects recommended, advice given, and hints to painters of history, Landscape, and portrait, with A plan for their future information recommended, &c. &c. .*<sup>2</sup>

That the "young gentleman" who composed the piece, wisely keeping his identity a secret, did not also presume to offer poets the benefit of his wisdom was surely a mere oversight rather than an indication of any lack of confidence. In his Preface, addressed to "Gentlemen and Ladies", he cheerfully admitted that he expected the criticism of both. He certainly deserved it. The whole thing is remarkable for banality, heavy-handed attempts at irony, and the utter absence of any artistic merit. Verse paragraphs are sprinkled with words such as "my lad", "faith", "I now declare" and "indeed" used as expletives to assist rhythm, and even then sometimes failing. Although the author had apparently "paid an implicit attention to the subject upon which [ he had written ] for thirteen years past", his researches add little to knowledge of the times:

" . . . GAVIN HAMILTON, I now must own,  
Ye have deserv'd, and have obtain'd renown;  
And tears of blood distil from my heart's core,  
When I think on thy merits JACOB MORE."

The "young gentleman" was on surer ground when reviewing local artists such as Skirving, Walker, Watson and David Allan, the late Master of the Trustees' Academy being allowed a much larger share of the author's



attention than anyone except Nasmyth. Allan's young pupil "Grecian" Williams, for example, was hailed as a "skilful lad", and Raeburn was encouraged by the helpful *dilettante* thus:

"And RAEBURN, thou, the Joshua of this land,  
Go on, and prosper, this is my command!"

On turning to Allan, the young writer seems to roll up his sleeves and settle down with a magisterial air to some extended and decisive, if overly repetitive and hardly penetrating criticism:

"Now, DAVID ALLAN, I will mention thee;  
Though death has conquered, and has set thee free,  
I like thy portraits not, but praise thy wheels,  
Thy highland dances, and thy rocks and reels;  
Let not thy landscape stand without a blot,  
And Presbyterian penance be forgot,  
Now DAVID ALLAN, I'll speak truth, and say  
Ye certainly had merit in your way, —  
I mean your walk or line for highland reels,  
And highland lasses spinning at their wheels;  
And highland dances, and for highland pipers;  
But for your portraits take away the vipers,  
Oh God! that DAVID ALLAN's foul disgrace  
Should ever stand and stare us in the face,

Put up his highland lads and spinning wheels,  
His rocks with tow, his benches and his reels;  
For love of charity, or what you will;  
For love of goodness, or for love of ill,  
Take down the portraits, and hang up a dance,  
Where pipers play, and lads and lasses prance:  
I will not blame you, DAVID, for I'll say,  
An artist cannot always have his way;  
And artists are not always rich; for few  
Can thousands upon thousands show to view;  
And what's still worse, they cannot live, without  
They have an eating and a drinking bout,  
So they must paint, whate'er folks have a mind,  
Whether they are, or they are not inclin'd."

Aside from the fact that the anonymous poetaster preferred Allan's rural Genre pictures to his portraits, "Presbyterian Penance" being also dismissed almost with a shudder, the passage is interesting in that it echoes Allan's own complaint about the lack of encouragement for Historical Painting, made public in the dedication to Gavin Hamilton of *The Gentle Shepherd*. To some extent the complaint was conventional, perhaps mandatory for any writer upon the arts at the time, but it does serve to remind later readers how social circumstances then prevailing exerted influence on an artist's works, not least in that he would have to paint whatever the public had a mind to see, whether or no he liked it, if he were to survive. Reynolds had chosen a path not only more suited to his particular genius than to that of a History Painter, but one more



suited to the taste of the times in which he lived, and Fuseli, knowing that the "artist and the public are ever in the strictest reciprocity", recognised the drawbacks of such a relationship as well as the advantages.<sup>3</sup> Allan had a keen awareness of the society in which he lived, and an equally acute understanding of the people for whom his works were created. That consciousness of "the general taste of the public" which is so evident in his preface to *The Gentle Shepherd* enabled him to set a course closer to the one he was originally "inclin'd" to follow than some critics imagined. In his practice of that "fine art of painting, which [was] all [his] comfort and greatest pleasure", Allan achieved some kind of balance between his ambitions and the hope of their realisation in a country where "public and great works in the historical line" were more highly regarded in theory than in fact, more often encountered in collections of prints from the Old Masters than in exhibitions of contemporary pictures.<sup>4</sup>

The influence of current tastes upon Allan's art is most immediately obvious in works from his years in Italy, as might be expected; he was then only in his twenties. The recipient of "advices" from Gavin Hamilton, and a protégé of Sir William the British Envoy, he soon evinced an interest in the Antique and began to practise as a Neoclassicist, but he also experimented, upon occasion, with portraits in the manner of Dance and Batoni. In many of his other Italian works he certainly obeyed "the dictate of Fashion", his amusing or "curious" costume and Genre pictures being little more than additions to genres already popular, the satire occasionally evident in the "Roman Carnival" series a slight, and characteristically tolerant and good-humoured indication of one facet which he was later to highlight.<sup>5</sup> In Scotland, too, Allan was initially employed in pleasing the "whims" of a number of patrons with portraits and groups in "the small Domestic and conversation style", paintings which he described as "the means of everlastingly joining friends together on the canvace".<sup>6</sup> Once he had achieved financial security by becoming Master of the Trustees' Academy, he turned his hand to subjects from Scottish history, verse and song; that is, to particular interests of his own which were also likely to appeal to his contemporaries.<sup>7</sup> Throughout his life, of course, he sketched characters and customs, city scenes and landscapes, those "groups of the manners" which he enjoyed making and which were consistently admired by his patrons and by the public at large.

Fuseli's insistence that the "artist and the public are ever in the strictest reciprocity" does, however, imply a relationship much more complex than one sustained wholly by commercial transactions. Only the mediocre painter, or he of least artistic ambition or resolve, would



consent slavishly and unquestioningly to follow "the general taste of the public" when that taste, or, more accurately, that prevailing fashion, was for Genre, landscape, "Portrait, and still life", examples of the "little style" of painting which fell far short of Historical Composition, held by contemporary theory to be the proper object of those "desirous of gaining honour by the arts".<sup>8</sup> Not only was the artist aware of the taste of that public, that society, not only did he share many of its concerns and beliefs, it was, ideally, his purpose to educate, to "instruct by pleasing".<sup>9</sup> James Barry was not alone in thinking that "the interests and wishes of the public" ought to be in concert with the highest reaches of the arts and greatest endeavours of the artist, nor was he alone in being disappointed.<sup>10</sup> Allan's own disillusioned remarks on the lack of encouragement for Historical Painting in Britain, together with the great popularity and subsequent influence of his Genre scenes and Conversation Pieces, might easily suggest that he had indeed trimmed his canvas to accord with current demands and thus neglected "the nobler departments of the arts".<sup>11</sup> Instead, he found in popular material the stuff of truly didactic and often *Poetic* painting.<sup>12</sup> In the public statement conveyed, as was not unusual, in a dedicatory preface, he sounded several carefully chosen notes, confident of the echoes which these would raise in his readers' minds and of the response which would thus be generated.<sup>13</sup> It is not only in his edition of *The Gentle Shepherd* that Allan's having derived advantage from contemporary expectations may be demonstrated. His recognition that he, like any artist, was dependent upon public taste did not involve the renunciation of his early intentions. He might have made the most of his plight in a letter to the Earl of Buchan, protesting too much about his being forced to copy "Gothick wigs . . . per Vivere", but then, "Poets and painters hae liberty to lie".<sup>14</sup> As Johnson wrote in his appraisal of Shakespeare:

"In order to make a true estimate of the abilities and merit of a writer, it is always necessary to examine the genius of his age, and the opinions of his contemporaries",<sup>15</sup>

As it is for writers, contemporaries would have agreed, so it is for painters. Sufficient evidence showing that Allan was held in high esteem by those who met him or encountered his work has already been adduced. A true understanding of his consistent purpose, no less than an estimate of his merits, depends upon an examination of his pictures in the context of contemporary ideas in several fields.

Allan's "series of designs, illustrating the different scenes of a justly admired Pastoral", Allan Ramsay's *The Gentle Shepherd*, was, then, conceived not merely as a set of pleasant rural images, but as a sequence of



pictures which, capable of both "pleasing and instructing", would thus complement the text in all things. The didactic nature of the plates, perhaps sufficiently obvious to their first public because of their being coupled with Ramsay's well-known play, is in any case made clear to later ages by Allan's preface. After all, any artist's intentions are not to be divined solely from his works, but also from evidence of the views which he held, whether recorded in public statements such as this dedication to Hamilton, private letters such as those which Allan wrote to Buchan, or any account received from those to whom the man was personally known. Less precise and particular, but not unreliable, are the impressions which may be extrapolated from the views held by his social acquaintances. As has been demonstrated in connection with works from throughout Allan's career, his contemporaries were "naturally led to run a parallel" between the rural simplicity and innocence surviving "uncorruptit" in their own day, and the virtue and magnanimity characteristic of ancient times.<sup>16</sup> As has also been demonstrated, such an association was of peculiar importance in Scotland, and was there maintained with particular tenacity.<sup>17</sup> As is to be shown, Allan's later Scottish work is not only possessed of such an air of ingenuous simplicity, it was literally informed by his own thoughts on these convictions. Such properties are most strongly apparent where Allan is most distinctively national, in his many illustrations to Scottish verse, illustrations instinct with the conclusions which he had reached.

In the text of *The Gentle Shepherd* itself, of course, there is specific didacticism in plenty. Ramsay's audience could hear his praise of hamely fare and simple life, his criticism of worthless landlords and debauched and degenerate aristocrats, a convincing evocation of the country and its speech counterpointed by his idealisation of a stalwart, pious, honest, Scottish peasantry. Ramsay, clearly in some things a disciple of Knox, relentlessly stressed the worth of education, both in making everyone fit for his place in society and, in a greater perspective, allowing the nation to assume with confidence its rightful place in a wider, European theatre. Patie symbolically puts aside his "landwart cast" and enters the world for which his learning drawn from the "wale of books" has prepared him, and which his gentle origin now permits him to enter fully. In Allan's day, the play certainly was the thing in which these strands were played out in precision of words and unrolling of action, with his set of plates impressing, in visual form and for a fortunate readership, at least some of Ramsay's concerns, as well as enhancing the "delightful" vehicle of such instruction.

Like poetry, painting could itself be defined as "an imitation chiefly of men and manners", subjects being properly addressed to the intellect through



the sense.<sup>18</sup> In the cycle of Historical Compositions in which his art attained its greatest weight and maturity, Allan's choice seems to have been governed by a desire to trace the origins of the present in the events of the past as well as by the more apparent and typical intention to appeal to the "certain and regular causes by which the imagination and passions of men are affected" by showing people in circumstances which powerfully engaged the public interest and sympathy.<sup>19</sup> The instruction to be gained from artistic representation of human action was essential to human culture:

"Historic plans, when sufficiently distinct to be told, and founded on the basis of human nature, have that prerogative over mere natural imagery, that whilst they bespeak our sympathy, they interest our intellect. We were pleased with the former as men, we are attracted by this as members of society; bound round with public and private connections and duties, taught curiosity by education, we wish to regulate our conduct by comparisons of analogous situations and similar modes of society; these History furnishes".<sup>20</sup>

Adam Ferguson, stating in his rigorous *Essay on the History of Civil Society* that people were "to be taken in groupes, as they have always subsisted", not only represented each person as existing in the context of his society, but each society as existing in the context of its time, and the race in that of its history:

"one property by which man is distinguished, has been sometimes overlooked in the account of his nature, or has only served to mislead our attention. In other classes of animals, the individual advances from infancy to age or maturity; and he attains, in the compass of a single life, to all the perfection his nature can reach; but, in the human kind, the species has a progress as well as the individual; they build in every subsequent age on foundations formerly laid; and, in a succession of years, tend to a perfection in the application of their faculties, to which the aid of long experience is required, and to which many generations must have combined their endeavours." <sup>21</sup>

The arts, when artists' endeavours were properly directed, had an essential rôle to play in this process of cumulative improvement. Painting had

"the glory of being a *moral art*, with extensive means, peculiarly universal, and applicable to all ages and nations, to the improvement and deepest interests of society." <sup>22</sup>

While "ocular demonstration carries more conviction to the mind of a sensible man than all the world could find in a thousand volumes", neither the *Poetic* recreation of the past nor a systematic study of the manners was to be confined to one art alone.<sup>23</sup> Hume referred to the fixed character of things in a consideration of historical writing:

"Mankind are so much the same, in all times and places, that history informs us of nothing new or strange in this particular. Its chief use is only to discover the constant and universal principles of human nature by showing men in all varieties of circumstances and situations, and furnishing us with materials from which we may form our observations and become acquainted with the regular springs of human action and behaviour." <sup>24</sup>

Scott described his having dramatised Scottish history in similar vein, employing in *Waverley* a novel and appropriate image, the "great book of



Nature, the same through a thousand editions".<sup>25</sup> In sum, painters, poets, *philosophes*, artists of all kinds, recognised that, in "this gradual exaltation of human nature, every art contributes its contingent towards the general supply of mental pleasure".<sup>26</sup> Every follower of the liberal arts, every true artist, welcomed the chance to take his just share in this continuous advance, each fulfilling his "part to mankind and society" that "each in his place might contribute to the general welfare".<sup>27</sup>

David Allan, in exercising what he termed "that fine art of painting" in pursuit of "the best moral effects", handed on to future ages not only a visual record of his own time and country but some indication of how current attitudes shaped an artist's understanding and interpretation of the world around him.<sup>28</sup> He seems to have found the philosophical theories of the day — theories of the origins and development of civil society, of language, poetry and music — particularly stimulating, and to have drawn encouragement from the willingness of his contemporaries to discover the analogies that one art bears to others. It was his good fortune that they recognised the importance of studying "the principles on which [a] work is wrought" rather than being content to admire "the superficies", the immediate appearance of a picture or sculpture, as though the import of a poem could be divined from the shape of the verses on the page, or a piece of music instantly appreciated from the pattern made by notes upon the stave.<sup>29</sup>

In Allan's major representation of Scottish history several interests and influences are evident. Antiquarian research supported his drama of the unhappy heroine, symbolic of the nation and its fortunes. Mary Stuart, in Allan's *cyclius*, appears as both a historical and a Historical figure, in the first identity a worthy subject of *Poetical* painting, in the second rôle, played out on his canvases, a victim, a martyr caught up in circumstances still relevant to later generations of Scots. Appropriate as his choice of subject was, and worthy his ambition, Allan's level-headed decision to profit from the *vogue* of historical writing should not be overlooked.<sup>30</sup> Artists would derive greater encouragement, and paintings of this kind achieve a wider popularity, from the immense circulation of Sir Walter Scott's historical novels. This, however, lay decades in the future, and the interest would give rise all too often to what were really Genre scenes in period costume, rather than truly Historical works like Wilkie's "John Knox dispensing the Sacrament at Calder House", or his "Preaching of John Knox before the Lords of Congregation".<sup>31</sup>

In Allan's "groups of the manners in Scotland" there was, in addition to the novelty and suitability for engraving which he optimistically recognised, a deliberate moral import.<sup>32</sup> The didactic intention is overt in



his pictures of those regular and characteristic events of the Scottish Kirk, "Presbyterian Penance" and "Scots Presbyterian Catechising", implicit in "The Highland Dance" when the recent writings of the Scottish *Literati* and the influence of the Continental *philosophes* are remembered.

There could not, then, be any objects more worthy of imitation than those which ordinary life presented daily to his view, or which the course of reading had made familiar and interesting to the people at large. Allan agreed, with Hogarth, that "Subjects of most consequence are those that most entertain and Improve the mind", and saw that "modern moral Subjects" found a ready market.<sup>33</sup> He knew, like Barry, that Historical Composition should be the dominant aim of any painter "desirous of gaining honour by the arts" in his conveying "those sentiments by which the mind is elevated, the understanding improved, and the heart softened".<sup>34</sup> His own attention was turned on subjects from the Ancients and the Moderns, and from contemporary literature, on events from history, and on scenes from daily life. While distinctions are self-evident and often necessary, to divide Allan's *oeuvre* into discrete areas of interest and activity is more convenient than accurate. That such a division, a separation of one facet of his art from another, is actually distortive becomes clear when an appropriate assessment of the artist is made, one which sets his work in a wider view of contemporary thinking and attitudes. Not only did the same conviction that worthy art should be didactic inform all his Histories and his major Scottish Genre scenes, there was in his later work a supervening patriotic purpose. When Allan reckoned with "the general taste of the public", he did not — despite the impression given by his dedicatory preface to *The Gentle Shepherd* — confine his attention to popular taste in pictures. He, like many another Scot, gained from contemporary thought on history, language, society and original genius encouragement to integrate the national with the universal, and to find in the local material of general and timeless concern. As Carlyle was to put it a generation later, writing, more tersely than was his wont, of Allan's contemporary and brother in the arts,

"a Scottish peasant's life was the meanest and rudest of all lives, till Burns became a poet in it, and a poet of it; found it a *man's* life, and therefore significant to men,"<sup>35</sup>

In like manner, Allan was not indifferent to any aspect of human life. To paint incidents from the lives of Scottish peasants was not necessarily to paint scenes of "rustic drollery".<sup>36</sup> From both pictures and recorded opinions, an intriguing change in his attitude emerges in the years between 1780 and 1796. The "Highland Dance", it is true, may be seen as a



pleasant piece transferring the delicacy of his pictures set on Minorcan shores or among Italian mountains to Scottish glens, recording and drawing inspiration from customs literally foreign in both cases, customs in accord with and reinforcing contemporary ideas about primitive societies. In recognising that his scenes of Scottish folk were new and entertaining and good for engraving, Allan seems still to have thought of himself as an onlooker, recording the curious sights of the Highland "manners" — Allan was a Lowland Scot, it must be borne in mind — or providing fitting illustrations to the rattling verse of Fergusson's "Leith Races". By the time he brought out his edition of *The Gentle Shepherd*, it is certain that his ideas had developed and matured. His "just representation of ordinary Life" was undertaken for the purpose of instructing as well as pleasing, and in this case was specifically presented as a union of the Scottish arts; Allan made sure that his edition did not lack the sheet music for Ramsay's songs. It is true that, in calling attention to his having studied the characters and the landscape that had inspired "the Poet of [his] native country", Allan revealed a conscious, if sympathetic detachment, recreating an image of the Scottish countryside and its peasantry for the instruction of the townspeople whose tastes he knew best. The "common popular songs and national music", however, were familiar in both the country and the town, and were sung by advocate and tradesman, by ladies of condition and farmers of a few acres.<sup>37</sup> In this music — to the contemporary mind — the country as a whole was symbolically united, and Allan in his later illustrations ranged widely over "the classic ground of Caledonia", recording the topography and dress characteristic of his native land.<sup>38</sup> In these songs too, side by side with the contemporary husbandman and all his tribe were celebrated "Caledonia's ancestors", the nation's *genie* crystallised in a poetic account of the lives and fortunes of the people.<sup>39</sup> In Allan's last major picture, the "Penny Wedding", the viewer, in imaginatively joining the celebration, effectively completes the social circle and, at least figuratively, sits side by side with the artist himself. By that time, the ordinary life which Allan represented was that life which he shared with the company; the subjects of his pictures were unequivocally his "compeers, the common people".<sup>40</sup>

Perhaps the most unfortunate and unjust assessment made of Allan by posterity is that which, misunderstanding the simplicity of his presentation, can see only humour in his pictures. Humour and infectious enjoyment there is, but it is a humour amiable in nature, an enjoyment known to be shared and inclusive. Allan neither descended to "mean and low objects" nor stooped to such a betrayal as presenting Scots peasants



as grotesque and voluble boors.<sup>41</sup> No major shift of sensibility is encountered or experienced in moving from the elegant dancing couple of the "Penny Wedding" to the greedy gleds feasting at the board-end, nor in looking from the sedate elderly guests to the birling dancer last seen at a wedding in Blair Atholl. There too, as important as the innocence of the Highlanders is their fundamental dignity, the dignity which can be seen as the natural attribute of every human being. However alien the Highlands and their inhabitants might have been to him, in Allan's estimation, from at least as early as that picture of 1780, to depict the peasantry was not necessarily to produce a comic piece, as it had been for many contemporary poets who made forays into Vernacular verse, and for Allan himself in his youthful drawing of "Rutherglen Fair". When one such poet congratulated the Aberdeenshire dominie Alexander Ross on his tales and songs, for example, he rather self-consciously pointed out that

"Thy hamely auldwarl'd muse provokes  
Me for awhile  
To ape our guid plain countra' folks  
In verse and stile,"<sup>42</sup>

Allan specifically distinguished his representations of "ordinary Life" from "paintings of low life and comic characters", and certainly did not wish to awake in each viewer a "conscious feeling of his superiority" by offering in these Genre scenes a flattering contrast with "polite" society and behaviour.<sup>43</sup> His years of study had inculcated in him that the proper aim of the artist, in justly representing nature and humanity, was not to copy literally and particularly but to express the general and typical. His recognition of what was thus characteristic — his understanding of *costume* — was, of course, to follow from keen observation of numerous particular incidents, of many people, of the "manners" themselves. He was to paint life not as it was, but as it ought ideally to be.<sup>44</sup> Allan himself held in balance the demands of authenticity and delightful instruction, of artistic, poetic idealisation and accurate, "exact delineation", attaining at last a uniquely expressive and memorable vision of Scottish life. In his Genre scenes and illustrations of song and verse, a simplicity which was "naturally so amiable and affecting" never lapsed into vulgar "rusticity"; as the proverb had it, more pithily than Aristotle, "Poets and Painters hae liberty to lie", and the poise of these pictures is triumphant vindication.<sup>45</sup>

Allan's observation of Decorum in the plates for *The Gentle Shepherd*, in which the aspect of every member of the cast is appropriate to his, or her, age and station, character and dramatic function, was no less scrupulous than it had been, and was yet to be, in his Historical Compositions. The



six Vestals in one painting, for instance, are representative not only of their different ages but of the different parts they play in tending the sacred flame and nourishing an age-old faith, their imparting or receiving instruction being dedicated alike to the one cause. In Allan's later Histories, Mary Stuart is at one moment shown as a monarch directing her army, at another seen as a Roman Catholic martyr enduring privation and persecution at the hands of brutal or insidious nobles, her subjects only in name. Allan conducts the viewer through this cycle with consummate skill, the several iconographic traditions with which he was familiar being assimilated effortlessly to the greater, unifying conception.

A similar familiarity with tradition is everywhere evident in the final, ambitious scheme to provide illustrations to many "Celebrated Scots Songs". These pictures reveal Allan fully in command of his expressive powers, turning without apparent effort from an episode of tragedy or dramatic conflict to a scene of rustic courtship, drawing with unerring accuracy an aged knight or a greiting lassie, a "sprightly youth or a languishing lover", integrating all this infinite variety in one great, inimitable design.<sup>46</sup> Once again, the scheme is a reflection both of his own interests and of prevailing taste. Smollett's party of Welsh and English visitors discovered that "the Scotch [were] all musicians", an observation confirmed by the record kept by Captain Topham.<sup>47</sup>

As has been demonstrated, perceptions of the Scottish songs were influenced by a complex of beliefs and attitudes, one of the most revealing of which was the conviction that they were not long for the world, a conviction growing from their being intimately connected with, even symbolic of a way of life that was definitely, unavoidably changing.<sup>48</sup> Arnot, in his *History of Edinburgh*, having referred to "the manners of the Caledonians, as represented by Ossian", was not alone in lamenting "how widely succeeding ages, in a more advanced stage of society, deviated from the virtues of their ancestors", a lament of peculiar intensity when the consequences of agrarian Improvement and the Industrial Revolution were recognised.<sup>49</sup> Others besides Allan would have seen the implications for national song of William Robertson's observation,

"the dispositions and manners of men are formed by their situation, and arise from the state of society in which they live. The moment that begins to vary, the character of a people must change".<sup>50</sup>

That is, once the way of life long followed in the country was abandoned, the songs would be forgotten. For ages they had been an intrinsic part of that life, not only in a social but also in a practical light. Kirns and rockings were regular and enjoyable interludes in the seasonal round of country people, but the tenting of sheep and the herding of stirks, and the







brochan, to "the fine Flourishes of new Musick imported from *Italy* and elsewhere", "imported Trimming upon our Cloaths", or "sauce, ragouts, an' sic like trashtrie", all the last having, of course, been "ushered into the World merely to catch the eye of Fashion in her frenzy of a day".<sup>56</sup> There again the native product is hailed as being closer in its simplicity to the contemporary idea of ancient purity than were costly and exotic imports. This vision of unadorned nature was not only an idealised and sentimental account of Scottish peasantry on the brink of major change, it was a reminder of a time when Scotland could boast its freedom "before base foreign fashions interwove".<sup>57</sup> At the same time as he echoed a widespread pessimism about the demise of Scottish music and song, and, by extension, language and nationhood itself, Fergusson looked on Scotland as had Ramsay before him, "delighted to call to mind its ancient honours, while it held the rank of a distinct kingdom".<sup>58</sup> Fergusson's invocation of the "Caledonian garb" is more pointed even than Ramsay's; the Dress Act was not repealed until almost a decade after his death.<sup>59</sup>

The identification of ancient manners with natural simplicity, natural simplicity with the hameil lays and hamely fare of the Scottish peasantry, could create one unfortunate impression on the contemporary mind, however satisfying to Scots was the initial elevation of the "distinct national style" of musical expression.<sup>60</sup> It is hardly a complex variation on Ritson's approach to notation, itself growing directly from the antiquarianism characteristic of the eighteenth century, to decide that, as singers' memories stretched further back into the past, the more ancient the airs and verses they recalled, the more primitive the "manners" these celebrated, so too the more truly Scottish these particular songs were.<sup>61</sup> The songs, as a body, could be seen as something from the past to be preserved as exactly as possible, no longer a living tradition kept alive and strong by the active contribution of the present day. Once more the Scottish songs, or attitudes towards them, were symbolic, revealing finally, in some quarters, a loss of confidence in, or the refusal of a commitment to the continued existence of a coherent and recognisable national and cultural identity. On the other hand, and at the same time, Scots who, like Burns, saw "the common people" as "Nature's Judges" demonstrated a faith in the Volk which allied them both with contemporary and earlier historicist criticism and with the growing awareness of nationhood and shared cultural inheritance which was to have its most profound effects in Continental Europe.<sup>62</sup>

That a tradition had existed since a "Time out of Mind" need not imply that its day was done. In Allan's own day, the "great events of Greek and



Roman fable and history", to some of which the Scots songs could be readily compared, were in no danger of "losing [their] credit" among people of taste and learning.<sup>63</sup> The equivocal attitude of many of his contemporaries towards the antiquity of the national tradition in song, as also towards the "old Scotch dialect", may be strikingly contrasted with perceptions of the Antique, perceptions which he shared.<sup>64</sup> The achievements of antiquity were seen as precedents for present emulation, the first and greatest triumphs of a tradition inherited by later European society and culture. Ideal, sublime in themselves, these works, valuable "monuments of the ancient state of nations", were properly to be regarded as *stimuli* for new creation, not as artefacts from a dead age.<sup>65</sup> To allow the Scots songs a similar rôle was to do no more — and no less — than follow the same principle in a different situation. It was, after all, by

"the analogy that one art bears to another, that many things are ascertained, which either were but faintly seen, or, perhaps, would not have been discovered at all, if the inventor had not received the first hints from the practices of a sister art on a similar occasion. The frequent allusions which every man who treats of any art is obliged to make to others in order to illustrate and confirm his principles, sufficiently shew their near connection and inseperable relation," <sup>66</sup>

A distinctive development of the eighteenth century was the appreciation of scenery, whether tastefully modelled by the landscape gardener or discovered in all the sublimity of unadorned Nature. Of particular importance in this appreciation was the judicious choice of a viewing-place, in order that the different features of an area would form a picturesque composition when seen from the correct angle, or indeed when captured in a "Claude glass". The ponderous, moss-clad ruins of an ancient keep and the thatched roofs of a little village might be depicted, in perspective, in the same part of one *landskip*, though another, painted from a viewpoint removed by only a few yards, would reveal the miles between them. Just as a water-mill or *albergo* might occupy the foreground of a *vista* of the Campagna and its classical ruins if the viewer stood at one vantage-point, so too it is possible to see in a different light and in a different relationship Allan's modern Scottish subjects and those which he drew from Scottish history, when a more appropriate viewpoint is adopted than one which allows them only to be seen as distinct from one another and in necessary opposition. That viewpoint, of course, is the one to which contemporary writings will lead the later critic.

One of Allan's greatest strengths was his power of combination. He was neither the first artist to treat national subject-matter in a classical manner, nor even the only Scottish painter to unite the classical and the national.<sup>67</sup> Among the works of his own contemporaries and friends there were Hamilton's Historical painting of the abdication of Mary, Queen of



Scots, and Runciman's epic work at Penicuik, with its classical *motifs* and reminiscences of Michelangelo a fitting parallel to the European fame of Macpherson's free translation and adaptation.<sup>68</sup> Allan was, however, the first Scottish painter to unite classical feeling with vernacular subject-matter, as Ramsay had done in verse with imitations of Horace as well as the resettling of ancient Pastoral devices in the Pentland Hills, and as Fergusson had hoped to do with his proposed translation of Virgil's *Eclogues* and *Georgics*.<sup>69</sup> Allan's learning and his temperament, his patriotic determination, led to his understanding of how the Antique and the Vernacular, offering similar attractions to the contemporary mind and upon occasion identified together, could be integrated in a way that would provide a worthy counterpart to Ramsay's achievement. Allan was well aware that, in *The Gentle Shepherd*, the "Poet of [his] native country" had been concerned with much more than "the imitation of agreeable nature". Ramsay, both in his original poetry and in his drawing attention, like Watson, to the works of the Makars and the Castalians, and to the lays of many forgotten minstrels, had proved to Scottish poets of his own time that it was possible, while remaining conscious of a distinct identity and idiom, to draw inspiration from the Classics and from the works of later European poets, and thus ensure the continued vitality of a native tradition, neither slavishly imitative of foreign and ancient models nor thrawartly confined to regarding only its own past glories. His imaginative recreation of an earlier time, like his feeling for "the days that are past, and that exist no more", was not the product of a merely nostalgic longing.<sup>70</sup> Ramsay, and Allan after him, found in the life and leid of the common people the most powerful expression of a national identity.<sup>71</sup>

His set of plates for Ramsay's *The Gentle Shepherd* was, with the possible exception of "The Origin of Painting", Allan's best-known work. His series of "historical peices from the life of the unfortunate Queen Mary" was his most sustained endeavour, a handful of *Genre* scenes his most popular and influential undertaking, but in his numerous illustrations to Scottish songs may be found more of the essential David Allan than in any of his other works.<sup>72</sup> In these, the occasional union of classical with vernacular was particularly fruitful. The subject-matter, of course, was immediately recognisable as Scottish but — forbye the similarities with the Classics which might, in the spirit of the *Spectator*, be found among the Ballads, or the parallels which might even be drawn "between the antient Greek musick, and our Scots melodies" — the situations were truly comprehensible to all ages, especially when expressed by those "peculiarly universal" means possessed by the painter.<sup>73</sup> In settings characteristically



Scottish, Allan's *motifs* were frequently classical. The vocabulary of gesture and posture which he employed, like the cast of archetypes which he developed, bears ready witness to his early training "in the invention groupe", in Historical Composition.<sup>74</sup> The artist who drew a lassie greiting for the days when she and her dear shepherd had been sae merry had also, years before, copied an ancient picture of the unhappy Ariadne abandoned by Theseus. Having impressed with a tiny Bacchante the soft seal of a letter, Allan saw in fancy the form of Maggie Lauder dancing from the wax.<sup>75</sup>

His having devoted so much of his attention to these illustrations is not truly to be seen as Allan's wish to interpret Scottish subject-matter in the light of his academic training. Neither was there any vernacular tradition in subject-painting with which he could restore links and maintain continuity, as poets had in their comparable field attempted and achieved. Allan demonstrated that the Scottish painter could find inspiration in the traditions, the legends, the history of his own country, bringing his own touch to the parallel of Painting and Poetry. Like the "Song of Homer" and the "Odes of Horace" possessed of qualities which never failed to affect the "imagination and passions" of listeners, the Scots songs had themselves "pleased different ages and different countries".<sup>76</sup> As Adam Smith had written, with typical simplicity:

"A well-contrived building may endure many centuries; a beautiful air may be delivered down by a sort of tradition, through many successive generations; a well-written poem may last as long as the world; and all of them may continue for ages together, to give the vogue to that particular style, to that particular taste or manner, according to which each of them was composed".<sup>77</sup>

Again, Allan's achievement was original only in that his means of expression were visual. Ramsay had shown that Scotland's "good old Bards", in describing the "Fields and Meadows" of their own country, were but following the example of the Ancients.<sup>78</sup> Adam Ferguson wrote fondly of a time when the Classics had been not only modern, but popular, when

"the passions of the poet pervaded the minds of the people, and the conceptions of men of genius being communicated to the vulgar, became the incentives of a national spirit.

"A mythology borrowed from abroad, a literature founded on references to a strange country, and fraught with foreign allusions, are much more confined in their use: they speak to the learned alone; and though intended to inform the understanding, and to mend the heart, may, by being confined to a few, have an opposite effect: they may foster conceit on the ruins of common sense, and render what was, at least innocently, sung by the Athenian mariner at his oar, or rehearsed by the shepherd in attending his flock, an occasion of vice, and the foundation of pedantry and scholastic pride." <sup>79</sup>

Conscious of such precepts, encouraged by contemporary antiquarianism and historicism, by perceptions of music, literature and "civil society", the modern artist could, then, turn with confidence to subjects drawn from his own country and its history. Allan was certainly not alone in painting

PLATE XVII  
Figure 180  
Figure 4

Figure 5  
Figure 231



episodes from national history, but his great effort in song-illustration was, in its extent, unique. He had, of course, one inestimable advantage in entering into "the marrow of his subject".<sup>80</sup> He was not addressing the "real or poetical histories of ancient times", but illustrating songs both time-honoured and still current; in Allan's day, "the Scotch [were] all musicians".<sup>81</sup>

If some ancient bards had indeed been content to leave "great verse unto a little clan", if Homer had truly been a wandering ballad-singer, then the finest works of Scottish song and story, works springing from a rude time and an unlettered people, could justly claim to speak or embody "great thoughts" similar to those identified in the classical legends which provided much of the stuff of contemporary History painting.<sup>82</sup> There was, however, in the Scottish songs, for Allan and for others, something more. Ramsay had, long before, written that "the Spirit of Freedom that shines throw both the serious and comick Performances of our old Poets, appears of a Piece with that Love of Liberty that our antient Heroes contended for, and maintained Sword in Hand".<sup>83</sup>

In Scotland, the association of present rural simplicity with ancient virtue was persistently stressed. The principal expression of such an enviable state was generally held to be "the common popular songs and national music".<sup>84</sup> At the same time, as has been indicated, the language itself must "merit some regard".<sup>85</sup> For some Scots, the vernacular tradition was a vital link with the land and times which they "yence held dear", Scotland as they believed or represented it to have been in "thae blest days" before the Union of Parliaments brought in its train a "menzie of destructive illls".<sup>86</sup> This tradition, for reasons that are not far to seek, was most evidently maintained among those of Episcopalian or Catholic backgrounds, poets and scholars often of marked Jacobite leanings, a fraternity with which Allan, at least as early as his years in Italy, certainly had some connection, and a view with which he clearly had some sympathy.<sup>87</sup> The *Literati*, the "Moderates", the Whig ascendancy in Scotland might be disdainful of what they thought provincial, or even be quite ignorant of some of their country's history and literature, but the Scottish language and the Scottish past could be interpreted by others in a way radically different from theirs, a way which drew strength from associations with European thought at the same time as it bore distinctively Scottish artistic fruit.<sup>88</sup> Since at least the beginning of the century, Scottish antiquarians had identified the "Vulgar" speech of their own day with the language of earlier Scottish verse, either recently published in anthologies like Watson's *Choice Collection* and Ramsay's



Evergreen, or, especially in the case of Lyndsay's more humorous writings and Blin Harry's *Wallace*, still current among the people at large.<sup>89</sup> A scholar of the stature of Thomas Ruddiman recognised and exploited the significance of 'Bishop Douglas' *Eneados*, this early sixteenth-century translation "into Scottis Verse" being reckoned the foremost accomplishment of Scotland's "Good old Bards".<sup>90</sup> The *Aeneid*, that great myth of the founding of a state, had been rendered into "the langage of Scottis natioun" long before the Union of Crowns, the Reformation, or even Flodden wrought each its disruption in Scottish life and culture. If Douglas frequently referred to the difficulties of following the text and emulating Virgil's "ornate bewte" in another language, the action and import of the epic itself, the wanderings and "mekil pyne" of Aeneas, could nevertheless be imagined the more vividly in a countryside and seascape keenly observed and closely described.<sup>91</sup> Scots of the eighteenth century, therefore, could, if they chose, recognise the riches of the existent literature founded on references to their own country and its history, and acknowledge that the work of a Scottish poet, even when it related the deeds of Virgil's gracie hero, was the more immediate for its being written in the language of the people. No doubt Fergusson, like Douglas before him, would have drawn on the landscape with which he was familiar for the setting of his own versions of Virgilian texts, the ancient made more immediate by a judicious use of the local, the ideal translation a balance of the classical and the characteristically national.

Although Adam Ferguson's purpose, in considering the fables of ancient times, had primarily been to "look for the original character of mankind" in the legendary history of various lands, his reference to the reputation enjoyed and the influence exercised in their own day by those of "the finest talents" occupies a critical point in his discussion.<sup>92</sup> The principal object of any artist is to address his contemporaries. Not only was the language of earlier Scottish verse identified, in Ferguson's lifetime, with the living speech of the people, and the writings of the Vernacular poets hence made part of a coherent tradition, the events of Scottish history, as recorded in these earlier works or interpreted by "men of genius" in the eighteenth century, could themselves be employed as "incentives of a national spirit".<sup>93</sup> The deeds of Wallace, for example, Scotland's "great Patriot-hero! ill requited Chief!", for long enshrined in popular memory, were regularly rehearsed throughout the century.<sup>94</sup> David Allan had already set his particular art in one great continuum, the Classical tradition in painting. His associations with exiled Jacobites in Rome may have contributed to a "keen sense of historical continuity" within his own



nation.<sup>95</sup> Employing "much of his attention" on the "antiquities, and literary history of his country", Allan had also determined to play his proper part as a man of genius, to follow the lead already given by his country's poets.<sup>96</sup> The preface to his edition of *The Gentle Shepherd* was a public statement of the intention which found pictorial expression in well over a hundred works.

Virtually from his return to Scotland, but particularly after obtaining financial security in the position of Master of the Trustees' Academy, Allan set out to comprehend in his own field the most important national material which occurred to him, giving with his art unity and order to diversity. There was limitless inspiration in the legendary past of the Ossianic tales, the heroic days of Otterburn and the battle of Largs, or the Wars of Independence under the guardianship of Wallace and the eventual leadership of the Bruce. Closer to his own day were the religious and political conflicts of the foregoing century, the events and characters of 1689, 1715 and 1745 which had been commemorated in popular song and scholarly verse.<sup>97</sup> Above all, there was the crucial reign of Mary Stuart. With the Reformation, much more was damaged than places of worship; the country's artistic links with continental Europe being weakened, and, at the same time, a disproportionate English influence in Scottish affairs allowed, the cultural tradition was as impoverished as the legitimate order was threatened.<sup>98</sup> By Allan's day, the injured Stuart line was gone, but continuity with an earlier Scottish culture had been restored by the works of the Vernacular poets, and the sister art of painting would not, he decided, be found wanting.<sup>99</sup> In approaching the poetry of his own times as part of the fulfilment of this design, guided by his esemplastic vision, Allan looked to all airts of the kingdom, finding in Aberdeenshire Ross's *Helenore*, a poem in the Buchan dialect and of interest primarily to a local readership.<sup>100</sup> Recognising the power of *The Poems of Ossian*, the *Son of Fingal* and seeing how these Gaelic tales — once rendered into Macpherson's great rolling phrases and sonorous cadences — had been received as a national epic, Allan was tempted into preparing two sets of illustrations, a business for which, in striking contrast to Runciman, he was by no means temperamentally suited. Allan's genius was at its best in treating of other "native legends", in evoking those lyrics "familiar, from the cradle, to every Scottish ear", or in depicting "the loves, the joys, the rural scenes and rural pleasures of [his] natal Soil".<sup>101</sup>

His extraordinarily wide-ranging art, its diversity already nascent in his Italian years, flowered gloriously with his return to Scotland. Like those good old bards of former ages and many lands, like painters of



his own and other times, Allan revelled in taking the life which he saw around him as the inspiration for art, shaping ordinary events into creations as unique and *Poetic* as the pictures which he drew from history and verse. It was a highly personal achievement, and truly remarkable in that one artist should confidently and publicly, with no appearance of strain or incongruity, treat subjects ranging from a penny wedding to the abdication of a queen, from coalminers returning after the day's labour to views of Leith Races, from illustrations of Scottish poetry and song to scenes of lead extraction, from an "Oyster Girl" or "Taylors at work" to Lady Charlotte Erskine or the Cathcart family at play. Portraits there would always be, paintings derived from history and contemporary literature were to become increasingly popular among the "common miscellaneous public", while *Genre* scenes of comical or sentimental rustics were long to preserve a rural myth in the midst of an expanding and merciless urban reality.

Both the Atholl family group of 1780 and the pictures of the "Highland Dance" were ironically prophetic of what was to become the typical, almost the only view of Scotland as a whole throughout the following century, the established rights of the gentry and aristocracy enduring amidst a society of couthy and picturesque "bodies", presented as two sides of the same coin, the currency of a social order represented as stable and harmonious. It was a wilfully partial view, but it was what "folks had a mind" to buy.<sup>102</sup> The woods of Arcady were dead even in Allan's time, but the idealised existence claimed for primitive people, that secular faith in the noble savage, an interest which supported and may have suggested his own depictions of the Highlands and pastoral Lowlands, was then a living topic of debate in the world of *Belles Lettres*, not a sentimental, wistful retreat from a grey world of industry and commerce into mythical northern "regions of peace and pastoral felicity".<sup>103</sup>

Allan's art is at its best and most characteristic a consummate union of many ideas, a personal fusion of *motifs* and influences from many sources. Always aware of the "great affinity" between the liberal arts of poetry and painting, and recognising in the work of the Vernacular poets a reflection of what he had read in Herd's *Ancient and Modern Scottish Songs*, that "every nation, at least every ancient and unmixed nation, hath its peculiar style of musical expression, its peculiar mode of melody", he saw that Scotland ought likewise to have its own "distinct national style" in pictorial art.<sup>104</sup> By happy circumstance, he was, even before his return to Scotland in 1779, a painter ideally suited to develop such an appropriate style. Being attracted by that purity thought characteristic



of antiquity, and having adopted a style of notable austerity for the representation of ancient subjects, he would have found no difficulty in adapting that apparently naïve style to the depiction of scenes of the Scottish peasantry and to the illustration of the country's songs and ballads.<sup>105</sup> Throughout all the diversity of Allan's art may be traced a unifying harmony, a balance of different emphases so subtly managed that "no one part is found to counteract the other".<sup>106</sup> His early thinking on the Antique bore later fruit in contemporary Scotland, when, like the Vernacular poets, he evolved a style perfectly adapted to his expressive purpose. Since the Scottish glens could be regarded as a latter-day Arcadia, since their inhabitants,

"lasses chanting o'er the pail,  
And shepherds piping in the dale",

could effortlessly people Georgics set in northern climes while their melodies and songs, possessed of a "forcible and pathetic simplicity", flowed naturally and "immediately from the heart", then a style originally consonant with ancient times could eventually be seen as one equally in harmony with this contemporary "simplicity".<sup>107</sup> By the end of the eighteenth century in Scotland, in Poetry as in Painting, the most truly and distinctively national idiom was an idiom seemingly demotic.

Allan's "lang biding" in Italy may well have made him more sharply aware of the changes in his own land.<sup>108</sup> With the closing decades of the century, he must have become aware of a fragmentation in Scottish society, a growing separation greater than that of the lang Scots miles between the loans of the fermtoun and the causeys of the city, especially as the expansion of the New Town of Edinburgh ended the long-standing, enforced familiarity of "people of quality and fashion" with those "in humble and ordinary life".<sup>109</sup> Scott, born in the capital in 1771 and later attending the High School and the University there, looked back from the vantage-point of Castle Street in Craig's New Town to the days when

"in an Edinburgh *land*, a sort of general interest united the whole inhabitants, from the top to the bottom of these lofty tenements. Love and friendship might communicate through ceilings no thicker than the wall of Pyramus; and as the possessors were usually of very different ranks, charity had not far to travel from home ere she found fitting objects of her regard." <sup>110</sup>

From slightly later, Lord Cockburn looked back with nostalgia on former days, and "sighed over the society of Edinburgh at that period".<sup>111</sup> He regarded with some incredulity the conditions and manners which had obtained at around the time recalled by Scott, when people "pigged together in the same 'Land,' and had their main-doors within a few feet of each other on the same common stair", but concluded that the "Learning and



Elegance of the scene must have been set off by its contrast with the very recently softened barbarism of the country".<sup>112</sup> It was not only the contrast between one age and another which gave to the past its allure:

"This community has been made more interesting to a later generation by the fame of some of its members, which always elevates the whole body. And the interest is deepened by its now being seen that the society was shedding its lustre on the last purely Scotch age. Most of what had gone before had been turbulent and political. All that has come after has been English. The 18th was the final Scotch century. We, whose youth tasted the close of that century, and who have lived far into the Southern influence, feel proud of a purely Edinburgh society which raised the reputation of our discredited capital, and graced the deathbed of our national manners. No wonder that we linger with affectionate respect over the deserted or degraded haunts of our distinguished people, and that we feel as if we could despise ourselves if we did not prefer the memory of those scenes to all that is to be found in the commonplace characters of modern men, and in the insignificance of modern refinement." <sup>113</sup>

Cockburn regarded this change in his society - that is, among "people of condition" - as "inevitable".<sup>114</sup> Deeply rooted in his ideal of preserving the "memory of Old Scotland" was the retention of the Scots language, but his natural feelings conflicted with his actual deeds.<sup>115</sup> Though he might lament, with many a melancholy sigh, his attendance by the deathbed of the national manners, the glimpse of a persistent flicker of life in the body politic did not really inspire him to efforts at revival of the most devoted or consistent kind; the concern which he expressed for "the Scotch accent and idiom", for instance, is not easily reconciled with the fact that he was among the founders of the Edinburgh Academy.<sup>116</sup> Such contradictory attitudes may be encountered in North Britons from some three centuries, but while Cockburn was distanced from the "lower orders" among whom the language - regarded either with indulgence as "picturesque and delightful" or with contempt as a "vulgar patois" - was "still" spoken in all its vitality and its variety of dialects, he was admittedly well placed to observe the "general current" of events in a greater, a historical perspective, and his words paint a bleak prospect:

"The prolongation of Scotch peculiarities, especially of our language and habits, I do earnestly desire. An exact knowledge and feeling of what these have been since 1707 till now would be more curious five hundred years hence than a similar knowledge and feeling of the old Greeks. But the features and expression of a people cannot be perpetuated by legislative engraving. Nothing can prevent the gradual disappearance of local manners under the absorption and assimilation of a far larger, richer, and more powerful kindred and adjoining kingdom. Burns and Scott have done more for the preservation of proper Scotland than could ever be accomplished by laws, statesmen, or associations. What can we retain if we cannot retain our very language? And how can we retain our language respectably after it has become vulgar in the ear of our native gentility; after scarcely a single Scotch nobleman will keep a house in a single Scotch town; and after our soil, and especially our Highlands, are passing rapidly into English hands? This is all very sad, but it is the natural course. . . ." <sup>117</sup>

Cockburn's recognition of the peculiar significance of language is as acute as his apparent concern for the "manners", the *costume*, is commendable. A





[PLATE XXIV, reproduced in colour between pages 234-35,]



living culture, however, is not one which specifically needs to be "preserved". While any artist, any poet or painter, may join with the antiquarian in saving the features of a time and a people from oblivion, his proper part lies in the contribution which he makes to the course or development of a culture, a tradition, a national "school", as a consequence of his having observed the taste and society of his own time with the object of "pleasing and instructing", of raising and enlarging the conceptions, of warming the heart of each viewer or reader.<sup>118</sup> His importance to future times will follow from success in his own. Thus Scott, Burns, Fergusson, Hogg and Galt in their writings, Marshall, Fraser, Mackintosh and the Gows with their collections of traditional airs no less than their original compositions, Raeburn and Allan with print and painting, and a host of lesser figures in all these arts, either incidentally or of a heartfelt design, allow those of a later age to find in imagination the genius of their own, fixed for ever in their record of the sights, sounds, characters and events among which they themselves once lived.

Almost from the day of his return to Scotland, Allan's home was Edinburgh, and his pictures, offering numerous glimpses into the city remembered by Cockburn, can often be imagined to hold an echo or two of the popular poetry of Fergusson. In these years, perhaps stepping from Writers' Court in the early afternoon and pausing for a few moments foreninst the High Kirk of St. Giles to watch as the merchants transacted their business, as ever, in the open street, or, in the evening, looking down on the High Street from the rooms in Dickson's Close in which his studies were pursued, or to which his ill-health and the bitter eastern winds had all too often confined him, Allan may well have reflected that the just representation of ordinary life could have a purpose beyond the moral instruction of his own time.<sup>119</sup> Sir William Hamilton's archæological treasures, after all, had been the common objects of daily life in another era. Allan's thoughts may, with justice, and some accuracy, be guessed. Half a century before, Hogarth had jotted down something of the sort:

"also as it may be instructive and amusing in future times when the customs manners fashions Characters and Humours of the present age in this country may possibly be changed or lost to Posterity unless by this or some such means they are preserved to posterity",<sup>120</sup>

Whether or no Allan shared this particular object of Hogarth's, and whether or no he would have shared the views which Cockburn was later to express, may never definitely be decided. His remaining works, by indicating how keenly aware he was of everything around him, incidentally



suggest that he too, like so many of his contemporaries, may have found in the changes everywhere evident ominous signs of the dying of a distinctively Scottish culture. Furthermore — whatever his views on the compulsion exercised by the Law — he certainly did rejoice in the power of the Arts to persuade. Indeed, with his notorious fondness for word-play, he might well have pointed out to Cockburn that, among the liberal arts, it was not only the ballads of a nation which could compensate the deficiencies of its laws.<sup>121</sup> However unequal "legislative engraving" might be to the task of perpetuating national characteristics, the learned Advocate would have had to agree that an artist's burin could prove as effective as his pencil, his crayon, or his etching-needle in preserving to future time some features of a bygone age, and reviving, however faintly, the light of other days.



## **Appendices.**



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I [ Dr. Maty, Keeper of the British Museum, ]

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Dr. Maty,

Rome, Oct: the 6<sup>th</sup>, 1775.

Sir,

I have taken the liberty of offering to the Directors of the British Museum a portrait of Sr W<sup>m</sup> Hamilton my Protector painted by me, my Gratitude and Regard for him has made me beg to do his picture as it may be of utility to me he has been so good as to give me leave.

I heartily wish to give a small Testimony of my respectful regard for him, who is a true lover and Promoter of the fine Arts and protector of Artists, of which I have had the honor of a very particular share of his Generosity and Goodness in assisting me in the pursuit of my studys in painting. I have indeavoured to do his portraite as well as I can; And considering his great ingenuity and merit in making such a Noble Colection of interesting and beatiful monuments of Antiquity which are at present in the B. Museum has induced me to think that a portraite of the worthy colector might very properly find a place in that colection, on this consideration I have ventured to offer the picture to the Directors, which if they thought the weak performance worthy of being put up with this colection, woud do me an honnor and be of service to me as the work woud be seen, and I should be very happy if the picture should not be thought unworthy of their acceptance.

I respectfully remain, Sir

Your most obed<sup>t</sup> Humble serv<sup>t</sup>

David Allan

P.S. I have enclosed the bill of Lading and hopes to be excused for sending the picture so large, but I have thought in fuly imitating his resemblance to the life, it was best to add likewise his Character as a man of taste; which is expressed by the different things about him.

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[Published in "David Allan and the Hamilton portraits", J.R. Fawcett Thompson, *The Connoisseur* Volume CLXXIII 1970, quoting from *Trustees' Original Letters and Papers*, Volume 1, Number 293.]

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Dear Sir,

[ 6<sup>th</sup> November, 1780.]

I confess that I have been out of my duty in not writing before this time, but as it did not proceed only from blind neglect and not ungratitude, I hope you will forgive me. By help of good Crichton who was so good as recommend me, furnished my house I tryed two years in London, but like many other artists I could hardly live, so I went to see my friends in Scotland and found employment for the summer, but had intention of returning to London, but fell dangerously ill at Edinburgh by the severe cold of the winter, which hurt my stomach and breast, so that I was obliged to remain. On my growing stronger I got employment in the small portrait way and the Duchess of Athole was so good as to call me to the Highlands to paint their family in a group, which I did. That pure air improved my health and has introduced that kind of painting, and has the prospect of being well employed in this way. The Duchess is most amiable and quite like the heavenly disposition of the late Lady Cathcart, has three children, two girls and a charming boy. I painted them on the green, with the Duke returning from the hunting in the Highland dress, his gun under one arm and in the other a heath cock which he holds out to the little marquis who is running to take it. The Duchess with the others sitting on a bank looking on, and in the distance Athole House with a view of the country, which please very well and figures about two feet high. Has done some other familys particularly Lord Hopes. It has pleased them so well that they are so good as to invite me to live with them while about Edinburgh. So I stay there with them in the winter, and in the summer I paint familys in the country, which is good for my health. In this time of war the arts go on slowly at London, and as I have employment here for some time I am incited to stay, and when both tired will try London once more, at present I can hardly get ten guineas a figure, but it is agreeable employment, and I get new friends who are able and willing to help me in time.

I did at Rome a set of Drawings in Bister representing the amusements of the Carnival at Rome in 8 Drawings, which Sandby bought from me for London and he has executed them charmingly in aquatinta prints at a guinea the sett. They take well and he will make money of them. If I have health and time I intend to do groups of the manners in Scotland, which would be new and entertaining and good for engraving. I have painted at Athole for myself a Highland Dance as a companion to the Neapolitan, but the Highland is the most picturesque and curious. I have made a drawing of the General Assembly of the Kirk of Scotland with many portraits, would make a good print. Whatever way encouragement may go am resolved not to be idle. Mrs. Graham is unfortunately in a bad state of health and gone with Mr. Graham to Lisbon and perhaps will see you at Naples. Lord Cathcart and Lady are arrived here from America. I offer my humble respects to yourself and good Lady Hamilton, who I hope are both well. As I have not wrote to Rome since I left it, you chance to write that way, offer . . . . . my good Mrs. Hamilton Byres and other friends there. I have the honour to be with the most grateful remembrance of all your former goodness, and remain with respect and esteem, Dear Sir, your much obliged and most obedient humble servant

DAVID ALLAN] (*torn*)

P.S. On leaving London I delivered your group on copper of yourself and Lady Hamilton playing to Crichton to keep safe for you.



My Lord,

New Edr Decr 3 1780

I am at a loss to know how to begin to work here as ~~to~~ show, people in general will like to ~~have~~ see a painting Room only perhaps for amusement but I can hardly do this, as my small merite will perhaps ~~not~~ appear Striking enough neither have I variety enough for their different tastes likewise woud look as an oposition to other artists here & in that case the more will be expected, & woud be atended with additional expence & open doors, which might do me litle advantage My present Idea is rather to have only a show in my fore Room of a few things in order to show as a specimen which people may wish to see & coud study in my back Room litle disturbed, by strangers out of mere curiosity, I woud bend towards the small Domestic and conversation style as it tends most to improvement, & the most useful as it is the means of everlastingly joining frends together on the canvace, & at the price of ten guineas a figure as a general price, but my Benefactors & frends whos recomendation is better than gold I will take only what they can spare and as I have the good fortune to know the firs rank of conoscenti, & altho I shoud be loth to be heavy on them, yet by their expressing that my principl aim- aim is a livelyhood & improvement, that in imploying me might tend to two good purposes, viz, to help me, & they might have satisfaction in my execution, & that if I failed woud not expect the price, only some small water for the paint to wash it out again & I shoud be satisfied, I hope all this will be fair on both sides, & I may have in my present situation imploymt enough with<sup>t</sup> a Glareing show or noice in the world, only to spend time in trifles to please the Volgo It is not Modesty nor pride that makes me decline a noicey show but rather a natural turn for retirement at my study which is all my Comfort However as I am sensible of not being able to conduct myself properly especialy at this time among strangers & I beg your Lordships advice about the manner of going on & will ask Lord Hope and other Benefactors I trust to good adice which is of much value in a beginning as there is humain people & lovers of virtù, If god give me health I hope to improve

I wishis was in the invention groupe as I am begun at Rome, but has been obliged like many others to give it up for want of encouragem<sup>t</sup> It is deplorable to think that great Britain in Generall has not sooner begun to encourage her young ones in the Study of History the nobles[t] part of painting, Sr Joshua Rynolds aims with with his pamphlets or academick discourses to corect their tast, this is praiseworthy but a difficult task If we canot pursue our natural turns for want of encouragement, must have patience, & in these times lay by Antique modles & copy Gothick wigs or copy what object is ordered wether it has exprssion or non at all but as we are not independent must nessesarily do it per Vivere, but tis a mercy it is not wors, I am glad at least that they have got into the Notion of geting their familys done in familiar case in Groups by which painters may get great improvemen in this Study of Nature, & this St[ ] I wish next to pursue with pleasure although [it] is the most difficult & lest profitable I woul I like it best, & altho I cannot imortalize people perfectly yet I wish them to imploy me in my Native Country, altho I be not excellent, I beg pardon for so much bloting but being alone by the fire in my night cape my head was going & my pen run off with me,

I do not Despair as I have the aid of the Virtuosi who altho not so rich & powerful as Mecenas yet seems of the same family & noble dispositions to encourage ~~the~~ arts even ~~to~~ infancy, I beg your Lord<sup>sh</sup> to honour me with the aforesaid advice & will do my self the honor to call ~~when~~ any time when convenient & has the honour to be with resp<sup>t</sup> & esteem

Your Ld<sup>sh</sup> h; serv<sup>t</sup>

D. Allan



To

GAVIN HAMILTON ESQ.

SIR,

**I**MPRESSED with a lively sense of your goodness, and a grateful recollection of those advices with which you honoured me while I was studying Painting at Rome, I presume to dedicate to you this Edition of Allan Ramsay's pastoral comedy, with my designs, as a specimen of my occupations, and a mark of my esteem.

It must be a subject of just regret to every lover of the art of Painting, to remark how much its progress is retarded in Great Britain, by the little demand there is for public and great works in the historical line.

The genius of our artists is unhappily forced to accommodate itself to the general taste for Portrait, and still life; while the nobler departments of the arts, must of course lie neglected.

It seems likewise to be essential towards the advancement of the art of Painting in any country, that the country itself should furnish good models in Nature, for the imitation of the artist. In this respect, Great Britain has some advantages, and some disadvantages. The youth of both sexes are in general well formed, well coloured, and of graceful proportions; but in the middle stages of life, and in old age, our natural models are greatly deficient, both in action and expression. We rarely see in this country a countenance like that of a Franciscan, or an Italian beggar, so full of character and expression, and so useful to the study of History-Painting. Yet the Nature we have, with the assistance of ancient models, which may be easily procured by casts from the best of the Greek statues and busts, is fully sufficient for all the purposes of study, and might lead to great improvement even in Historical Painting, were that the general taste of the public.

In the humbler walk of Painting, which consists in the just representation of ordinary Life, (by which it is believed, the best moral effects, may be often produced,) there can be no better models, than what Nature, in this country, daily presents to our view. Without descending to mean and low objects, it is possible, by a strict adherence to truth and nature, to produce compositions, which though not so



striking as the sublimer efforts of the pencil, are yet capable both of pleasing and instructing, in a very high degree.

This consideration has incited me, to present the public, with a series of designs, illustrating the different scenes of a justly admired Pastoral, the **GENTLE SHEPHERD** of Allan Ramsay. This piece it is well known, he composed in the neighbourhood of Pentland hills, a few miles from Edinburgh, where the shepherds to this day sing his songs, and the old people remember him reciting his own verses. I have studied the same characters on the same spot, and I find, that he has drawn faithfully, and with taste, from Nature. This, likewise, has been my model of imitation, and while I attempted in these sketches to express the ideas of the Poet, I have endeavoured to preserve the **COSTUME**, as nearly as possible, by an exact delineation of such scenes and persons as he actually had in his eye.

May I hope, that YOU, who have justly acquired the highest reputation in the present age, for the **HEROIC** and **SUBLIME** of painting, will not condemn me for this attempt to join with the Poet of my native country, in the imitation of agreeable nature.

I have engraved these designs in the manner called **AQUA-TINTA**, a late invention, which has been brought to much perfection by Mr. Paul Sandby, of London. A painter finds his advantage in this method, in which the pencil may be associated with the graver. It will be easily seen that I am not a master in the mechanical part of this art: but my chief intention was not to offer expensive and smooth engravings, but expressive and characteristic designs. How far I have succeeded, it does not belong to me to say. I submit the work with diffidence to the public; offering it under the sanction of your name, as a perfect judge, and a person to whom I owe every tribute of respect and gratitude.

I have the honour to be,

SIR,

Your most obliged and obedient servant,

EDINBURGH,  
October 3, 1788.

DAVID ALLAN.



V [Thomas Graham of Balgowan,]

---

Edr Writers Court  
Novr 6, 1785

Good Sir

I am truely thankfull for your kindness in writing, if this Post stands as it was formerly I have strong recomendation, I am informed the Trustees thinks of Dividing the Salary or making a change,

L<sup>d</sup> Buchan altho not of the Trustees is resolved to get in M<sup>r</sup> Erskine & Brown. Even in a New institution as a branch of Drawing in the Colledge, & L<sup>d</sup> Buchan is rather my friend but instead of writeing to the Trustees if L<sup>y</sup> Charlotte woud recomend me strongly to L<sup>d</sup> Buchan woud be very usefull at present, I have been at Hopetoun painting Mr Hope of Amsterdam has found your kind letters & will Diliver them, & will try to firret out Sr W<sup>m</sup> Erskine, & if I coud get the Treasurer of the Navy he woud be a treasure to me yours to the Secretary will be very usefull, I am truely obliged to My Benefactors for writing so much in my favour I woud not wish to trouble them more at present till we see how things are to be ordred I have a Notion of L<sup>d</sup> Buchan Laying a New Plan for a proper Drawing school at Edr but he has got an atachment to Mr Brown who can only draw a head in black lead, but My Lord knows my invention, but a Letter from Lady Charlotte describing me an Alloa bairn woud be of great Use,

I offer humble respts to M<sup>r</sup> Graham L<sup>y</sup> Cristina & L<sup>y</sup> Charlote & has the honour to be with a Greatfull heart

Sir your obliged humble servant  
D. Allan

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[Transcribed from original letter in Lynedoch Collection, National Library of Scotland, MS 35923]

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VI [William Robertson,]

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Dear Sir

Glasgow Sep-16  
-92

As you expressed a desire of having a Drawing of the Bishop- of Glasgows Castle. And I being at Glasgow, I have found some old Drawings one of which I copy & sends you The Old Drawings are in the possession of M<sup>r</sup> James Brown Colourman head of the Stockwell Glasgow, who will show you these drawings likewise some drawn well by himself of a latter date, and in De Wits Theatrum Scotiz, posibly it may be found intire. I suppose this -Book may be found in the Glasgow <sup>coll<sup>ec</sup></sup> Library. I could not spare as much time as Come out to see you & has begd M<sup>r</sup> Brown to send you this scetch He is my freind a good Draftsman & a Man of Taste — I am Sir respectfully

your most obed<sup>t</sup> serv<sup>t</sup>  
D. Allan

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[Transcribed from original letter in the Laing Manuscripts, Edinburgh University Library, Special Collections La II 648/1.]

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Works exhibited by David Allan.

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Royal Academy

- Rome*
- 1771 1. Pompey the Great, after his  
defeat, is accosted by Cra-  
tippus, who comforts him,  
2. Cleopatra weeping over the  
ashes of Mark Antony.

- Rome*
- 1773 1. The prodigal son,  
2. Cupid and Psyche.

- 123, Jermyn Street*
- 1777 2. An Italian Shepherd Boy,  
3. A Neapolitan Girl,  
4. A Family giving alms to a  
Hermit of the island of Pro-  
cida in the Mediterranean.

- 4, Leicester Fields*
- 1779 2. The Vestals attending the  
Sacred Fire,  
3. Gentleman listening to a Lady  
playing on the Pianoforte,  
(*Sir W. Hamilton and his wife*)  
4. Five Drawings representing  
the Amusements, Manners, etc.,  
of the Carnival at Rome.

- Edinburgh*
- 1781 365. A Scotch Highland Dance.

- 1799 826. Sir John Legard.

Free Society

- Edinburgh*
- 1775 1. Travellers kindling a fire,  
1† Soldiers dressing their supper;  
its companion,  
2. A ballad singer,  
2† A market girl; its companion.

Society of Artists

- Edinburgh*
- 1791 1. Mary, Queen of Scots, compelled to  
resign her government, at the  
castle of Loch Leven, From Black-  
wood's Robertson's Histories,  
2. Death of David Rizzio,  
3. Queen Mary's Death-warrant read to  
her in the Castle of Fotheringay.



Answer to Query respecting Allan the Painter. To the Editor.

Sir,

You may inform the enquiring friend of Allan the Painter, that he died on the 6<sup>th</sup> of August 1796, in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh, and on the 13<sup>th</sup> of that month there appeared, in the Edinburgh papers, a short, neat, deserving character of him. This is now before me, as well as some MS memorandums, which, from regard to his memory, I bound up with a copy of Ramsay's Gentle Shepherd, printed by the Foulis's in 4to, with a proof impression of the plates, which Mr Allan presented to me. A few of his other works, in my possession, I shall briefly take notice of:

Five oil paintings, that I can call neither landscapes nor sea-pieces, but composed of both, Harbours or headlands, with shipping. These were painted, above forty years ago, in Glasgow, and were in the possession of Mr John Hamilton and Mr James Ritchie. They have merit, and colouring preferable to the works of his latter days, for I thought his tints, latterly, were frigid and cold.

A copperplate engraving, by Cunego, at Rome, of his origin of painting. This piece gained him a gold medal, the highest prize given by the Academy of St Luke, at Rome, in the 1773. A particular description of this medal may be found in the 2d volume of the transactions of the Society of the Antiquaries of Scotland, (pages 74 and 75,) to whom he presented it, Jan. 7th, 1783. Six characteristic prints of the inhabitants and customs of Rome and Naples, drawn and etched by himself in *aqua tinta*.

Four views of the Carnivals at Rome, etched by Paul Sandby, in *aqua tinta*. These are very fine. Other four were proposed, but never published.

The Confession. Engraved by Volpato.  
The Highland Dance.

Glasgow, Dec. 14. 1804.

Print, Septimus Severus, and Julia Pia Severi. Heads upon a stone at the Netherbow, Edinburgh.

Two different Views of laying the foundation stone of the College of Edinburgh.

Two different Views, highly finished and coloured, of the High Street, Edinburgh.

A small full-length Portrait of the late Professor John Anderson of the College, Glasgow. This is etched by Kay of Edinburgh. Only a very few copies of this were thrown off.

The plates of Tassie's collection of Gems, in two volumes 4to, were drawn and etched by himself. Also,

He designed several of the plates for Morrisons' (of Perth) edition of the Scotch Poets, and the Life of Sir William Wallace, apud me.

Mr John Mair, of Plantation, merchant in Glasgow, a gentleman who has ever patronised the fine arts, and a friend to merit, has several original paintings of Mr Allan.

Five or six scenes of the life of Mary Queen of Scots.

The Highland Dance.

The Cotter's Saturday night, (of Burns.)

John Anderson my Joe.

Auld Robin Gray, &c. &c.

In the life of Burns the poet there is frequent mention made of this ingenious artist, in the letters of Burns and Thomson, that do him immortal honour. Having this field, I think a very tolerable biographical sketch of our departed friend might be made out, and transmitted to posterity. Allan was fond of a pun; one day I had called upon him in Glasgow; he was drawing fishes upon paper, and he observed, that a *shoal* of fish was a very proper pattern for a *Shawl*.

I am, Sir,

Your humble servant,

Peter Wright, MD



## Appendix IX

The publication of Allan's twenty-five etchings "Illustrative of some Celebrated Scottish Songs". (All measurements are in inches, height before width).

Eight of Allan's prints were published in Alexander Campbell's *An Introduction to the History of Poetry in Scotland*, Edinburgh, 1798. The same eight also appeared in *Select Scottish Songs carefully compared with the original editions and embellished with characteristic designs composed and engraved by the late David Allan Esquire, Historical Painter, Edinburgh*, printed and sold by Andrew Foulis, Edinburgh, 1799. This set of prints is probably to be identified with the "Eight [Copper-plates] of different subjects from Scottish Songs, designed and etched by Allan, (never published)" which were sold in 1797 (Sale I, p. 16, lot 3; "Seventh Day's Sale"). The eight are entitled:

<i>Air</i> Get up and bar the door	<i>Air</i> Cilliecrankie [ "Tranent Muir" ]
<i>Air</i> Widow are ye waking	<i>Air</i> Sheriff-Muir
<i>Air</i> Maggie Lawder [etching & aquatint]	<i>Air</i> The Tither Morn
<i>Air</i> Bonny Barbara Allan [etching & aquatint]	<i>Air</i> ; <i>Lewie Gordon</i> , K. ROBERT the BRUCE

Each oval measures  $3\frac{1}{4} \times 5$ ; the platemarks vary between  $3\frac{1}{4} \times 6\frac{1}{4}$  and  $4\frac{1}{2} \times 7$ . Each is inscribed with lines of verse, and all are signed "D. Allan del: et fecit."

A further eight of Allan's etchings, from among the seventeen plates bought by George Thomson in 1796 (see Allan's letter, in Chapter VI, p. 237) were published in the octavo volumes of *A Select Collection of Original Scottish Airs*, first issued 1822-23 (eight editions of some parts, and two re-issues [1828, 1831] of the entire second octavo edition [1825] followed until 1841). The etchings are:

Come under my Plaidie	The Bagrie o't [ retitled Contented wi' Little ]
My Jo Janet	The Drunken Wife o' Gallowa' (Hoosy and Fairly)
Tak thy auld Cloak about thee	The young Laird and Edinburgh Katy
Tullochgorum	Woo'd and Married and a'

Each oval again measures  $3\frac{1}{4} \times 5$ . Each is inscribed "Designed and Etch'd by D. Allan" and "Published as the Act directs by G. Thomson Edinburgh 1822".

According to the Title Page of Allan's proposed collection, the remaining nine etchings were:

Fee him Faither fee him	The Carle	The Brisk young Lad
Andro and his cutty gun	Jonnie Cope	For the love of Jean
The wawkin of the fauld	Turnimspike	The Gaberlunzie Man.

Examples of all twenty-five etchings may be found in the National Library of Scotland (NLS 6.670), the National Gallery of Scotland, and the British Museum (Print Room). None has the full set. Proofs of all but two have been added to an edition of Campbell's *Introduction*, in Edinburgh Central Library (Scottish Room, RBR X PR 8510); these are additional to the eight originally published with it. The two not included are "The Young Laird" and "For the love of Jean" ("Jockey said to Jenny"). "The Wawkin of the fauld" is derived from a drawing Allan entitled "Cowdenknowes"; the BM print (1868-3-28-573) is inscribed "Broom of Cowdenknowes", but others have the listed title.



Appendix X.

Ten songs and Ballads, transcribed from sources which Allan used:

from "Johnie Armstrang" [ <i>Ancient and Modern Scottish Songs, Heroic Ballads, Etc. Collected from Memory, Tradition, and Ancient Authors</i> , 2 vols., Edinburgh, 1776, Vol. I, pp. 13-17.]	397
from "Gilderoy" [ <i>Ancient and Modern Scottish Songs</i> , 1776, Vol. I, pp. 73-76]	398
"Sir Patrick Spence" [ <i>Ancient and Modern Scottish Songs</i> , 1776, Vol. I, pp. 28-29]	399
from "Lady Bothwell's Lament" [ <i>Ancient and Modern Scottish Songs</i> , 1776, Vol. I, pp. 65-67]	399
"Broom of Cowdenknows" and "Same Tune" (i.e., a different set of words to the same air) [ <i>Ancient and Modern Scottish Songs</i> , 1776, Vol. I, pp. 181-83]	400
"Woo'd and married and a'" [ <i>Ancient and Modern Scottish Songs</i> , 1776, Vol. II, pp. 115-17]	401
"For the Love of Jaan" ("Jockey said to Jenny") [ <i>Ancient and Modern Scottish Songs</i> , 1776, Vol. II, pp. 195-96]	401
"Robert Bruce's March to Bannockburn" ("Scots, wha hae wi' Wallace bled") [Robert Burns, August/September, 1793, in letters to George Thomson]	402
"John Anderson my Jo" [ <i>The Scots Musical Museum</i> , Vol. III, 1790, p. 269]	402



from JOHNIE ARMSTRANG.

SUM speiks of lords, sum speiks of lairds,  
And sicklike men of hie degrie;  
Of a gentleman I sing a sang,  
Sumtyme cal'd Laird of Gilnockie.  
The king he wrytes a luvving letter  
Wi' his ain hand sae tenderlie,  
And he hath sent it to JOHNY ARMSTRANG,  
To cum and speik with him speedily. . .

Quhen JOHNY came before the King,  
With all his men sae brave to see,  
The King he movit his bonnet to him,  
He weind he was a king as well as he.

May I find grace, my sovereign Liege,  
Grace for my loyal men and me,  
For my name it is JOHNIE ARMSTRANG,  
And subject of zours, my Liege, said he.

*Away, away, thou traytor strang,  
Out of my sight thou mayst sune be,  
I grantit never a traytor's lyfe,  
And now I'll not begin with thee,*

Grant me my lyfe, my Liege, my King,  
And a bonny gift I will gi' to thee,  
Full four-and-twenty milk-whyt steids,  
Were a' foald in a zeir to me.  
Ill gie thee all these milk-whyt steids,  
That prance and nicher at a speir,  
With as meikle gude Inglis gilt,  
As four of their braid backs dow beir.

*Away, away, thou traytor, etc. . . .*

Ze lied, ze lied now, King, he says,  
Althocht a King and prince ze be;  
For I luid naithing in all my lyfe,  
I dare well say it, but honesty:  
But a fat horse and a fair woman,  
Twa bonny dogs to kill a deir;  
But Inglanld suld haif fund me meil and mat,  
Gif I had livd this hundred zeir.

Scho suld haif fund me meal and malt,  
And beef and mutton in all plentie;  
But neir a Scots wyfe coud haif said,  
That eir I skaithd her a pure flie.  
To seik het water beneath cauld yce,  
Surely it is a great folie;  
I haif asked grace ata graceless face,  
But there is nane formy men and me.

But had I kend or I cam frae hame,  
How thou unkind wadst bene to me,  
I wad haif kept the border-syde,  
In spyte of allthy force andthee. . .

JOHN wore a girdle abut his middle,  
Imbroidred owre with burning gold,  
Bespangled with the same mettle,  
Maist bewtiful was to behold.  
Their hang nine targats at JOHNIES hat,  
And ilka ane worth thrie hundred pound:  
*Wha wants that knave that a King suld have,  
But the sword of honour and the crown.*

*O quhar got thou these targats, JOHNIE,  
That blink sae brawly abune thy brie!*  
I gat them in the fild fechting  
Quher, cruel King, thou durst not be.  
Had I my horse and my harness gude,  
And ryding as I wont to be,  
It suld haif bene tald this hundred zeir  
The meiting of my king and me. . .

JOHN muredred was at Carlinrigg,  
And all his gallant companie;  
But Scotland's heart was neir so wae,  
To see sae mony brave men die.

Because they savd their country deir  
Frae Inglis men; nane were sae bald,  
Quhyle JOHNIE livd on the border-syde,  
Nane of them durst cum neir his hald.

[from *Ancient and Modern Scottish Songs, Heroic Ballads, Etc., Collected from Memory, Tradition, and Ancient Authors*, Edinburgh, 2 vols., 1776, Vol. I, pp. 13-17.]



from GILDEROY.

GILDEROY was a bonny boy,  
Had roses tull his shoone,  
His stockings were of silken soy,  
Wi' garters hanging down;  
It was, I weene, a comlie sight,  
To see sae trim a boy;  
He was my joy and heart's delight,  
My handsome GILDEROY.

Oh! sick twa charming een he had,  
A breath as sweet as rose,  
He never ware a Highland plaid,  
But costly silken clothes;  
He gain'd the luve of ladies gay,  
Nane eir tull him was coy;  
Ah! wae is mee! I mourn the day,  
For my dear GILDEROY. . .

Oh! that he still had been content  
Wi' me to lead his life;  
But, ah! his manfu' heart was bent  
To stir in feates of strife;  
And he in many a venturous deed,  
His courage bauld wad try,  
And now this gars mine heart to bleed  
For my dear GILDEROY. . .

My GILDEROY baith far and near,  
Was fear'd in evry town,  
And bauldly bare away the gear  
Of many a lawland lown;  
Nane ei durst meit him man to man,  
He was sae brave a boy,  
At length wi' numbers he was tane,  
My winsome GILDEROY.

The Queen of Scots possessed nought  
That my love let me want;  
For cow and ew he brought to me,  
And e'en when they were skant,  
All these did honestly possess,  
He never did annoy,  
Who never fail'd to pay their cess\*  
To my love GILDEROY.

Wae worth the loon that made the laws  
To hang a man for gear,  
To 'reave of life for ox or ass,  
For sheep, or horse, or mare;  
Had not their laws been made sae strict  
I neir had lost my joy,  
Wi' sorrow neir had wat my cheek  
For my dear GILDEROY. . .

Of GILDEROY sae 'fraid they were,  
They bound him mickle strong,  
Tull Edenburrow they led him thair,  
And on a gallows hung;  
They hung him high aboon the rest,  
He was sae trim a boy,  
Thair dyed the youth whom I lued best,  
My handsome GILDEROY.

Thus having yielded up his breath,  
I bare his corpse away,  
Wi' tears that trickled for his death,  
I washt his comely clay;  
And sicker in a grave sae deep  
I laid the dear-lued boy,  
And now for evir maun I weep,  
My winsome GILDEROY.

\* This cess which was paid by the inhabitants of the Highlands of Scotland to the robbers of that country, was a composition for sparing their cattle and effects, and is well known by the Name of the BLACK MAIL.



Sir PATRICK SPENCE.

THE King sits in Dumfermling toun,  
Drinking the blude-reid wine;  
O quhar wull I get a guid sailor,  
To sail this schip of mine?

Up and spack an eldern knicht,  
Sat at the kings richt kne;  
Sir PATRICK SPENCE is the bestsailor,  
That sails upon the se.

The King has written a braid letter,  
And signd it wi' his hand;  
And sent it to Sir PATRICK SPENCE,  
Was walking on the sand.

The first line that Sir PATRICK red,  
A loud lauch lauched he;  
The next line that Sir PATRICK red,  
The teir blinded his ee.

O quha is this has don this deid,  
This ill deid don to me;  
To send me out this time o' the zeir,  
To sail upon the se?

Mak haste, mak haste, my mirry men all,  
Our guid schip sails the morne.  
O say na sae, my master deir,  
For I feir a deadlie storme.

Late late yestreen I saw the new moone  
Wi' the auld moone in hir arme;  
And I feir, I feir, my deir master,  
That we wull cum to harme.

O our Scots nobles wer richt laith  
To weet their cork-heild shoone;  
Bot lang or a' the play were playd,  
They wat thair heads aboone.

O lang, lang, may thair ladies sit  
Wi' thair fans into their hand,  
Or eir they se Sir PATRICK SPENCE,  
Cum sailing to the land.

O lang, lang, may thair ladies stand  
Wi' thair gold kems in their hair,  
Waiting for thair ain deir lordes,  
For they'll se thame na mair.

Haff owre, haff owre to Aberdour,  
It's fiftie fadom deap;  
And thair lies guid Sir PATRICK SPENCE,  
Wi' the Scots lordes at his feit.

[from *Ancient and Modern Scottish Songs, Heroic Ballads, Etc.*, Edinburgh, 1776, Vol. I, pp. 28-29.]

from Lady BOTHWELL'S Lament.

BALOW, my boy, ly still and sleep,  
It grieves me sair to hearthee weep;  
If thou'lt be silent, I'll be glad,  
Thy mourning makes my heart full sad.  
Balow, my boy, thy mother's joy,  
Thy father bred me great annoy.  
*Balow, my dear, lie still and sleep,  
It grieves me sair to hearthee weep.*

Balow, my darling, sleep a while,  
And when thou wak'st then sweetly smile,  
But smile not as thy father did,  
To cozen maids, nay GOD forbid;  
For in thine eye his look I see,  
The tempting look that ruin'd me.  
*Balow, my boy, etc.*

When he began to court my love,  
And with his sugar'd words to move,  
His tempting face, and flatt'ring chear,  
In time to me did not appear;  
But now I see that cruel he  
Cares neither for his babe nor me.  
*Balow, my boy, etc. . . .*

Balow, my boy, weep not for me,  
Whose greatest grief's forwranging thee,  
Nor pity her deserved smart,  
Who can blame none but her fond heart;  
For, too soon trusting latest finds,  
With fairest tongues are falsest minds.  
*Balow, my boy, etc.*

[from *Ancient and Modern Scottish Songs, Heroic Ballads, Etc.*, Edinburgh, 1776, Vol. I, pp. 65-67.]



Broom of Cowdenknows.

How blythe, ilk morn, was I to see  
My swain come o'er the hill  
He skipt the burn, and flew to me;  
I met him wi' good will.

*O the broom, the bonny, bonny broom,*

*The broom o' Cowdenknows;*

*I wish I were wi' my dear swain,*

*Wi' his pipe and my ewes.*

I neither wanted ew nor lamb,  
While his flock near me lay;  
He gather'd in my sheep at night,  
And chear'd me a' the day.

*O the broom, &c.*

He tun'd his pipe and reed sae sweet,  
The birds stood list'ning by;  
Ev'n the dull cattle stood and gaz'd,  
Charm'd wi' his melody.

*O the broom, &c.*

While thus we spent our time, by turns  
Betwixt our flocks and play,  
I envy'd not the fairest dame,  
Tho' ne'er so rich and gay.

*O the broom, &c.*

Hard fate! that I shou'd banish'd be,  
Gang heavily and mourn,  
Because I lov'd the kindest swain  
That ever yet was born!

*O the broom, &c.*

He did oblige me ev'ry hour;  
Cou'd I but faithfu' be?  
He staw my heart; cou'd I refuse  
Whate'er he ask'd of me.

*O the broom, &c.*

My doggie, and my little kit,  
That held my wee soup whey,  
My plaidie, broach, and crooked stick,  
May now ly useless by.

*O the broom, &c.*

Adieu, ye Cowdenknows, adieu,  
Farewel a' pleasures there;  
Ye gods, restore me to my swain,  
Is a' I crave, or care.

*O the broom, the bonny, bonny broom,*

*The broom of Cowdenknows;*

*I wish I were with my dear swain,*

*With his pipe and my ewes.*

Same Tune.

When summer comes, the swains on Tweed  
Sing their successful loves,  
Around the ewes and lambkins feed,  
And music fills the groves.

But my lov'd song is then the broom  
So fair on Cowdenknows;  
For sure so sweet, so soft a bloom  
Elsewhere there never grows.

There COLIN tun'd his oaken reed,  
And won my yielding heart;  
No shepherd e'er that dwelt on Tweed  
Cou'd play with half such art.

He sung of Tay, of Forth, and Clyde,  
The hills and dales all round,  
Of Leaderhaughs and Leaderside  
Oh! how I bless'd the sound.

Yet more delightful is the broom  
So fair on Cowdenknows;  
For sure so fresh, so bright a bloom  
Elsewhere there never grows.

Not Tiviot braes so green and gay  
May with this broom compare;  
Nor Yarrow banks in flow'ry May,  
Nor the bush aboon Troquair.

More pleasing far are Cowdenknows,  
My peaceful happy home,  
Where I was wont to milk my ewes  
At ev'n among the broom.

Ye powers that haunt the woods and plains  
Where Tweed with Tiviot flows,  
Convey me to the best of swains,  
And my lov'd Cowdenknows.

[Herd's *Ancient and Modern Scottish Songs, Heroic Ballads, Etc.* (1776), Vol. I, pp. 181-83. The songs are also coupled in *The Scots Musical Museum*, Vol. I, pp. 70-1, where the second version is ascribed to "Mr Crawford". The texts are substantially the same, but in Johnson's *SM* the second line of the refrain is "The broom of the Cowdenknows!", and lines nine and twenty-four of Crawford's song are given as "There Colin tun'd his oaten reed" and "Nor the bush aboon Traquair" respectively.]



Woo'd and married and a'.

*Woo'd and married and a',  
Woo'd and married and a',  
Was she nae very weel aff,  
Was woo'd and married and a'.*

The Bride came out of the byre,  
And O as she dight'd her cheeks,  
Sirs, I'm to be married the night,  
And has neither blankets nor sheets,  
Has neither blankets nor sheets,  
Nor scarce a coverlet too;  
The bride that has a' to borrow,  
Has e'en right meikle ado.  
*Woo'd, and married, &c.*

Out spake the bride's father,  
As he came in frae the plough;  
O had ye're tongue, my daughter,  
And ye's get gear enough;  
The stirk that stands i' the tether,  
And our bra' basin'd yade,  
Will carry ye hame your corn,  
What wad ye be at, ye jad?  
*Woo'd, and married, &c.*

Out spake the bride's mither,  
What d—I needs a' this pride;  
I had nae a plack in my pouch  
That night I was a bride;  
My gown was linsy-woolsy,  
And ne'er a sark ava;  
And ye hae ribbons and buskins,  
Mae than ane or twa.  
*Woo'd, and married, &c.*

What's the matter, quo WILLIE,  
Tho' we be scant o' claiths,  
We'll creep the nearer the gither,  
And we'll smore a' the fleas;  
Simmer is coming on,  
And we'll get teats of woo;  
And we'll get a lass o' our ain,  
And she'll spin claiths anew.  
*Woo'd, and married, &c.*

Out spake the bride's brither,  
As he came in wi' the kie;  
Poor WILLIE had ne'er a ta'en ye,  
Had he kent ye as weel as I;  
For you're baith proud and saucy,  
And no for a poor man's wife;  
Gin I canna get a better,  
Ise never tak ane i' my life.  
*Woo'd, and married, &c.*

Out spake the bride's sister,  
As she came in frae the byre;  
O gin I were but married,  
It's a' that I desire;  
But we poor fo'k maun live single,  
And do the best we can;  
I dinna care what I shou'd want,  
If I cou'd get but a man.  
*Woo'd, and married, &c.*

For the Love of Jean.

JOCKEY said to JENNY, JENNY wilt thou do't,  
Ne'er a fit, quoth JENNY, for my tocher good,  
For my tocher good I winna marry thee;  
E'en's ye like, quoth JOCKY, ye may let it be.

I ha'e gowd and gear, I ha'e land enough,  
I ha'e seven good owsen ganging in a pleugh,  
Ganging in a pleugh, and linkan o'er the lee,  
And gin ye winna tak me, I can let ye be.

I ha'e a good ha' house, a barn and a byar,  
A peat-stack fore the door, will make a rantin fire,  
I'll make a rantin fire, and merry sall we be,  
And gin ye winna tak me, I can let ye be.

JENNY said to JOCKY, Gin ye winna tell,  
Ye sall be the lad, I'll be the lass mysell;  
Ye're a bonny lad, and I'm a lassie free;  
Ye're welcomer to tak me than to let me be.



Robert Bruce's March to BANNOCKBURN——

To its ain tune—

SCOTS, wha hae wi' WALLACE bled,  
SCOTS, wham BRUCE has aften led,  
Welcome to your gory bed,—  
Or to victorie,—

Now's the day, & now's the hour;  
See the front o' battle lower;  
See approach proud EDWARD's power,  
Chains & Slaverie,—

Wha will be a traitor-knave?  
Wha can fill a coward's grave?  
Wha sae base as be a Slave?  
—Let him turn & flie.—

Wha for SCOTLAND's king & law,  
Freedom's sword will strongly draw,  
FREE-MAN stand, or FREE-MAN fa',  
Let him follow me,—

By Oppression's woes & pains!  
By your Sons in servile chains!  
We will drain our dearest veins,  
But they *shall* be free!

Lay the proud Usurpers low!  
Tyrants fall in every foe!  
LIBERTY's in every blow!  
Let us DO—or DIE!!!

John Anderson my Jo.

John Anderson my jo, John,  
When we were first Acquaint;  
Your locks were like the raven,  
Your bony brow was bent;  
But now your brow is beld, John,  
Your locks are like the snaw;  
But blessings on your frosty pow,  
John Anderson my Jo.

John Anderson my jo, John,  
We clamb the hill the gither;  
And mony a canty day John,  
We've had wi' ane anither;  
Now we maun totter down, John,  
And hand in hand we'll go;  
And sleep the gither at the foot,  
John Anderson my Jo.

[Burns sent the first song to George Thomson, c. September, 1793. The text above is that in the original letter, in the Morgan Library, New York; from *The Letters of Robert Burns*, Clarendon Press, second edition, 1985, J. de Lancey Ferguson's text revised by G. Ross Roy, Vol. II, pp. 235-36, no. 582. The text of the second song is given from *The Scots Musical Museum*, Vol. III (1790), p. 269, No. 260; see also *BURNS Poems and Songs*, edited by James Kinsley, Oxford University Press, 1968, no. 302.]



## **Glossary.**



## References and abbreviations:

Currie and Herd, abbreviations also used in the Notes, in the Glossary refer only to the glossaries in *The Works of Robert Burns* and in *Ancient and Modern Scottish Songs*.

- Burns      Glossaries in the 1786 and 1787 editions of *Poems, chiefly in the Scottish Dialect*. That published in 1787 (in the first Edinburgh edition, pp. 345-68) was greatly enlarged from that in the Kilmarnock edition, pp. 236-40, but did not incorporate the earlier glossary in full, and the definitions of some words common to both were revised. Quotations have in most cases been made from the 1787 Glossary.
- Chambers      *Chambers Scots Dictionary*, compiled by Alexander Warrack, Edinburgh, 1911.
- Currie      Glossaries in *The Works of Robert Burns; with An Account of his Life, and A Criticism on his Writings. To which are prefixed, some Observations on the Character and Condition of The Scottish Peasantry*, 4 vols. (ed. Dr. James Currie), Liverpool, 1800 (sixth edition, London, 1809, Vols. III and IV, pp. 399-422 and 409-14 respectively). Currie's definitions are not always accurate; he glossed *Tamtallan* (*sic*) as "the name of a mountain."
- DDST      *A Dictionary of the Older Scottish Tongue From the Twelfth Century to the end of the Seventeenth*, edited by Sir William Craigie, A. J. Aitken, James A. C. Stevenson and Janet M. Templeton, Oxford University Press, from 1937 (to Volume six).
- Fergusson      Glossary in *Poems*, Walter and Thomas Ruddiman, Edinburgh, 1773.
- Herd      Glossary in *Ancient and Modern Scottish Songs, Heroic Ballads, Etc. Collected from Memory, Tradition, and Ancient Authors*, 2 vols. Edinburgh, 1776, Vol. II, pp. 241-71.
- Jamieson      *Etymological Dictionary of the Scottish Language*, 2 vols., compiled by Dr. John Jamieson, Edinburgh, 1808; *Supplement*, 2 vols., Edinburgh, 1825. An abridged edition was prepared by John Johnstone and published in Edinburgh in 1846 (references are to the revised edition prepared by Dr. John Longmuir and published by William Nimmo, Edinburgh and London, 1877).
- Johnson      *A Dictionary of the English Language; in which the Words are deduced from their Originals, and illustrated in their Different Significations by Examples from the best Writers. To which are prefixed, a History of the Language, and an English Grammar*, (1755); fourth edition, revised by the Author, 2 vols., Dublin, 1775.
- OED      *The Oxford English Dictionary*, second edn, 20 vols., prepared by J. A. Simpson and E. S. C. Weiner, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1989.
- SA      *The Statistical Account of Scotland, 1791-1799; a reissue in twenty volumes* by EP Publishing Ltd, Wakefield; The Scholar Press, Yorkshire.
- SND      *The Scottish National Dictionary Designed partly on regional lines and partly on historical principles, and containing all the Scottish words known to be in use or to have been in use since c. 1700*, 10 vols., ed. William Grant and David D. Murison, Edinburgh, 1929-1976.



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- Dr. W. Robertson. *The History of Scotland*, (1759), 2 vols., London, 1827.

*adj.*, adjective.  
*adv.*, adverb.  
*adv. phr.*, adverbial  
 phrase.  
*arch.*, archaic.  
*Ayrs.*, Ayrshire.  
*cf.*, compare.  
*coll.*, colloquial.  
*comp.*, comparative.  
*conj.*, conjunction.  
*dim.*, diminutive.  
*ed., edn.*, edited, edition.  
*e.g.*, for example.  
*esp.*, especially.  
*&c.* etcetera (and so on)  
*expl.*, explained.

*fem.*, feminine  
*fig.*, figuratively  
*Fr.*, French.  
*freq.*, frequent.  
*Gael.*, Gaelic.  
*Gr.*, Greek.  
*ibid* in the same place.  
*idiom.*, idiomatic.  
*i.e.* id est ("that is")  
*imper.*, imperative.  
*interj.*, interjection.  
*It.*, Italian.  
*L.*, Latin.  
*lit.*, literally.  
*MS.*, manuscript.  
*n.*, note.

*n.*, noun.  
*n. pl.*, plural noun.  
*n. s.*, singular noun.  
*obs.*, obsolete.  
*orig.*, originally.  
*past t.*, past tense.  
*phr.*, phrase.  
*pl.* or *plur.*, plural.  
*ppl. adj.*, participial  
 adjective.  
*prep.*, preposition.  
*pres. ppl.* or *pr. ppl.*  
 present participle.  
*pron.*, pronoun.  
*publ.*, published.  
*q.*, quasi (Jamieson),

*q.v.* *quod vide* ("which  
 see"; plural *qqv.*).  
*Renfr.*, Renfrewshire.  
*Roxb.*, Roxburghshire.  
*S.* "Scottish, Scotland. It  
 also denotes that a  
 word is still used in  
 Scotland" (Jamieson).  
*s.* substantive (in cit-  
 ations; *i.e.*, a noun).  
*Sax.*, Saxon.  
*Sc.* Scottish, Scotland.  
*superl.*, superlative.  
*v.*, verb.  
*v. i.*, intransitive verb.  
*v. t.*, transitive verb.



## Glossary.

### A

aboon, abune, *adv* and *prep*. above; beyond.  
 Adew, *interj*. Adieu; farewell.  
 ae, *adj*. one.  
 aff, *adv*. off; beyond.  
 agley, *adv*. awry; "wide of the aim" (Burns, 1786); "off the right line, wrong" (Burns, 1787); cf. also gley, "a squint; to squint, *Agley*, off at a side, wrong" (Burns, 1787).  
 airt, *n*. a direction, part of the country; "Quarter of the heaven; point of the compass . . . *On every art*, on every hand, on all sides" (Jamieson). [Gaelic *aird*.]  
 albergo, *n*. an inn, hotel, &c. [Italian.]  
 anaist, *adv*. almost, nearly.  
 amang, *prep*. among, amidst, &c.  
 ane, *adj*. one. - *n*. an individual.  
 apud me, *phr*. at my home. [Latin.]  
 ashet, *n*. a large plate. [French *assiette*.]  
 assignation, *n*. (*legal term*.) the making over of a right or property to another person; "a making over a thing to another" (Johnson). - *v. t.* assign, "to transfer or formally make over to another" (OED).  
 asteer, *adj*. and *adv*. astir, bustling, in confusion. Cf. steer.  
 atween, *prep*. between.  
 auld, *adj*. old: auld warld; -*adj*. old-fashioned, ancient; "antique; antiquated" (Jamieson). Cf. auld-farran "or auld-farrant, sagacious, cunning, prudent" (Burns, 1787). "Auld Roudes! filthy fallow I shall auld ye", *idiomatic*, "I'll give you 'auld'", *i. e.*, "I'll teach you to call me old" (Allan's eighth plate for *The Gentle Shepherd*, Fig. 122, between pp. 168-69; see also "Roudes"); the sense is, of course, "I'll make sure you'll never again call me 'old'".  
 Auld Licht, see Licht.  
 Auld Reikie, *n*. Edinburgh (familiar/traditional; also Reekie *q. v.*).  
 aumous, *n*. alms; aumous-dish, a begging bowl.  
 aumrie, *n*. a cupboard. [French *armoire*.]  
 ava, *adv phr*. "at all, of all" (Burns, 1786).

ayont, *adv*. and *prep*. beyond; ayont the ingle, at the other side of the fire.

### B

bagnio, *n*. literally a bathing-house, but more frequently a bawdy-house.  
 bagrie, *n*. rubbish; "trash" (Herd).  
 bairn, *n*. a child.  
 baith, *adj*. and *pron*. both.  
 Baloo, Balow, *n*. a lullaby; "hush"; "Balow, hush; *Sas, la le loup*; peace, there is the wolf. A phrase to still children" (Herd).  
 bambocciate, *n, pl.* small pictures of ordinary life; *Genre*, *q. v.* [Italian.]  
 bannet, *n*. a bonnet (black b., Kirk elder).  
 bannock, *n*. a thick oatcake; "a sort of bread thicker than cakes, and round" (Herd).  
 barefit, *adj*. with the feet bare.  
 basin'd, *adj*. "having a white stripe down the face" (Burns, 1787, of "Baws'nt").  
 bauk, bawk, *n*. "One of the cross-beams in the roof of a house, which support and unite the rafters" (Jamieson).  
 bauk, bawk, *n*. A strip of land, often a wide depression, left uncultivated between rigs or marking the boundary between two farms.  
 bauld, *adj*. bold.  
 be, *prep*. and *conj*. by.  
 beag, *adj*. small [Gaelic; see also *ceòl*.]  
 beek, *v, i.* to warm oneself before the fire or in the sun: "Beik, to bask" (Herd). - *n*. the warming itself; *in phr.* to tak a beek.  
 bein, *adj*. comfortable, prosperous. - *adv*. comfortably. "Bein, or been, wealthy. A been house, a warm well furnished one" (Herd). Cf. bien.  
 beld, *adj*. bald.  
 ben, *n*. a mountain. [Gaelic *beinn*.]  
 ben, *n*. an inner room, *esp.* of a farmhouse or cottage, better furnished and more private than the but; "Ben, *but and ben*, the country kitchen and parlour" (Burns, 1786). Also spence.  
 ben, *adv* and *prep*. inside; "into the spence



or parlour". (Burns, 1787).

bere, *n.* barley; also bear, beir: "*Barley* is the name usually given to a better kind of grain that is not much sown in this higher part of the country; and the inferior sort that is more generally cultivated, is called *beer* or *rough beer*" (the Rev. Mr. James Ferguson, account of the Parish of Pettinain, Lanarkshire, 1794; *SA.*, VII, p. 546, footnote).

besom, *n.* a broom, *esp.* one made of twigs bound around a besom-shank.

bewte, *n.* beauty (*archaic*).

bicker, *n.* a wooden cup or bowl, to hold liquor or porridge: "wooden dish" (Fergusson); "a kind of wooden dish" (Burns, 1787); "a small wooden vessel, with one of the staves prolonged as a handle" (Chambers).

bide, *v.i.* to dwell, await, endure; *v.t.* to attend, endure. Biding, *n.* residence (in a place); also (*rare*) a habitation.

bield, *n.* shelter, protection (also *v.t.*, to shelter or shield).

bien, *adj.* prosperous, comfortable. Cf. bein.

big, bigg, *v.t.* to build, to construct, *e.g.* a house or dyke; -*n.* biggin, a house or other building.

billie, billy, *n.* a fellow, comrade or brother; "a brother, a young fellow" (Burns, 1787).

birk, *n.* the birch tree.

birkie, *n.* a smart, witty young fellow.

birl, *v.i.* and *v.t.* to spin around, to revolve; also to spend money freely, *esp.* on a carouse; "Birle, to drink. Common people joining their farthings for purchasing liquor, they call it, birling a bawbee" (Herd).

birr, *n.* energy, vigour. "It seems to signify the confusion in the head caused by violent exercise" (Jamieson).

blackthorn, *n.* and *adj.* the blackthorn or sloe; a stick made of its stem.

bladderskate, *n.* a "bletherskate"; "An indistinct or indiscreet talker" (Jamieson).

blashy, *adj.* rainy, drenching; "sweeping away by inundation" (Jamieson).

blate, *adj.* shy, timid, diffident; backward, dull, &c.; "bashful" (Herd).

blaw, *v.i.* and *v.t.* blow.

blether, *v.i.* to chat; -*n.*, usually in *pl.* blethers, chat, idle talk; gossip. "Blether, foolish discourse. Bletherer, a babler. Stammering is called blethering" (Herd).

blin, *adj.* blind: Blin Harry, the popular name for Henry the Minstrel, the composer of the epic poem *Wallace*, 1470s; "blind Harrie", probably "blindman's-buff"; "a game at romps" (Herd); "Blindman's-buff" (Jamieson); various spellings.

blink, *v.i.* to glance quickly; *v.t.* to look with affection, to smile on. — *n.* such a

look; "to wink, or twinkle with the eyes" (Johnson); "a smiling look", "a glance, an amorous leer, a short space of time" (Burns, 1786); "a little while, a smiling look; to look kindly, to shine by fits" (Burns, 1787); "a glance of the eye, a ray of light", "Blinkan, the flame rising and falling, as of a lamp when the oil is exhausted, Twinkling" (both Herd).

blinter, *v.i.* to peer, to strain in looking. Blue-goun, *n.* a licensed beggar; "one of those beggars who get annually, on the King's birthday, a blue cloke or gown with a badge" (Burns, 1787); they also received "a certain sum of money" (Jamieson).

blychtes, *n. pl.* ?the folds or pleats of a garment, *esp.* when fluttering or in motion. The word appears in Appendix XV of William Robertson's *The History of Scotland during the reigns of Queen Mary and of King James VI till his accession to the crown of England*, 1759, a letter of 27<sup>th</sup> March, 1566, from the Earl of Bedford and Mr. Thomas Randolph to the Lords of the Council of England; it is not listed in OED, SND or DOST, and Jamieson gives only "BLICHT, *adj.* An epithet expressive of the coruscation of armour in the time of action". It might be a variant of, or a derivation from *blech*, and thus imply that parts of Mary's robe were "bleached" or of white material; alternatively, and more probably, the spelling given in Robertson's *History* is a typographical error for *plychtes*, presumably pleats. The closest likely approximations to *this* spelling in any of these sources are both in SND; first, *ply*, "To fold, pleat (material, etc)."; secondly, in a note on *plicht*, plight: "[The Eng. word in this sense has no orig. guttural (O. Fr. *plait*, fold, condition), and the Sc. forms are 16<sup>th</sup> c. creations developed on the analogy of *nicht*, night, etc.]. There may be some connection with Latin *plicare*, to fold; a reference to *plicht-ankir*, also *plycht* and *anchor* (*i.e.* a sheet-anchor), is perhaps too fanciful; cf. DOST "Only *fig.* A support or refuge in time of trial or emergency". If the spelling given is indeed a mistaken one, though not a compositor's error of "b" for "p", then there may have been a slip in transcription, the word originally written having been, for example, *flychtes*, flights, flutterings (cf. DOST where the verbal noun *flichtering* is listed). DOST also has *fleiche*, "A coat (of feathers)"; OED lists *flaught* "A spreading out, as of wings for flight; a fluttering or agitated movement; a commotion" — cf. "Flichter, to flutter as young nestlings when their dam



*approaches*" (Burns, 1787). An otherwise unknown but possibly relevant use of *fletch* (as noun or adjective) is listed in OED, from 1704: "A... mare about 14 hands and half... with... a long fletch tail". This, however, is a long way from *blychtes* both in orthography and in time.

*blythesome*, *adj.* merry, joyful, &c.

*board-end*, *n.* the end of the table.

*bodies*, *n. pl.* persons, often small or weak, generally used in a contemptuous sense; "a clown or silly person" (William Lockhart of Baronald, who traced the origin to the Gaelic *Bodach*; account of Lanark, *SA*, VII, p. 434. Cf. *The House with the Green Shutters* by George Douglas (G. D. Brown), Chapter V:

"In every little Scotch community there is a distinct type known as 'the bodie'... The 'bodie' may be a gentleman of independent means (a hundred a year from the Funds)... or he may be a jobbing gardener; but he is equally a 'bodie.' The chief occupation of his idle hours (and his hours are chiefly idle) is the discussion of his neighbour's affairs. He is generally an "auld residerter;" great, therefore, at the redding up of pedigrees" (cf Fergusson "Auld Reikie" on "Stairhead Critics", *q. v.*:

"They trace his Steps, till they can tell

His PEDIGREE as weel's himsell")

Douglas continues, "The genus "bodie" is divided into two species—the "harmless bodies" and the "nasty bodies." The bodies of Barbie mostly belonged to the second variety..." In Paisley, of course, "bodies" are known as *buddies*.

*boin*, *boynel*, *n.* a washing-tub; a broad dish for holding milk.

*bonnie*, *bonny*, *adj.* fair, pretty, handsome; fine (of weather, &c); "beautiful" (Herd).

*bot*, *conj.* but (in *Johnie Armstrong*); more correctly, *prep.* signifying "without", or "lacking".

*bowie*, *n.* a small cask; "a wooden vessel with staves and hoops, for holding milk, porridge, 'brose', broth &c." (Chambers).

*brae*, *n.* a hill, slope, &c.; "the side of a hill, bank of a river" (Herd); "a declivity, a precipice, the slope of a hill" (Burns, 1787).

*braid*, *adj.* broad. "A braid letter i. e. open, or patent; in opposition to close Rolls." (Bishop Percy's footnote to "Sir Patrick Spence, A Scottish Ballad"; from *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry*, VII, Book the First, Series the First).

*Braid Claith*, *n.* broadcloth; a fulled woollen cloth used in making coats and other garments of the best quality: "a fine kind of cloth" (Johnson, of Broadcloth).

*brainge*, *breenge*, *v. i.* to rush, plunge, or dash recklessly forwards; "to draw unsteadily" (Burns, 1786); "to run rashly forward" (Burns, 1787).

*brats*, *n. pl.* clothing in general: "rags" (Herd); "Brat, a worn shred of Cloth" (Burns 1786) "coarse clothes, rags" (Burns 1787) [perhaps from Gaelic *brat* a cloak.]

*braw*, *adj.* well dressed, handsome, very good, &c; "fine" (Fergusson); "brave, fine in apparel" (Herd); "fine, handsome" (Burns, 1787); -*adv.* *brawlie(s)*, well, admirably.

*bree*, *n.* broth, soup; "*herring-bree*, the brine of a herring-barrel" (Jamieson).

*breeks*, *n. pl.* breeches, also trousers.

*brent*, *adj.* smooth, unwrinkled.

*Bride's pie*, *n.* "a pie of which the contents were contributed by neighbours, and which served as a bride-cake at penny-weddings" (Chambers).

*brie*, *n.* the eyebrow.

*brie*, *n.* "herring brie", see *bree*.

*brochan*, *n.* porridge; "Brochen, a kind of water-gruel of oat-meal, butter, and honey" (Herd);

*Broomielaw*, *the, n.* an area of Glasgow on the north side of the River Clyde, west of the Saltmarket and Glasgow Green by about a mile; used as a landing-place for cargoes since at least the sixteenth century. From "broom" and "law"; "law", a round hill.

*brose*, *n.* a dish composed of oatmeal upon which boiling water has been poured, the mixture being stirred vigorously and salt being added. Sometimes used to denote food in general (cf. *kail*).

*bucht*, *bught*, *n.* pen or fold for cattle or sheep; "Bught, the little fold where the ewes are inclosed at milking-time" (Herd); -*v. t.* to pen sheep, &c.

*buirdly*, *adj.* sturdy, stalwart; "stout-made, broad-built" (Burns, 1787).

*burn*, *n.* a small river; "a brook" (Herd). "There is scarce a stream in this parish that deserves the name of a river, though there are many rivulets, called, in the provincial dialect of the country, burns" (the Rev. Mr. John Monteath, account of the Parish of Nielston, Renfrewshire, 1791, *SA.*, VII, p. 802).

*burthen*, *n.* burden; (of ships) tonnage, the capacity for taking cargo; "the quantity that a ship will carry; or the capacity of a ship; as, a ship of a hundred tons *burden*" (Johnson, who notes a derivation from "byrðen, Sax., and therefore properly written *burthen*").

*butt*, *n.* a large cask. In *pl.* *buttis* (*arch*); "twa pair of buttis" refers to four such casks, to archery butts (targets, often formed by mounds of earth), or to boots,



probably the last of these. [Fr. *bottle*]  
byre, *n.* a cowshed; "a cow-stall" (Herd).  
bystart, *n.* illegitimate child; a bastard.

## C

ca, caa, *v.t.* to drive cattle, sheep, etc;  
"ca the crack", to gossip ("*Epistle to J. L\*\*\*\*k, An Old Scotch Bard*" by Burns ).  
caber, *n.* a beam or rafter; "in *pl.* the small wood laid on the rafters under the roofing" (Chambers).  
cadie, *n.* a message-boy or a street-porter, not necessarily a young one: "I remember when they were so numerous and so stationed in various quarters of the city, that if a person called *Cady!* in any of the principal streets or lanes, he was immediately attended by one of these guides or messengers. They exercised the functions of Mercury in offices more confidential, tho' less moral and honourable than that of a messenger" (Henry Mackenzie, in *Anecdotes and Egotisms*, ed. H. W. Thompson, London, 1927, p. 61).  
cair, *n.* care, heed; Ramsay's "atrocious imitation Middle Scots" (Maurice Lindsay, *History of Scottish Literature*, London, 1977, p. 179), may be a reminiscence of *cair*, to search, or to rake through.  
cald, cauld, *adj.* cold (see cauld).  
callan, callant, *n.* lad: "youth" (Fergusson).  
caller, *adj.* fresh (air, water, oysters, herring, &c). "Cauler, cool or fresh" (Herd).  
caman, *n.* a shinty-stick; a hurley [Gael.]  
camera obscura, *n.* literally, a dark room with a screen on which brightly-lit views or objects outside are projected through a small hole; a drawing device working on similar principles [Latin]. For this use of *camera obscura* rather than *camera lucida* or *optica*, see Sir Joshua Reynolds, *Discourses on Art*, XIII, line 263, and also Hogarth, "The Autobiographical Notes", in *The Analysis of Beauty*, ed. Joseph Burke, Clarendon Press, 1955, p. 209.  
canny, *adj.* cautious, frugal, shrewd, &c.; (used of a person) temperate; safe, comfortable; "happy" (Fergusson).  
cantata, *n.* (*orig.*) narrative sung by one person, with musical accompaniment. [It. *cantare*, to sing.]  
cantraip, *n.* a charm or spell, generally harmful; "Cantrips, incantations" (Herd).  
canty, *adj.* cheerful, lively, &c; "cheerful and merry" (Herd). Also cantie.  
carle, *n.* a peasant, a man, esp. an old man. With sense similar to "churl"; "Carle, a name for an old man, Carline, an old woman, Girecarline, a giant's wife" (Herd).  
carse, *n.* the alluvial plain of a river;

"Low and fertile land, generally that which is adjacent to a river" (Jamieson).  
Castalian, *adj.* pertaining to the spring or fountain on Parnassos named after the nymph Castalia, the water of which had inspirational properties and conferred prophetic powers; the Castalian Band, a *coterie* of poets at the Scottish court of James VI, including Alexander Scott, Captain Alexander Montgomerie and Sir Richard Maitland of Lethington.  
catch-the-plack, *n.* "money-grubbing" (Chambers); -*adj.* mercenary.  
cath-dath, *adj.* a woven lattice pattern of dark, often red stripes on a lighter background, the intersections, by their being composed of both warp and woof, appearing darker still. [Gaelic.]  
cauld, *adj.* cold; "Cauldrife, spiritless. Wanting cheerfulness in address" (Herd).  
caup, *n.* cup; a small wooden bowl used as a drinking-vessel: "a small, wooden dish with two lugs, or handles" (Burns, 1786).  
causey, *n.* the street, causeway, &c; 'To Tak the Crown of the Causey, to appear with pride and self-assurance' (Jamieson).  
ceilidh, *n.* a gathering for the purpose of music-making; an evening given to song and story, with dancing. [Gaelic.]  
ceòl beag, *lit.* "small music" as distinct from *ceòl mhór*, the "great music"; light, lively music, generally or originally for dancing, as distinct from the classical music of the Highland bagpipe.  
chalmer boy, *n.* an attendant (*archaic*).  
chanter, *n.* that part of the bagpipe on which the *port*, the melody, is fingered.  
chapman, *n.* a pedlar; a merchant; "this word is used, in the Scotch sense of it, for an itinerant seller of wares" (the Rev. John Trotter, account of the Parish of Preston-Pans, *SA*, II, p. 582n).  
chiel, *n.* a man; "a general term, like fellow, used sometimes with respect; as, He's a very good chiel; and contemptuously, as, That chiel" (Herd). Cf *childe*.  
childe *n.* (*arch.*) a gently-born youth, *esp.* in the Ballads; also Gil.  
chlamys, *n.* a short cloak [Greek.]  
cit, *n.* A city-dweller; a "townie"; "[contracted from *citizen*] An inhabitant of a city, in an ill sense. A pert low townsman; a pragmatrical trader" (Johnson).  
claes, claihs, *n.pl.* clothes.  
claiver, *v.i.* to gossip, chat idly; "Claver, to speak nonsense" (Herd); -*n.pl.* clavers, gossip, idle chat, blethers.  
clamb, *v.*, *past tense* climbed.  
Claude Glass, *n.* a curved mirror, often coloured, used in the viewing of scenery; from Claude Gellée called *le Lorrain*, the seventeenth-century French painter.  
claut, *v.t.* to scrape, to rake together; to scrape dried mud from a shoe; "to clean,



to scrape" (Burns, 1787, and Currie).  
cleik, *v.t.*, to raise; "obliquely used, to raise; applied to a song. *Peblis to the Play.*" (Jamieson).

Clinkumbell, *n.* church- or town-bell ringer.

close, *n.* the common entry to a land (*q.v.*); a narrow passage or alley; a small, enclosed square; "Closs, a court or square; and frequently a lane or alley" (Herd).

cockernonie, -nony, *n.* "the gathering of a woman's hair when it is wrapt or snooded up with a band or snood" (Herd).

coft, *v.t.*, (past tense) bought.

cog, *n.* a wooden vessel for holding liquids; a pail; a measure of four pints; "wooden dish" (Fergusson); "a pretty large wooden dish the country people put their pottage in" (Herd); coggie, cogie, *n.* a small cog; "Cog, or coggie, a small wooden dish without handles" (Burns, 1786).

cognoscenti, *n.pl.* those with knowledge of and taste in the fine arts; those professing to have such taste, or thought to be sound critics [Italian, from Latin; see also *connoisseur*].

collie, *n.* a breed of dog; "a general, and sometimes a particular name for country curs" (Burns, 1787).

colore, *n.* colour; see *disegno*.

Commissioner, Lord High, *n.* the monarch's representative at the General Assembly of the Kirk of Scotland.

condition, *n.* "rank" (Johnson); the usual sense of "people of condition" was "those of high rank".

connoisseur, *n.* one with knowledge of and taste in the fine arts; a good judge of the arts; "A judge; a critick. It is often used of a pretended critick" (Johnson, who defined "cognoscence" as "knowledge; the state or act of knowing") [French, from Latin *cognoscere*; see also *cognoscenti*].

contingent, *n.* a just share, quota, &c.; "A proportion that falls to any person upon a division; thus, in time of war, each prince of Germany is to furnish his *contingent* of men, money, and munition" (Johnson).

corpus, *n.* the body of work produced by an artist, author, &c. [Latin.]

corriere volante, *n.* literally, a flying messenger; courier, running footman [Italian].

costume, *n.* "The custom and fashion of the time to which a scene or representation belongs; the manner, dress, arms, furniture and other features proper to the time and locality in which the scene is laid" (OED); "To observe the costume, among painters, is to make every person and thing sustain the proper character" (citation from 1753; cf. Reynolds, *Discourses on Art*, XII, 375,

and also, although the word *costume* is not actually used, Dryden's translation of *The Art of Fainting*, 1695; "We are to consider the places where we lay the scene of the picture; the countries where they were born, whom we represent; the manner of their actions; their laws and customs, and all that is properly belonging to them"; in *Works*, 18 vols., ed. Sir Walter Scott, London and Edinburgh, 1808, XVII, p. 359).  
cottar, cotter, *n.* a peasant occupying a cottage in return for his labour, "the inhabitant of a *cot house* or cottage" (Burns, 1787).

coulisse, *n.* a clump of trees, a hill, or similar object at the side of a composition, its overlapping with others giving an illusion of recession into depth (from stage scenery; French *coulisse*, to flow or glide, as side screens in a groove).

coulter, *n.* iron cutter before a ploughshare.  
couthy, *adj.* kind, sociable; "social" (Fergusson, for "couth").

couple-bauk, *n.* a rafter or a beam; "the collar-beam of a roof" (Chambers).

Cowgate, *n.* a street in Edinburgh parallel to the High Street but at a lower level; from gait or gate, a way or road (cf. the Gallowgate of Glasgow or Aberdeen).

crabbit, *adj.* fretful, irritated. &c.

crack, *n.* and *v.i.* chat, *esp.* humorous(ly); also *adv.* "in a crack", "quick's a crack", immediately (idiomatic). "Crack, conversation; to converse" (Burns, 1787).

craft, *n.* a croft; arable land, *esp.* beside a dwelling (see *outfield*); "Craft or croft, a field near a house, in *old husbandry*" (Burns, 1787).

craig, *n.* a rock, crag, cliff, &c.; craigy, *adj.* rocky, [Gaelic *creag*, *carraig*.]

creel, *n.* a wicker basket, for carrying fish, peats, &c., *esp.* on the back. See also Allan's pictures of a "Fish wife" or "Oyster Girl" (Plate X, Fig. 276, between pp. 139-140 and 326-327 respectively, the second repeated, with a quotation from the *Statistical Account*, facing p. 359).

crofter, *n.* "one who rents a small piece of land" (Jamieson, as alternative spelling of "crafter").

cuntry, *adj.* country.

curious, *adj.* interesting, *esp.* to gentlemen of *virtu*. "1. Inquisitive; desirous of information; addicted to enquiry. 2. Attentive to; diligent about; sometimes with *after*. 3. Sometimes with *of*. 4. Accurate; careful not to mistake. 5. Difficult to please; solicitous of perfection; not negligent; full of care; 6. Exact; nice; subtle. 7. Artful; not neglectful; not fortuitous. 8. Elegant; neat; laboured; finished;



9. rigid; severe; rigorous" (Johnson).  
cuttie, cutty, *adj.*, short. Cutty-gun, *n.*,  
literally a short gun or rifle, but more  
usually a short clay pipe. Cutty-stool, a  
stool (of various designs), or other place  
reserved in Presbyterian Kirks for the  
public censure and disciplining of off-  
enders; "Stool, a seat. The stool of  
repentance is a conspicuous seat in the  
Presbyterian churches, where those persons  
who have been guilty of incontinence are  
obliged to appear before the congregation  
for several successive Sundays, and re-  
ceive a public rebuke from the minister"  
(Herd; see also pillar).

## D

daad, *n.*, a piece: "Dad, a large piece"  
(Herd); "Daud... a large piece of bread,  
&c." (Burns, 1786); "a considerably large  
piece of any thing" (Jamieson, of Dawd).  
daft, *adj.*, silly, mad, sportive. Daft Days,  
holidays at Yule and Hogmanay (Christmas  
and New Year), lasting from Christmas Eve  
until Uphalieday (*Epiphany*, January 6<sup>th</sup>);  
the twelve days of Christmas. Cf. Robert  
Fergusson, "The Daft-Days":

"Now mirk December's dowie face  
Glours our the rigs wi' sour grimace,  
While, thro' his *minimum* of space,  
The bleer-ey'd sun,  
Wi' blinkin light and stealing pace,  
His race does run . . .

Let mirth abound, let social cheer

Invest the dawning of the year . . . "&c.

dander, *v.i.*, to wander; "dandering cits",  
townsfolk strolling "to Castlehill or  
public way" (Robert Fergusson's "Auld  
Reikie"); "Dander, wander to and fro, or  
saunter" (Herd).

dang, struck, beat, &c.; *past t.* of ding.  
darena, daurna, see daur.

daur, *v.i.*, dare; daurna, dare not

deave, deeve, *v.*, to deafen, to annoy.

Deil, *n.*, the Devil.

delft, *n.pl.*, a kind of fine earthenware (in  
full, *n.*, Delftware) from *Delft* in Holland.  
deuk, *n.*, a duck.

dight, *v.t.*, to wipe, to make clean; "to dry  
by rubbing" (Jamieson).

dilettante, *n.*, one who takes a polite in-  
terest in the fine arts. [Italian.]

dinnlin, dinnling, *ppl. adj.*, trembling, vib-  
rating; "shaking" (Fergusson).

dinsom[el], *adj.*, noisy.

dirgie, *n.*, "a funeral festival" (Herd).

dirk, durk, *n.*, a Highlander's dagger.

dirl, *n.*, a vibrating or thrilling sound;  
*v.i.* to make such a sound; also *n.*, a blow;

"Dirl, slight tremulous stroke or pain"  
(Burns, 1787).

disegno, *n.*, literally, "drawing", and also  
"design"; often found in conjunction with  
(or in opposition to) *colore*, distinguishing  
the study of line, *i.e.*, drawing, from the  
study of *colour*. More widely, the design  
or idea underlying a work of art; "By the  
word *Design* taken in its most comprehensive  
sense, is understood the Idea, Scheme, or  
Conception, which a workman or artist en-  
deavours to express" (James Barry, second  
Royal Academy lecture; *Works*, London, 1809,  
Vol. I, p. 382). [Italian].

distress, *v.t.* (legal term) to *distrain* (*i.e.*  
seize) goods in order to recover a debt; to  
pound; -*n* the process of distraint or pounding.

docht, *adj.*, bold, outspoken; "malapert" (Jamieson).

doit, *n.*, a mite, a trifle; *orig.* a small Dutch  
coin worth less than half of a farthing.

dominie, *n.*, a schoolteacher, "From the  
practice of addressing the teacher in  
Latin, *domine*,"; "a contemptuous name for  
a minister" (both Jamieson).

dook, *n.*, a peg; the bung of a cask or bar-  
rel (also *v.t.*, to drive home such a peg).

dool, *n.*, sorrow, misfortune, grief; "pain,  
grief" (Herd).

doon, down, *prep., adj.*, and *adv.* down. Haud  
down, *v.t.*, restrain, "hold down".

doorstane, *n.*, threshold; a flagstone there.

dorty, *adj.*, proud, haughty, insolent. "Dorts,  
a proud pet" "Dorty, proud, not to be spoke  
to, conceited, appearing as disobliged"  
(both Herd). "Dorty, saucy, nice" (Burns, 1787).

douce, *adj.*, sober, prudent, grave.

down, see doon.

dour, *adj.*, sullen, severe, grim.

dow, *v.i.*, to be able to; "Dow, am or are  
able to, can" (Burns, 1787).

dow, *v.i.*, to wither, fade, decay. See also  
sair, for sair-dow'd.

dowie, *adj.*, sad, dismal, melancholy; "gloomy"  
(Fergusson); "crazy and dull" (Burns, 1786);  
"worn with grief, fatigue, &c." (Burns, 1787).

down, *phr.*, "to be down on", "to have a down  
on", &c., to be opposed to (*idiomatic*).

drap, *n.*, and *v.*, drop.

dreaming breid, *n.*, "The designation given  
to bride's cake, pieces of which are car-  
ried home by young people, and laid under  
their pillows. A piece of this cake, when  
slept on, is believed to possess the vir-  
tue of making the person *dream* of his or  
her sweetheart" (Jamieson).

dresser, *n.*, a kitchen sideboard, with racks  
for plates, cups, &c., and with drawers and  
cupboards.

drone, *n.*, part of the bagpipe; one of the  
long pipes (usually three) which rest on  
the piper's shoulder and provide a con-



tinuous accompaniment to the melody.  
 drucken, druken, *adj.* drunken.  
 dub, *n.* a small pond; a puddle; "pool" (Fergusson).  
 duddy, *adj.* ragged, tattered, &c.; "Duddie, ragged" (Burns, 1787). Cf. duds, *n. pl.* rags; "Duds, duddies, rags, tattered garments" (Herd); "rags of clothes" (Burns, 1786).  
 dunt, *n.* a blow; -*v. t.* to strike, or give a blow. "Dunt, stroke or blow" (Herd).  
 dwyning, *n.* a waning, decline, fading, &c.  
 dyke, *n.* a low stone wall; occasionally, a ditch (obsolete, or archaic). "Dyke in the Scotch language means a wall" (J. Wilson, M.A., Minister of the parish of Falkirk, in a helpful footnote, 1794; *SA*, IX, p. 328).  
 dyvers, *adj.* divers, several, sundry.

## E

eastlin, *adj.* easterly.  
 eclogue, *n.* a short pastoral poem [Latin, from Greek *eklogē*, *l.*  
 e'ening, *n.* and *adj.* evening.  
 eident, *adj.* assiduous, diligent: "Eydent, constant, busy" (Burns, 1786); "diligent" (Burns, 1787). John Galt, in *The Seamstress*, pointed out that the word generally signified "industry free from labour" (*Selected Short Stories*, edited by Ian A. Gordon, Scottish Academic Press, Edinburgh, 1978, p. 21).  
 ek, eke, *adv.* also, likewise (*archaic*).  
 elect, *adj.* chosen: in the Calvinist scheme of things, the Elect are those who have been selected to be *called* or saved, in contrast to the Reprobate, who are all, in turn, as inevitably predestined to eternal damnation.  
 éloignée, *adj.* distant, far removed from (for *éloignée*; used by Burns in a letter to George Thomson, 19<sup>th</sup> November, 1794).  
 enew, *adj.* enough.  
 escadron, *n.* a squadron; *escadron de service*, an *élite* detachment of horsemen attendant upon a general, monarch &c.; a mounted bodyguard. [French.]

## F

fa' *v.* to befall, to deserve; "befall" (Fergusson); "turn, lot" (Burns, 1786).  
 fain, *adj.* eager, glad, &c.  
 fair, *n.* a market held periodically, for the sale of cattle, sheep, &c., or for the hiring of seasonal labour (see fee); Fair Day, the event itself, or the day and date.  
 faither, *n.* father.  
 fallow, *n.* fellow.  
 fash, *v.* to trouble, annoy; to take trouble about; "trouble" (Fergusson); "fash, vex or

trouble" (Herd); -*adj.* fasheous, annoying, irksome; "troublesome" (Herd).  
 Fasteneen, *n.* "Fastens-Even" (Burns 1787); the evening of "Shrove Tuesday".  
 faut, *n.* fault, offence; also *v. t.* to blame.  
 faute de mieux, *phr.*, for want of better [French, and cf. also Jamieson, "To hae faut o', to have need of,"]  
 fauteur, fautor, *n.* one at fault; offender.  
 fecht, *n.* and *v.* fight.  
 feckfu, *adj.* resourceful, powerful.  
 fee, *v. t.* to hire as a servant, labourer, &c. usually at a hiring-fair or feeing-market at which farm-workers would be engaged for the half-year or year following.  
 feint, *phr.* "the feint a bit", not a bit; "the never a bit" (Herd).  
 ferlie, ferly, *n.* and *v. i.* marvel; "mystery" (Fergusson); "a wonder, to wonder; also a term of contempt" (Burns, 1786).  
 fermtoun, *n.* a small settlement; a hamlet. The tenancy of the farm was held of the landowner or laird by the husbandman (the gudeman or tacksman), or by a number of such husbandmen; a husbandman, in cultivating the land, would normally have the assistance of his sub-tenants, crofters and cotters who paid rent in kind and by providing their labour.  
 fête champetre, *n.* elegant festivities held in the open; a picture of such a scene.  
 fichu, *n.* a light triangular cape worn over the shoulders by women, the ends being crossed before; a muslin covering for the neck [French.]  
 fidge, *v. i.* to twitch or fidget; fidgeting  
 fain, *phr.* very glad, extremely, not to mention obviously eager.  
 fild, *n.* field; the battle-field.  
 firret, firrit, *v. t.* to seek; to hunt out.  
 firth, *n.* a sea-inlet, esp. a river mouth or estuary. Also frith.  
 fit, *n.* foot; also the *foot* of *e.g.* a hill.  
 fleg, *n.* a fright; a side-swipe; "a kick, a random blow" (Burns, 1787).  
 flie, *v. i.* to fly apart; to fly thus, having been knocked asunder.  
 flie, *n.* a fly; something of no value. For the idiom in "Johnie Armstrang", see skaith.  
 flit, *v. i.* to move home; *v. t.* to transfer furniture and the like from the previous residence to the new. The removal itself is a flitting. Also, the annual transfer of livestock to (or from) summer pastures.  
 flite, flyte, *v. i.* to scold, quarrel or insult, *esp.*, in the last case, as a public contest between poets; *n.* flyting.  
 flunky, *n.* servant (generally contemptuous). "Flunkies, livery servants" (Burns, 1786).  
 flype, *v. t.* to strip, or turn outside-in.  
 flyte, see flite.



fock, see fouk.  
 forbye, *prep.* besides, in addition to, as well as; "Forbye, besides" (Burns, 1787).  
 foregaither, *v.i.* to gather together socially; *-n.* foregaithering; "Forgather, to meet, to encounter with" (Burns, 1787).  
 fornenst, *prep.* and *adv.* right opposite to; also forenent, fornent, &c. Often with the sense of opposite to, but *close*.  
 fou, *adj.* literally "full", but generally drunk (see Allan's letter to the Earl of Hopetoun, December 1782; text, p. 21).  
 fouth, *n.* an abundance; *-adv.* afouth.  
 fouk, *n.* folk; also fock.  
 fow, *adj.* full; *-n.* handfow, nivefow, handful, fistful, &c. See also fou.  
 frae, *prep.* from.  
 freebooter, *n.* one who roves in search of plunder or booty; an outlaw. [Dutch]  
 frith, see firth.  
 froward, *adj.* obstinate, unreasonable; *adv.* frowardly.  
 fu, *adj.* full, but see also fou.  
 full, *v.t.* to thicken cloth by beating and scouring it, by hand or in a mill.  
 fure, *past t.* went. "Fared; went" (Jamieson) "Thair fure ane man to the holt", "There went a man to the wood", a song mentioned in the sixth stanza of *Pebblis to the Play* by King James I (sometimes ascribed, perhaps because of legends of The Gudeman of Ballengeich, to James V, his great-great-grandson).  
 fute, *n.* foot.  
 fyke, *n.* commotion, bustle, &c.; (as a verb) "to be restless, uneasy" (Herd).

## G

gab, *n.* the mouth; "mouth" (Fergusson);  
 gabbie, *n.* "stomach" (Fergusson). Also *v.i.* gab, to chatter, to speak at length, "Gab, the mouth; to speak boldly or pertly" (Burns, 1787); *-adj.* gabby, fluent, garrulous.  
 gaberlunzie, *n.* a pouch or wallet hanging from the belt; the beggar who carries or wears such a pouch (also Gaberlunzieman).  
 gae, *v.i.* to go; *past t.* gaed, went; *pres. ppl.* gaun, gawn.  
 gain, *v.i.* to last; "to fit; to suffice" (Chambers), but the sense in "My Jo Janet" (see text, p. 285) is probably that given.  
 gaisgeach, *n.* a hero, champion, warrior, &c. [Gaelic; E. Irish *gascedach*.]  
 gang, *v.i.* to go, to leave; *pr.p.* or *ppl.* *adj.* ganging, going, active, busy, &c.  
 gar, *v.t.* to cause; *past tense* gart. "Gar, to make, or force to" (Burns, 1787).  
 gat, *past t.* of *v.t.* get.  
 gate, *n.* manner, deportment &c.; "Gate, or

gaet, way, manner, practice" (Burns, 1786); "Gaet or gate, way, manner, road" (Burns, 1787); cf. Cowgate.  
 gaucherie, *n.* awkwardness, clumsiness, *esp.* in deportment or conduct. [French.]  
 gaucy, gausie, *adj.* plump and pleasant; ample; "Gawsie, jolly, large" (Burns, 1786).  
 gawn, see gae.  
 gawsie, *adj.* see gaucy.  
 gear, *n.* property; "wealth, goods" (Herd); *-in phr.* gowd and gear, money and possessions; "worldly goods".  
 geck, *v.i.* to jeer (at), to mock; "slight" (Fergusson); "to toss the head in pride or wantonness" (Burns, 1786); "to toss the head in wantonness or scorn" (Burns, 1787).  
 geneva, *n.* gin; French *genevre*, and Dutch *jenever*, confused with Geneva.  
 genie, *n.* see genius. [French.]  
 genius, *n.* "1. The protecting or ruling power of men, places, or things. 2. A man endowed with superior faculties. 3. Mental power or faculties. 4. Disposition of nature by which any one is qualified for some peculiar employment. 5. Nature; disposition" (Johnson).  
 gentle, *adj.* pertaining to the *gentry*; one of the *gentry* by birth; "well born; well descended; ancient, though not noble" (Johnson).  
 Genre, *n.* the class of painting which deals with slight subjects from ordinary life, usually in a humorous manner.  
 Georgic, *n.* a poem on agricultural matters.  
 gett, *n.* a child, *esp.* contemptuously; brat; offspring generally.  
 gey, *adj.* gay, merry, lively &c.; *in phr.* gey and, very, extremely (used adverbially as an intensifier in a form of hendiadys).  
 ghaist, *n.* a ghost.  
 ghillie, gillie, *n.* an attendant, originally on a chief or gentleman, but now usually upon a sportsman. [Gaelic.]  
 gie, *v.i.* to give, to render.  
 gibe, *n.* a jest, joke &c.; a taunt.  
 gif, *conj.* if.  
 Gil, *n.* a youth of gentle birth, *esp.* in the Ballads; see Childe.  
 gin, *conj.* if; *-prep.* by (a time).  
 girn, *v.i.* to snarl; to whine or complain.  
 gither, see thegither.  
 gizzen, *v.i.* shrivel with drought; *past t.* gizzened, gizzand; "rent with heat, dry" (Fergusson). [Norwegian *gisen*, leaky.]  
 glaiket, *adj.* silly, thoughtless, frivolous, &c.; "Glaikit, inattentive foolish" (Burns, 1787).  
 gled, *n.* the kite; figuratively, a glutton; "a greedy person" (Chambers); "We say of anything that has got into greedy keeping,



that it has got into the *gled's-claws*, where it will be kept until it be savagely devoured" (Jamieson; also "gled's-grups").  
 glower, *v.i.* to look (not necessarily to scowl or glare); also glour, *Pres. ppl.* glowran. Also glower; *n.* a look, glance, &c.  
 glybe, *n.* the soil (*archaic*); a field. Cf. glebe, [Latin *gleba*, a clod]  
 gorget, *n.* originally, a piece of armour for the throat, by the eighteenth century and in vestigial form a small brass crescent worn on the chest by army officers as a badge of rank, [French *gorge*,]  
 gowan, *n.* a daisy; "the flower of the daisy, dandelion, hawkweed, &c." (Burns, 1787).  
 gowd, *n.* gold. Gowd and gear, money and possessions; "worldly goods". Gowden Age, the Golden Age, a mythical time of innocence and perfect happiness, or a known period of greatest achievement.  
 gowk, *n.* a fool, simpleton, &c.; the cuckoo. Also gouk; "Gouk, the cuckoo. In derision, we call a thoughtless fellow, and one who harps too long on one subject, a gowk" (Herd; spellings as given).  
 gracie, *adj.* pious; devout, &c.  
 graip, *n.* a farm implement; a fork used for digging potatoes, lifting dung, &c.: "A begun turn is half ended; quoth the good Wife when she stuck the Grape' in the Midding" (Kelly, with gloss "'Dungfork"). "Grape, a stable-rake", "a trident fork" (both Herd); "a pronged instrument for cleaning stables" (Burns, 1787).  
 gree, *v.i.* to agree; bear the gree, to win outright, to hold the field, &c.; "Gree, to agree, to bear the gree, to be decidedly victor" (Burns, 1787).  
 greet, see greit.  
 greit, *v.i.* to weep, cry: *past t.* grat.  
 grit, see greit.  
 groats, *n.pl.* oats with the husks removed. "Grotts, mill'd oats" (Herd), perhaps from a fancied resemblance to the small silver coin of the same name.  
 gude, guid, *adj.* good.  
 gudeman, guidman, *n.* husband, the man of the house (*few*, gudewife); "master of the house" (Fergusson); "Guidman and Guidwife, the master and mistress of the house, Young Guidman, a man newly married" (Burns, 1787). A small farmer. "Of the present farmers some no doubt still exhibit that sort formerly known by the appellation of *gude men*, the toiling and struggling cultivators of small farms, but a second sort occupy large territories, early and intimately acquainted with the theory, the practice, and the commerce of farming, shrewd and sensible, in easy,

and some in affluent circumstances, independent either of lairds or factors". (the Rev. Mr. George Cupples, account of the United Parishes of Swinton and Simprin, Berwickshire, 1791-92, *SA*, III, pp. 295-96).  
 gust, *n.* relish; "Gusty, tasteful" (Burns, 1787) [Latin *gustus*.]

## H

had, see haud.  
 hae, *v.t.* to have.  
 ha'f, *adv.* half; imperfectly.  
 haffet, *n.* the temple; sometimes the hair growing there. Cf. however the definition in Fergusson's *Poems*, 1773: "cheek" (of "Haffit"). "Haffet, the cheek, side of the head" (Herd).  
 haggis, *n.* "A dish commonly made in a sheep's naw, of the lungs, heart, and liver, of the same animal, minced with suet, onions, salt, and pepper, -and mixed up with high-toasted oatmeal. It is sometimes made of oatmeal, mixed with the last four ingredients" (Jamieson).  
 hairst, *n.* harvest.  
 hald, *n.* a dwelling: "dwelling, tenement" (Herd). "Hal, or hald, hold, biding place" (Burns, 1786); *in phr.* "house and hald", "house and home".  
 halesome, *adj.* wholesome; healthy, health-giving.  
 hallan, *n.* a partition between a door and fireplace (to reduce and divert draughts). "Hallan, a particular partition wall in a cottage" (Burns, 1787).  
 Hallanshaker, a vagabond; "Halanshakers, ragamuffins" (Herd). "In time of their Diet there are some they call Hallinshakers who look gaping over a partition waiting for some Victuals" (*A collection of Highland Rites and Customs copied by Edward Lhuyd from the manuscript of the Rev. James Kirkwood*, Bodleian Library, MS. Carte 269, *publ.* Folklore Society, 1975, p. 31).  
 Hallow Fair, *n.* the fair held in Edinburgh at the season of All-Hallow's (*i.e.* the end of October or, more usually, the beginning of November).  
 Haly Band, *n.* the Kirk Session.  
 hame, *n.* home; *-adj.* hamely; "hamely fare", plain food.  
 hameil, *adj.* homely; "home-bred" (Fergusson)  
 hamely, *adj.* homely; "homely, affable" (Burns, 1787).  
 hand, *in phr.* "there's my hand", to give a word of honour; an assurance.  
 hang, *past t.* of hing, *v.i.* to hang.  
 hantle, *n.* a collection; a great number.  
 hap, *v.t.* to wrap or cover up; also *n.*, a



covering. "Hap, an outer garment, mantle, plaid, &c. to wrap, to cover, to hop" (Burns, 1787).

haud, *v.t.* to hold; haud doon, to restrain or keep in subjection; cf. SND *doonhadden*, "kept in subjection".

haws, *n.pl.* hawthorns.

heartsome, *adj.* hearty, merry; "gladsome, pleasant" (Herd).

het, *adj.* hot.

heugh, *n.* a cliff; a deep glen or hollow; "a rock or steep hill; also, a coal-pit" (Herd); "a crag, a coal-pit" (Burns, 1786 and 1787).

hey, *n.* hay; hey-wain, a hay-wain, -waggon.

hiatus, *n.* a gap, a break in continuity [L.]

hie, *adj.* high; "ane hie ruff sang", presumably a loud, or very "merry" song.

hirdum-dirdum, *n.* exuberant celebration; "confusion, noisy mirth, uproar" (Chambers); obviously onomatopoeic.

hirelin, *n.* a hired hand, *esp.* a young one; also *adj.*

History, *n.* a Historical Composition; a History-Painting; "History-Piece, *n.s.* A picture representing some memorable event (Johnson). See Reynolds, Discourse IV.

hodden, *n.* a coarse, homespun cloth; cloth made of wool of natural colour (also hodden gray); -*adj.*, *fig.*, homely, "homespun"; "Hodden-gray, a coarse gray cloth" (Herd)

hogget *n.* a large cask or barrel; hogshead.

holt, *n.* a wood "as in E. Ayr." (Jamieson)

hoolie, hooly, *adv.* slowly, gently, moderately, &c; "slow" (Fergusson). Also *interj.*, "haud on", "take it easy": "Hoolie, slowly, leisurely; Hoolie! take leisure! stop!" (Burns, 1787).

hough, *n.* the thigh, or the leg in general.

houk, see howk.

howe, *n.* and *adj.* hollow; "hollow, a hollow, or dell" (Burns, 1787).

howk, *v.t.* to dig; to hollow out.

howm, *n.* level ground beside a burn, *esp.* in low-lying places. "Howms, plains, or river sides" (Herd). "Between the edge of the River Clyde, and the rising ground, or banks on each side of that river, there are generally valleys, or holms, (as they are here called,) of different breadths" (the Rev. J. Risk, account of the Parish of Dalserf, Lanarkshire, 1791, SA, VII, p. 227).

Howt awa, *interj.* "Ach away": "Howt! fy!" (Herd); "tuts! nonsense!" (Chambers, for "Hoot awa"); "nae chance", &c.

hurdies, *n. pl.* the backside; "the loins, the crupper" (Burns, 1787).

huckle, *v.i.* "to crouch, or bow together like a cat, hedgehog, or hare" (Herd).

husbandman, see fermtoun.

hynd, *n.* a hind; a married ploughman who

held his cottage of the gudeman, and worked the land with the help of his family; see fermtoun.

## I

ilk, *adj.* each; ilka, every.

illuster, *adj.* illustrious.

infield, *n.* the arable land closest to the farmhouse, continually manured and cultivated; the croft (see outfield).

ingenious, *adj.* "Witty; inventive; possessed of genius" (Johnson).

ingle, *n.* fireplace, hearth, fireside &c.; "fire" (Fergusson); ingle-bield, fireside shelter; ingle-neuk, the chimney corner; ayont the ingle, at the other side of the fire; "ingle, (the fire), may be traced in the Latin *ignis*" (the Rev. J. Playfair, account of the Parish of Bendothy, Perthshire, SA, XII, p. 75, but Mr. William Lockhart of Baronald derived the same word from the Gaelic, *aingeal*; account of the Parish of Lanark, SA, VII, p. 434).

into, *prep.* unto.

iota, *n.* a jot, a whit [the smallest letter of the Greek alphabet].

ise, *pron.* and *v.* I shall, or I am; "I an, Annandale. It seems to be the idiom of that district to use the third person sing. of the *v.* with the pronouns *I* and *Thou*; as, "*I's* gawn hame," I am going home; "*I's* fow, how's *tow*," I am satisfied as to eating, how art thou? The same idiom occurs in the west of S., at any rate in Renfr." (Jamieson).

istoria, see History.

## J

jaur, *n.* a jar; *coll.* a drinking-vessel; cf Burns, "The Holy Fair", stanza XIV.

jo, *n.* term of endearment; sweetheart dear, darling, &c.

jouk, *v.t.* to avoid; *v.i.* to duck swiftly; "Jowk, a low bow" (Herd); "to stoop" (Burns, 1786); "to stoop, to bow the head" (Burns, 1787).

## K

kail, kale, *n.* cabbage or colewort; broth, and hence food in general; kailyard, cabbage patch. Kailyard School, a group of late nineteenth-century Scottish writers whose work, typically giving a sentimental picture of life in an imaginary Scotland, was "initially published in England and was intended first and foremost for the English reader" [and then the American]; William Donaldson, *Popular Literature in Victorian*



*Scotland language, fiction and the press*, Aberdeen University Press, 1986, p. 147.

kail-gooly, *n.* a large knife for cutting kail. "Goolie, a large knife" (Herd).

kebbuck, *n.* a cheese, a whole cheese.

keek, *v.i.* to look or peep; keeking-glass, *n.* a looking-glass, a mirror. Also *n.* a look.

keeping, *n.* a balance or harmony achieved between colour values and tones in a painting.

ken, *v.t.* to know; *past t.* kend, kent; "Ken, to know; used in England as a noun. A thing withinken, i. e. withinview" (Herd).

kent, *n.* a shepherd's staff; a pole used for louping sheughs; "Kent, a long staff, such as shepherds use for leaping over ditches" (Herd).

kenspeckle, *adj.* notable, well known; conspicuous.

kilt, *n.* and *v.t.* the kilt; to pleat or tuck up (*past t.* kiltet, kiltit); "Kilt, to truss up the cloaths" (Burns, 1787).

kimmer, *n.* a familiar term for a female companion; "a female gossip" (Herd).

kirch, *n.* a cloth worn around the neck or over the head: "Cursche, a kerchief. A linen dress, wore by our Highland women" (Herd); also kurchie [kerchief]; "Kurches, a covering for the neck" (Herd).

kirk, *n.* church; also *v.t.* to attend church; "It need hardly be observed, that the Scotch word *Kirk*, for a place of worship, approaches nearer to the original Greek, *Kupios, οἶκος*, than the English word, *Church*, and ought perhaps to be made use of, at least in Scotland." (the Rev. James Scott, account of the Parish of Carluke, Lanarkshire, 1793, *SA*, VII, p. 125, footnote).

Kirk-Session, *n.* lowest Presbyterian court composed of the minister and elders of a congregation.

kirn, *n.* a churn; a festival held at the end of hairst; a harvest-home; "the harvest supper, a churn" (Burns, 1787).

kist, *n.* a chest, box &c.; a coffin.

kit, *n.* "a wooden vessel, hooped and staved" (Herd).

kittle, *v.t.* to tickle; hence "kittle hair on thairms", to play the fiddle, from Burns, "Love and Liberty" ("The Jolly Beggars"), song to the air "Whistle owe the lave o't" (see thairms).

kittock, see reticule.

knowe, *n.* a small hill; a knoll or hillock; "a small round hill" (Burns, 1787).

kye, *n.pl.* cattle; kine.

## L

lacuna, *n.* a gap, a want or lack.

lad, *n.* boy; a youngster.

lade, *n.* a mill-stream, *esp.* one specially constructed, diverted, &c.

laft, *n.* loft.

laigh, *adj.* low; Laigh Parliament House, the Lower Parliament House, Edinburgh.

laiglen, leglen, &c. *n.* a wooden milking-pail constructed in a manner similar to a lug-gie or a bicker (*qzv.*); "a milking-pail with one lug or handle" (Herd).

laird, *n.* "a gentleman of estate" (Herd).

land, *n.* a building of several storeys, generally let out in tenements and having a common entry.

landskip, *n.* a painted landscape [Dutch.]

landwart, *adj.* brought up in the country; rustic; provincial; "Landart, the country, or belonging to it, Rustic" (Herd).

lane, *adj.* alone; see also leefu.

lang, *adj.* long (of time or size); langsome; wearisome; "tiresome, tedious" (Herd). See also syne.

lap, *past t.* of loup; leapt.

lass, *n.* girl; a young girl.

late-wak, *n.* a wake; "a sort of festival at watching a corpse" (Herd).

launce, *n.* a lance.

lave, *n.* the remainder; the rest.

laverock, lav'rock, *n.* the lark.

lawte, *n.* [also *laute*], loyalty, allegiance, good faith, integrity; "faithful adherence to high standards of conduct, upright or honest behaviour" (DOST).

lea, *n.* arable land left under grass; open country or meadow, *esp.* in poetic usage.

leal, *adj.* true, faithful; "true, upright, honest, faithful to trust, loyal. A leal heart never lied" (Herd).

leefu, *adj.* lonely, sad; leefu-lane, "all alone, quite by one's self" (Chambers).

legato, *adj.* and *adv.* (*musical term*), smooth, smoothly, the notes succeeding each other without any audible break. The opposite of *staccato* [Italian *legare*, to bind or tie].

leid, *n.* language.

letters, see Literati.

leugh, *past t.* laughed.

leuk, *v.i.* to look, to seem, to appear.

licht, *n.* light. Auld Licht, a popular name for those ministers of the Kirk who held most tenaciously to the doctrines of John Calvin ("Orthodox, Orthodox, who believe in John Knox" &c. as Burns put it), to the Solemn League and Covenant, and to the Act of Security, passed in 1707 to assure and preserve the constitution of the Presbyterian Kirk after the Union but violated by the Patronage Act of 1712. The Moderates in the Kirk (the majority) accepted Patronage, and, in 1747, took the Burgher's Oath over which issue the "Anti-Burghers" seceded; the more moderate among *this*



particular faction were known as the New Lights, and were of more liberal theology than the Auld Lights, who placed special emphasis on the *decretum horribile* of Predestination (see also Elect).

lightly, *v.t.* to mock, to deride.

lightsome, *adj.* cheerful, lively.

lift, *n.* the sky; to give "a lift aboon",

*phr.* to give a help up, a raise; to promote or encourage.

lilt, *v.i.* to sing merrily, *esp.* to sing the melody of a song without the words.

limmer, *n.* a woman of low character; contemptuous term for a woman; "a whore" (Herd); "a woman of easy virtue" (Burns, 1786); "a kept-mistress; a strumpet" (Burns, 1787).

link, *v.i.* to skip, move briskly and gaily; "to trip along" (Burns, 1786); *-pres ppl.* linkan; "walking speedily" (Herd).

links, *n.* a stretch of fairly level ground along a river or sea-shore, especially if used as a golf-course.

linkboy, *n.* one who carried a *link* or pitch torch, to light the way in dark streets; an attendant with such a torch.

linn, *n.* a waterfall or cascade; "the pool under a cataract" (Jamieson); "a precipice" (Currie).

lintie, *n.* the lintwhite; linnet.

list, *v.t.* to choose, desire, or wish.

Literati, literati, *n.pl.* men of letters; "the learned" (Johnson); "Letters without the singular; learning" (Johnson).

loan, loaning, *n.* a country lane; a broad strip of grass running between two fields and used as a pasture and a milking-place as well as a lane; "Loan, a little common near to country villages, where they milk their cows" (Herd).

lock, *n.* a small amount.

locus, *n.* a place; a passage of writing; *locus classicus*, the standard text on a particular topic.

loof *n.* the palm; "the hollow of the hand" (Herd) "the palm of the hand" (Burns 1787)

loon, loun, *n.* "a rogue" (Jamieson).

Lord High Commissioner, see Commissioner.

Lordyngis, *n.pl.* Sirs (spoken or written address); "Only in *plur.* Lords, noblemen, gentlemen . . . chiefly early and chiefly in verse" (DOST).

loup, lowp, *v.i.* to leap; also *n.*

lowse *v.t.* to loosen; lowsed, released from work or (as *e.g.* a horse) from harness. "To give over work of any kind" (Jamieson, of "To LOUSE").

Luckenbooths, *n.* merchants' stalls or booths designed to be locked, *esp.* those formerly situated in the High Street of Edinburgh. The old Tolbooth was at one time known as

the Lucken-booth. "Luck, to inclose, shut, or fasten. Hence Lucken-handed, close-fisted; Lucken Gowns, Booths, &c" (Herd). luggie, *n.* small wooden vessel with a vertically projecting handle; "a dish of wood with a handle" (Herd); "a small, wooden dish with one handle" (Burns, 1786); "a small wooden vessel, for holding meat or drink, made of staves, one of which projects as a handle" (Jamieson); cf. bicker, kit and laiglen.

lum, *n.* a chimney.

## M

machinery, *n.* supernatural agency, *esp.* in a poem.

nair, *adj.* more.

maist, *adj.* most; the superlative of mair.

makar, *n.* literally, a maker; a poet; The Makars or Makaris, the Scottish poets of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, including Henryson, Dunbar, Douglas and Lyndsay of the Mount.

'mang, *prep.* among (poetic; from "amang").

manes *n.pl.* the spirits of the dead [Latin]

manners, *n.pl.* human behaviour, *esp.* in company or society; "General way of life; morals; habit" (Johnson); "the Manners; under which Name I comprehend the Passions, and, in a larger Sense, the Descriptions of Persons, and their very Habits" (Dryden, Preface to *Fables Ancient and Modern*, 1700, in *Works*, ed. Sir Walter Scott, London and Edinburgh, 1808, Vol. XI, p. 216; *Poems and Fables*, ed. James Kinsley, Clarendon Press, 1958, Vol. IV, p. 1450, lines 250-52).

Marches, *n.pl.* the boundaries of an estate or parish; "March or merch, a landmark, border of land" (Herd).

maun, *v.t.* must.

maynteme, *v.t.* to maintain, to keep up; "to keep in good rule, to govern and protect as ruler" (DOST).

meikle, *adj.* great (of size or quantity); "much, great" (Herd). Also mekil, mickle and muckle.

menzie, *n.* originally a household, or company of retainers and followers; a crowd, a following; a number of consequences. Mess John, *n.* a minister (familiar, often disrespectful). Also Mass John; probably from *Maister* of Arts.

nessan, *n.* lap-dog or cur, *lit.* a dog, but may be used contemptuously of a person. [Gaelic *nessan*.]

Mhaighstir, *n.* Maister, master; a school-master [Gaelic, from Latin *magister*]

mickle, see meikle.

midding, *n.* a midden; a refuse heap.

nisca', *v.t.* "miscall"; abuse, insult, &c.;



"Miscaw, to give names" (Herd); "Misca', to abuse, to call names" (Burns, 1787).

mither, *n.* mother.

Moderates; see Licht.

mores, *n.pl.* "manners"; *q.v.*

motif, *n.* a theme, *esp.* in painting or in music; an important part of a composition; a repeated figure, *&c.* in a sequence.

motty, *adj.* full of motes; "Motty-sun, *n.* the appearance when a sunbeam shines through an aperture and shows floating atoms of dust" (Chambers).

novit, *v.t.* (*past t.*) *lit.* "moved"; bowed, or raised the hat, *&c.*; doffed.

nuckle, *adj.* great, large; nuckle-sait, *lit.* the great seat; an arm chair, the guidman's seat, the place of honour. Cf. neikle.

nuir, *n.* a moor, a heath; also nure.

## N

na, no, *adv.* not.

nabob, *n.* a European who has made a fortune in the East, usually in India (*obs.*) [Hindi *nāwāb*, a deputy, viceroy, *&c.*]

nae, *adj.* no, none.

neapkyne, *n.* napkin.

neebor, *n.* and *adj.* neighbour; one of a pair.

neep, *n.* the turnip.

never, *adv.* (often) "did not"; *idiomatic*, is or was insufficient or inadequate to achieve an end, describe a person, *&c.* One farmer might say that the hairst had been poor, and another respond, "'poor' *never named it*"; thus, "it was computed that [£ 1,600] never placed the horses and ploughs on the field" may be rendered, "it was computed that the horses and ploughs which took part in the match would have cost more than £ 1,600"; *i.e.* the average price of each of forty ploughs and its team of two horses was more than £ 40; account of Alloa, *SA* IX, p. 669, footnote; see text, p. 351. For some references to James Small in the *Statistical Account*, see n. 349 to Chapter VI.

nighean, *n.* a maiden [Gaelic.]

nivefow, *n.* a fistful, or handful; from nive, the fist (also nieve).

non progredi est regredi, *phr.* not to go forwards is to retreat. [Latin.]

nook, *n.* "corner" (Herd). Also neuk.

notorious, *adj.* known; with *note* taken of; conspicuous, noted, *&c.*; "Publicly known; evident to the world; apparent; not hidden. It is commonly used of things known to their disadvantage; whence by those who do not know the true signification of the word, an atrocious crime is called a *notorious* crime whether publick or secret" (Johnson; exactly the same

definition is given in the first edition of his *Dictionary*, 1755. Even if it were not "evident to the world", a crime would have to be apparent to at least some of the public before anyone, other than the criminal himself, could call it *notorious*).

nowt, *n.* cattle. Also nowte; "Nowte, black cattle" (Burns, 1786 and 1787).

## O

o'ercome, *n.* surplus, excess; "O'er or over, too much; as, A' o'ers is vice, All excess is vicious. O'ercome, superplus" (Herd).

oeuvre, *n.* all the productions of an artist; his life's work [French.]

onstead, *n.* a farmstead; the farmhouse and its related buildings, or these buildings or offices alone; "the building on a farm" (Jamieson).

ony, *pron.* and *adj.* any.

or, *prep., adv.* and *conj.* before; "Or, is often used for ere, before" (Burns, 1787).

ousen-bow, *n.* a wooden yoke, for use with draught oxen; "a piece of curved wood put round the necks of oxen, as a sort of collar, to which the draught is fixed" (Jamieson, definition of "ousen-bow").

outfield, *n.* arable land, usually that at some distance from the farmstead itself; pasture. "The distinction between croft and outfield prevailed very generally in the old and imperfect husbandry of Scotland. The *croft*, consisting of a few acres nearest the farm house, was perpetually in crop, and received the whole manure of the farm. The *outfield* was the open pasture land, which was occasionally plowed in patches for oats till they were exhausted, and then left to rest" (the Rev. Mr. Robert Boog, account of the Abbey Parish of Paisley, 1793, *SA*, VII, p. 846, footnote). "Arable land, which is not manured, but constantly cropped" (Jamieson).

out-owre, *prep.* over; away, far over; across the fields.

owre, *prep.* over.

owsen, *n.pl.* oxen; also ousen.

## P

pantograph, *n.* jointed frame used in copying, enlarging, or reducing drawings and plans, with a pencil duplicating the action of the operator in following an original outline. [Greek *pan*, *panto*, all, and *graphein*, to write.]

parradge, *n.* porridge, thick gruel; oatmeal boiled in water. Also parritch, "oatmeal pudding, a well known Scotch dish"



(Burns, 1787); cf. *brochan*.  
 pauky, pawky, *adj.* shrewd, lively, artful;  
 "cunning" (Fergusson); "Paukie, cunning,  
 sly" (Burns, 1787, and Currie).  
 penates, *n. pl.* the household gods of every  
 Roman family; the public cult of the *Pen-*  
*ates* was celebrated in the *Regia*.  
 pencil, *n.* in eighteenth-century usage, a  
 fine paint-brush. "1. A small brush of hair  
 which painters dip in their colours. 2. A  
 black lead pen, with which cut to a point  
 they write without ink. 3. Any instrument  
 of writing without ink" (Johnson). "To *Pencil*  
*v. n.* [from the noun] To paint" (Johnson).  
 pentimento, *n.* evidence of an artist's hav-  
 ing changed his mind during the course of  
*painting* a picture; the parts which were  
 altered begin to appear faintly as ghostly  
 images showing the first, or at least the  
 earlier intentions. By extension, the word  
 may be applied to the sign of a change of  
 the same kind in a drawing. [It. *pentimento*,  
 repentance.]  
 peripeteia, *n.* a sudden change in a char-  
 acter's fortune (usually for the worse),  
*esp.* in drama, [Greek.]  
 philosophe, *n.* a philosopher; a thinker, *esp.*  
 one associated with the French Encyclo-  
 pedists of the eighteenth century.  
 picturesque, *adj.* like a picture; used to  
 describe a scene which would make an  
 attractive picture.  
 pillar, *n.* presumably the fauteur's laft;  
 Herd, however, in his *Ancient and Modern*  
*Scots Songs*, (1776), glossed the word as  
 "the stool of repentance"; perhaps it was  
 distinguished from the cutty stool by its  
 situation. Cf. also his entry for "Stool, a  
 seat. The stool of repentance is a con-  
 spicuous seat in the Presbyterian churches,  
 where those persons who have been guilty  
 of incontinence are obliged to appear  
 before the congregation for several suc-  
 cessive Sundays, and receive a public  
 rebuke from the minister".  
 plack, *n.* a copper coin worth 4d. Scots; "an  
 old Scotch coin" (Burns, 1787); see also  
 "catch the plack". [from Flemish *placke*, a  
 fifteenth-century coin]  
 plaiden, *n.* "Coarse woollen cloth that is  
*tweelled*" (Jamieson); "It would appear  
 that this stuff was anciently worn  
 parti-coloured in S. like what is now  
 called *Tartan*" (Jamieson). Cf. *plaiding*.  
 plaiding, *n.* a strong woollen twill, not  
 necessarily coarse; "Plaid, stripped,  
 woollen covering" (Herd, original spelling)  
 planestanes, *n.* flagstones, *esp.* those of a  
 pavement. Also plane-stanes.  
 plenishing, *n.* furniture, household goods,

farm implements &c; "Household furniture"  
 (Jamieson).  
 Poacher Court, *n.* the Kirk Session (used  
 humorously by Burns in his "Epistle to J.  
 R\*\*\*\*\*, Enclosing some Poems" ).  
 poortith, *n.* poverty.  
 port, *n.* a gate, especially a city gate.  
 post hoc, ergo propter hoc, *phr.* after this,  
*therefore* because of this (*i. e.* false logic  
 or improper reasoning), [Latin.]  
 pouch, *n.* pocket; see also reticule.  
 pow, *n.* "The head; the *poll*" (Jamieson).  
 prent, *n.* and *v.* print.  
 prie, *v. t.* to try, taste, test; "taste" (Fer-  
 gusson); "to taste" (Burns, 1787).  
 prince, *n.* (*arch.*) a sovereign (male or fe-  
 male); "1. A Sovereign; a chief ruler",  
 "Ruler of whatever sex. This use seems  
 harsh, because we have the word *princess*"  
 (both Johnson).  
 proletariat, *n.* the labouring class, with  
 neither property nor capital; "mean;  
 wretched; vile; vulgar" (Johnson, of the  
 adjective "Proletarian").  
 pyne, *n.* pain, hardship, labour &c.

## Q

quean, *n.* a girl, young woman; "dane" (Fer-  
 gusson); "a young woman" (Jamieson).  
 quhar, quhair, *adv.* and *conj.* where (*archaic*).  
 quhoso, *pron.* whatever person (*archaic*).

## R

ragazzo, *n.* young fellow; a lad [Italian;  
 plural *ragazzi*.]  
 ragout, *n.* a seasoned stew of meat and  
 vegetables [French *ragoûter*, to restore  
 the appetite.]  
 rang, *past tense*, reigned.  
 rant, *n.* a lively air or song. -*v. t.* to  
 play or sing such an air, *esp.* noisily -*adj.*  
 ranting, "rousing, jolly" (Herd).  
 raploch, *adj.* coarse, rough, homely; from  
 a coarse woollen cloth of the same name.  
 ratten, rotten, *n.* a rat.  
 rattle, *v. i.* to talk rapidly and loudly; "to  
 talk volubly with more sound than sense"  
 (Jamieson); -*adj.* rattling, brisk, loud, &c.  
 rauchle, *adj.* rough, coarse, strong, vigor-  
 ous, &c. "Raucle, stout, clever" (Burns,  
 1786); "rash, stout, fearless" (Burns,  
 1787); -*n.* rauchleness, raucleness; "vigour  
 and freshness in advanced life" (Jamieson)  
 rax, *v. i.* to stretch, to reach for; -*v. t.*  
 to stretch, expand, swell out &c.  
 redd, *v. t.* to clear out, to separate; "Redd,  
 to rid, unravel. To separate folks that are  
 fighting. It also signifies clearing of



any passage. I'm redd, I'm apprehensive" (Herd); "to quell a fray" (Chambers).  
 redd, more usually rede, *n.* and *v.t.* read, counsel, advise, &c.; "Rede, counsel, to counsel" (Burns, 1786 and, with a minor change in the pointing, 1787).  
 reek, *n.* smoke, also fog, mist, &c. Also *v.i.* to smoke, smell, &c.  
 Reekie, Reikie, *n.* Edinburgh (usually Auld Reekie). Said to be from its having many chimneys; "designation given to Edinburgh from its *smoky* appearance" (Jamieson) "This highly appropriate popular *sobriquet* cannot be traced beyond the reign of Charles II. Tradition assigns the following as the origin of the phrase: An old gentleman in Fife, designated Durham of Largo, was in the habit, at the period mentioned, of regulating the time of evening worship by the appearance of the smoke of Edinburgh, which he could easily see, through the clear summer twilight, from his own door. When he observed the smoke increase in density, in consequence of the good folk of the city preparing their supper, he would call all the family into the house, saying: 'It's time now, bairns, to tak' the beuks, and gang to our beds, for yonder's Auld Reekie, I see, putting on her nicht-cap!" (Robert Chambers, *Traditions of Edinburgh*, Edinburgh, 1824, last revised edn., 1868, 1969 reprint, p. 152).  
 reiver, *n.* raider, a robber, *esp.* from the Highlands or the Border country.  
 repoussoir, *n.* a figure, tree, &c., placed at one side of the foreground of a picture, in order to guide the viewer's eye towards the centre. [Fr. *repousser*, to push back]  
 Reprobate, see Elect.  
 reticule, *n.* a small bag carried by ladies and originally of *reticulated* form; *lit.* a small net. [Latin *rete*.]  
 richt, rycht, *adv.* right, truly, justly.  
 rigs, riggs, *n.pl.* the cultivated strips in a field separated one from another by bawks, the wide and often deep depressions which were left unploughed; "ridge" (Fergusson).  
 rock, roke, *n.* the hand-held distaff; later the equivalent part of a spinning-wheel; rockin, a convivial gathering in country areas at which spinning with roke and reel would be accompanied with singing, telling tales &c.; "Rockin, a meeting on a winter evening" (Burns, 1786).  
 rood, *n.* the fourth part of an acre. "Rood, stands likewise for the plural roods" (Burns, 1787; cf. also his note to "mark": "Mark, marks, *this and several other nouns, which in English require an s to form the plural, are in Scotch like the words sheep, deer, the same in both numbers*".

roset, *v.t.* to rosin [a bow]; also *n.* rosin, rotten, see ratten.  
 Roudes, *n.* "a term of reproach for an old woman" (Herd); "Auld Roudes! filthy fallow I shall auld ye", *idiomatic*, "I'll give you 'auld'", *i.e.*, "I'll teach you to call me old" (Allan's eighth plate for *The Gentle Shepherd*, Figure 122, between pp. 168-69; the sense is, of course, "I'll make sure you'll never again call me 'old'").  
 rout, *v.i.* "make a noise" (Fergusson).  
 routh, rowth, *n.* plenty.  
 rowe, *v.t.* to wrap, roll; to roll (as *e.g.* a river).  
 rowt, *v.i.* "to roar, especially the lowing of bulls and cows" (Herd); "Rowt, to bellow" (Burns, 1786); "Rowte, to low, to bellow Rowtin, lowing" (Burns, 1787). Cf. rout.  
 rowth, see routh.  
 rucks, *n.pl.* hay-stacks, &c.; "stacks" (Fergusson); "Ruck, a rick or stack of hay or corn" (Herd).  
 ruff, *adj.* rough; "ane hie ruff sang", a coarse song; a "merry" folk-song.  
 ruffled, *adj.* wrinkled (used in this sense by Ramsay, Preface, *Tea-Table Miscellany*).  
 rug, *v.t.* to tug or pull at; "to pull, take away by force" (Herd); *past t.* ruggit.  
 runcle, *n.* wrinkle.

## S

sae, *adv.* and *conj.* so.  
 saebins, *conj.* since, because, &c.; "Saebins, seeing it is, Since" (Herd). "Saebins she be..."; "So what if she is..." (Patie speaks ironically; text, p. 160).  
 saft, *adj.* soft.  
 sair, *adj.* sore; sair-dow'd, -dowed, "sorely worn by grief" (Chambers).  
 sait, *n.* a seat; see nuckle-sait.  
 sang, *n.* song.  
 sarcophagus, *n.* a stone coffin, *esp.* antique and with carvings [Latin, from Gr.]  
 sasunach, sassanach, *n.* an English-speaker, whether of the Lowlands of Scotland or of England (see also Scottis); *pl.* sasunaich. [Gaelic; a Saxon.]  
 savant, *n.* a learned man. [French.]  
 saw, *n.* a wise saying; a proverb.  
 say, *n.* a maxim, &c. (see saw).  
 scald, *n.* a scolding; also *v.t.* to scold, rebuke, &c.  
 scaur, *v.t.* to scare, frighten, threaten. Also *n.* a fright, and *adj.* afraid, timid.  
 schawys, *v.* shows (*arch.*); schawing, showing (*i.e.* displaying, giving notice of).  
 schip, *n.* ship.  
 Schir, *n.* Sir (*arch.*) a characteristically Scottish spelling; cf. schip.  
 scoggie, *n.* an apron.



Scottis, *adj.* and *n.* Scottish, the Scots language; the Inglis of Scotland as distinct from the related language of England and also from Erse, the Irish Gaelic of the Highlands and Western Isles, which was formerly called Scottis. scour, *v.i.* to scamper (away); "to run with great eagerness and swiftness; to scamper" (Johnson); *-past t.* scour'd, fled; "ran" (Fergusson).

scowry, *adj.* showery, blustery, &c.: "Skowrie, ragged, nasty, idle" (Herd); *-n.* scowr, a shower; "a slight shower, a passing summer shower" (Jamieson).

scaich, *n.* a shrill sound, *esp.* harsh or discordant; *-v.i.* to emit such a sound; "Scriegh, to cry shrilly" (Burns, 1786); "to scream as a hen, partridge, &c." (Burns, 1787).

sculduddry, *n.* "a name commonly given to whoring"; Ramsay's note to his "Elegy on John Cowper, Kirk Treasurer's Man—anno 1714".

scumble, *v.t.* in oil-painting, to obtain the effect of an uneven surface or texture by incompletely covering one colour or tone with an opaque layer of another; a similar effect may be obtained by rubbing the canvas at the desired points.

scunner, *v.i.* to take a loathing to; also to flinch from something in disgust; *-v.t.* to cause disgust; also *v.i.* "to shrink back through fear. *Barbour*" (Jamieson); "with *at* or rarely *with*: to feel disgust for, to be sickened by, turn in aversion from, be bored or repelled by"; "in *fig.* usage, to make (one) bored, uninterested or antipathetic. Gen. Sc. Very freq. in ppl. *adj.* *scunner't*, *scunnered*, disgusted, bored, repelled" (SND).

secreat *adj.* personal, private (*archaic*).

seik, *v.t.* and *v.i.* to seek.

sempre, *adv.* always. [Italian.]

serail, *n.* a palace of the Ottoman sultans; a harem or other enclosure [Turkish *saray*]

shaw, *n.* a small wood; a grove; "a wood or forest" (Herd); "a small wood in a hollow place", "a little wood; to show" (Burns, 1786); "to show; a small wood in a hollow place" (Burns, 1787).

shaw, *v.t.* to show.

sheugh, *n.* a ditch or furrow; a wide ditch for drainage; *-v.i.* to make a sheugh; "Seuch, furrow, ditch" (Herd).

shinty, *n.* a field game played with sticks and a wooden ball; the stick itself (see also *caman*). Similar to the Irish *hurling*, and to hockey: "Shinty is a game played with sticks, crooked at the end and balls of wood"; footnote in *SA XII*, p. 770; Parish of Moulin, Perthshire, 1791.

shoon, *n.pl.* shoes.

sic, *adj.* such; siccan, such a, such an.

sicker, *adj.* secure. In "Gilderoy" probably used for *adv.* sickerly, securely, firmly.

sik, see sic.

siller, *n.* literally, silver, but used of money in general; also *adj.* silver.

simmer, *n.* summer.

sindle, *adv.* seldom. Also seenil, sinle, &c.

sindrie *adj.* sundry, several; divers.

skaith, *n.* injury, harm, damage &c.; *-v.t.* to harm, hurt, injure. Johnie Armstrang neverdid *the slightest harm* to any "Scots wyfe" (Appendix X, first page).

skarslie, *adv.* scarcely, hardly; only just.

skelp, *v.i.* to run, or travel at a brisk pace: "to run. Used when one runs barefoot. Also, a small splinter of wood. *Itan*, to flog the hips;" (Herd). "Skelp, to strike, to slap; to walk with a smart tripping step; a smart stroke. Skelpin, slapping, walking smartly" (Burns, 1787).

skirl, *n.* a high piercing sound; a shriek; *-v.i.* and *v.t.* to emit such a sound, as, *e.g.* bagpipes or a *soprano*; cf. scaich, "to shriek or cry with a shrill voice" (Herd); "a shrill cry" (Burns, 1786); "to shriek, to cry shrilly" (Burns, 1787).

sla', slaw, *adj.* slow.

slee, *adj.* clever, skilful, witty, cunning, or slightly deceitful; "fly" (Herd, 1776, and also Burns, 1787).

sleek, *v.t.* to smooth (*e.g.* the hair), *-adj.* smooth *-adv.* smoothly.

sleekit, *adj.* sly; also glossy, smooth.

slype, *v.i.* and *v.t.* to slide easily; "to fall over as a wet furrow from the plough" (Burns, 1787).

sniddie, *n.* smithy, a blacksmith's workplace.

smoor, smore, *v.i.* and *v.t.* to suffocate, to drown; "Smoor, to smother" (Herd, 1776, and also Burns, 1787).

snaw, *n.* and *v.i.* snow.

sned, *v.t.* to lop off; to prune (*e.g.* the tops of turnips).

sneeshin, *n.* snuff; also provisions generally.

sneg, *v.t.* to cut; to make a nick or incision: "to cut; as Sneg'd off at the web's end" (Herd, presumably citing a wabster's expression).

snood, *n.* a ribbon binding up the hair; a fillet; "the band for tying up a woman's hair" (Herd); *-v.t.* to bind the hair with a snood.

snowk, *v.i.* to explore by pushing about with the nose or muzzle; cf. Burns, "The Twa Dogs. A Tale":

Wi social *nose* whyles snuff'd an snowcket;

Whyles nice an' nodewurks they howcket"

(whyles, sometimes, from time to time; node-wurks, noles; see also howk.).

sock, *n.* the ploughshare, which turns over



the clay as it is cut and opened (cf. also coultter, the cutting edge before the sock) sonnets, *n. pl.* songs in general.

soubriquet, *n.* a nickname (also *sobriquet*).

sough, *n.* the sound of the wind passing or rushing through branches; "the sound of wind amongst trees, or of one sleeping" (Herd); "Sugh, the continued rushing noise of wind or water" (Burns 1787); "to utter in a whining tone" (Jamieson); "a sigh; the sound of wind" (Chambers). Cf. also Captain Burt, *Letters from a Gentleman in the North of Scotland*, IX, on preaching and praying: "the *Sough*, as it is called (the Whine), is unmanly, and much beneath the Dignity of their Subject" (he was evidently not impressed by the performance of Scottish ministers).

south, sooth, *v. i.* and *v. t.* to whistle or hum softly; "a low whistle" (Fergusson); "to try over a tune with a low whistle" (Burns, 1787).

sowp, soup, *n.* and *v. t.* to sup; that which is *supped*; "Soup, a drop, a quantity of liquid" (Herd); "Sowp, a spoonful, a small quantity of any thing liquid" (Burns, 1787).

soy, *n.* "silk, silken material" (Chambers).

spae, *v. i.* and *v. t.* to tell fortunes; to forecast; "to prophesy, to divine" (Burns, 1787); spae-man, a fortune-teller (*fem.* spae-wife); spae-buik, a book of charms, magical symbols and the like.

spatterdashes, *n. pl.* gaiters (see Fergusson's "Leith Races", stanza VIII).

spence, *n.* the parlour or spare room of a cottage, *esp.* in the country; see also ben. "Spence, the place of the house where provisions are kept" (Herd); "the country parlour" (Burns, 1787).

spier, *v. i.* and *v. t.* ask, ask for someone.

spontoon, *n.* a weapon consisting of a pole with an axe-head and hook fixed to the top; a halberd, carried by sergeants in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, used to denote rank and keep order and formation rather than as a weapon.

sprauchle *v. i.* to scramble and clamber; to "move or make one's way laboriously or in a hasty, clumsy manner, *esp.* in an upward direction" (SND).

spring, *n.* a piece of music, *esp.* a dance tune; "a tune on a musical instrument" (Herd, presumably distinguishing "spring" from a vocal *air*); "a quick air in music, a Scotch reel" (Burns, 1787).

squatter, *v. i.* "to flutter in water" (Burns 1786); "to flutter in water as a wild duck, &c." (Burns, 1787).

staccato, *adj.* and *adv.* (musical) with each note played separately, and sounded apart from all others; the opposite of *legato*,

with notes flowing together [It. *staccare*, to separate.]

staffage, *n.* figures and animals added to a (painted) landscape in order "to fill a space . . . or create a little business for the eye" (Gainsborough; cf. n. 71 to Chapter II).

stairheid, *n.* the top of a flight of stairs, especially communal stairs as in an Edinburgh land, *q. v.*; on "Stairhead Critics, senseless Fools", cf. "Auld Reikie, A Poem", lines 51-58, and also bodies, *supra*.

stalwart, *adj.* "strong and valiant" (Herd).

stane, *n.* and *adj.* stone; also the weight.

staw, *past t.* stole; "did steal" (Burns, 1787).

steading, *n.* a farmhouse and buildings.

steer, *v. t.* to bother or annoy; "to molest, to stir" (Burns, 1787); also *n.* "Disturbance; commotion" (Jamieson); cf. *asteer*.

stent, *n.* stint, lot, share, duty &c.

stirk, *n.* a young bullock; "a steer or bullock" (Herd); "a cow or bullock a year old" (Burns, 1787); "a bullock or heifer between one and two years old" (Jamieson).

stock and horn, *n.* a wind instrument much used by shepherds to attract their sheep and thus discourage them from straying; "Stock-in-horn, a pipe with a horn used by the shepherds, from *Stor* a pipe" (Mr. William Lockhart of Baronald, who in his account of the Parish of Lanark traced a number of words to Gaelic originals; *SA.*, VII, p. 434; "A musical instrument composed of the *stock*, which is the hind thigh bone of a sheep, or a piece of elder, with stops in the middle; the *horn*, the smaller end of a cow's horn; and an oaten reed" (Jamieson; cf. also Burns's description, given in part in Chapter VI, p. 279).

stoup, *n.* a tankard, jug, drinking vessel generally; "Stoup or stowp, a kind of jug or dish with a handle" (Burns, 1787).

stour, *n.* dust "dust agitated by winds, men or horse feet. To stour, to run quickly" (Herd); "Stoure, dust, *more particularly* dust in motion" (Burns 1787, and Currie).

strath, *n.* the valley through which a river runs; "a plain on a river side" (Herd); thus, *e.g.* Strathspey, the valley and plain of the River Spey; also, "Strathspey", *n.* a piece of music, in reel time, but with a slower *tempo* and a less regular, a more "dotted" rhythm; such springs were originally (or at least in eighteenth-century music-books) termed "Strathspey Reels" as distinct from "Athole Reels". Strathspeys, or reel tunes played in this manner, were characteristic of the area along the plain of the River Spey. The "solo Strathspey" is really a performance-piece for fiddle *virtuosi* like William Marshall or



James Scott Skinner, not a dance tune.  
 straught, *adj.* straight.  
 suld, *v. past tense* should.  
 sunkets *n.pl.* feeding: "Sunkots, something" (Herd); "Provision, of whatever kind ... in Gl. Herd, *sunkots* is expl. *something*. The etymon is uncertain" (Jamieson, who also gives "Sunket-time, s Meal-time; the time of taking a repast").  
 swaird, *n.* sward; a row of cut grass, corn &c, lying as it fell from the scythe as the reaper moves along the field; "the surface of the grass" (Herd).  
 swats, *n.pl.* ale, beer; "small ale" (Herd).  
 syne, *adv.* "afterwards, then" (Herd); "since, ago, then" (Burns, 1786 and 1787); "Langsyne, long ago" (Herd); in the quotation from *The Gentle Shepherd* inscribed below Allan's second plate (Figure 116, between pp. 168-169), the sense is "ago". "To a native of this country it is very expressive, and conveys a soothing idea to the mind, as recalling the memory of joys that are past" (Jamieson). "Auld Lang Syne", the days long vanished; "A very expressive phrase, referring to days that are long past" (Jamieson); "the old Song of the olden times" (Robert Burns to George Thomson, September, 1793; *Letters*, ed J. De Lancey Ferguson, revised G. Ross Roy, 1985, Volume II, p. 246, no. 586 ).

## T

tacksman, *n.* a tenant-farmer; a leaseholder who - *esp.* in the Highlands - also sublet; one who paid rent directly to the landowner, receiving rent in turn from his own tenants; "One who holds a lease", "In the Highlands, a tenant of the higher class" (both Jamieson).  
 taen, *past t.* taken (also tane).  
 targat, *n.* "a tassel; an ornament for the hat" (Chambers); Johnie Armstrang's were obviously jewelled or richly embroidered. Cf. Johnson's definition of "Tassel": "An ornamental bunch of silk, or glittering substances".  
 tartan, *n.* "cross stripped stuff of various colours, checkered. The Highland plaid," (Herd); "A well known Highland manufacture" (The Rev. James Wilson, account of the Parish of Mid-Calder; *SA*, II, p. 97).  
 tassie, *n.* a cup, a drinking-glass; a goblet; *dim.* of tass. [French *tasse*.]  
 teats, tets, *n.pl.* small tufts or locks of hair, wool, &c.; "a small lock of hair, or any little quantity of wool, cotton, &c." (Herd); "Taet, a small quantity" (Burns, 1786 and, of "Teat", 1787).

ted, *v.t.* to spread; to shake out hay that it may dry more quickly. Hay dry enough to be stacked is said to be teddy; teddy, "used of corn; winnowed, ready for carting to the stackyard" (Chambers); tedding, "spreading after the mow" (Currie).  
 tent, *v.t.* heed; pay attention to; attend, &c; also, tak tent, take heed, beware; "Tent, attention, Tenty, cautious" (Herd).  
 Tent Preaching, *n.* a sermon or other religious meeting in the open, at which the minister preached from a portable, wooden pulpit; "Tent a field pulpit" (Burns, 1787).  
 terminus post quem, *phr.* a time after which a work must have been executed; terminus ante quem non, a time before which a work could *not* have been executed, *i.e.* the same thing, [Latin.]  
 thack, *adj.* thatched. Also *v.t.* to thatch.  
 thae, *pron.* and *adj.* these, those.  
 thairms, *n.pl.* intestines; gut, fiddle-strings; "Tharms, small tripes" (Herd); "small guts, fiddle-strings" (Burns, 1787), hence, to "kittle hair on thairms", to play the fiddle (see kittle).  
 thegither, *adv.* together.  
 thieveless, *adj.* listless, shy, reserved, "cold, dry, spited, *spoken of a person's demeanour*" (Burns, 1787), "frigid, forbidding" (Chambers).  
 thirl, *v.t.* to bind, to subject; to enslave.  
 thole, *v.t.* to endure, bear, suffer.  
 thow, *v.* and *n.* to thaw, a thaw; also *fig.* to "break the ice"; "to remove the rigour produced by cold"; -*adj.* thowless, without a stir; "unactive, silly, lazy, heavy" (Herd); "slack, pithless" (Burns, 1786); "slack, lazy" (Burns, 1787).  
 thrang, *adj.* crowded, busy; "the term is often applied to the time or season of busy engagement" (Jamieson).  
 thrapple, *n.* the throat; also *v.t.* to strangle or throttle.  
 thrawart, *adj.* perverse, stubborn, &c.; "bad tempered" (Fergusson); "froward; perverse; obstinate" (Jamieson).  
 thrawn, *adj.* stubborn, "awkward"; *in phr.*, thrawn-gabbit, literally "with a twisted mouth" (Chambers); surly, quarrelsome; "Peevish; ill-tempered, Roxb.; from the addition of *Gab* to *Thrawn*, *q.* expressing ill-humour by the distortion of the mouth" (Jamieson).  
 threap, *v.i.* to insist, reiterate, &c.; "Threep, to aver, alledge, urge, and affirm boldly" (Herd) "to maintain by dint of assertion" (Burns, 1787).  
 till, *prep.* to; till't, to it. Also tull; "tull his shoon", *for* or *on* his shoes.  
 tint, *adj.* lost; also *past t.* of tine, to lose.



tocher, tocherquid, *n.* dowry; "portion, dowry" (Herd); "marriage portion" (Burns, 1787, and Currie). [Gaelic *tochar*.]

toga, *n.* a Roman citizen's outer cloak.

toom, tuim, *v.t.* and *adj.* empty; "applied to a barrel, purse, house, &c. *Item*, to empty" (Herd); Mr. William Lockhart of Baronald traced the origin of the word in the Gaelic *Taomam*; footnote in his account of the Parish of Lanark, *SA*, VII, p. 434.

toun, *n.* and *adj.* town.

towsie, *adj.* shaggy, rough-coated; "Towzie, rough, shaggy" (Burns, 1787).

trashtrie, *n.* "trash" (Burns, 1786 and 1787).

tretyt, *v.t.* treated (*archaic*).

trews, *n.pl.* close-fitting trousers, often of tartan material; "Trewes, hose and breeches all of a piece" (Herd).

trist, see tryst.

tron[el], *n.* a public weighing machine, and by extension a market; "public beam for weighing merchandize" (Arnot's *History of Edinburgh*, 1780, p. 274). Such a machine, for weighing salt, was formerly set up outside the Tron Kirk in Edinburgh, hence the name for the city's sweeps; "they were called 'Tron-men, from the circumstance of their being stationed at the *Trone*, or public beam for weighing, which formerly stood in front of the Tron Church" (*A Series of Original Portraits and Caricature Etchings by the late John Kay Miniature Painter, Edinburgh, with Biographical sketches and Illustrative Anecdotes*, Adam and Charles Black, Edinburgh, 1877, II, p.

trou, *v.t.* to trust, to believe; "believe" (Fergusson); "to believe" (Burns, 1787).

truis, *n.pl.* see trews.

tryst, *n.* an agreed meeting; a cattle-fair; "appointment" (Herd); "Tryst is a Scotch word for an appointed meeting" (James Wilson, M.A., account of the Parish of Falkirk, *SA*, IX, p. 299, footnote).

tull, see til.

tulzie, *n.* a [vigorous] contest; a quarrel, a fight; "Tooly, to fight. A fight or quarrel" (Herd; the typical pronunciation of *z* is indicated by Herd's spelling); "a quarrel; to quarrel, to fight" (Burns, 1787); "a quarrel; a broil; a struggle", "*Tuilyie* is used, rather ludicrously, for a battle or skirmish *Waverley*" (Jamieson).

tunag, *n.* a shawl worn by Highland women.

twa, *n.* and *adj.* two.

twin, twine, *v.t.* "to part with, to separate from" (Herd); "to part" (Burns, 1787).

twist, *v.t.* to adjust the drones in order to obtain the correct pitch before beginning to play the bagpipes.

twyne, *v.t.* to spin or twist into threads.

tydingis, *n.pl.* tidings (*archaic*); news.

tyke, *n.* a dog, often but not necessarily one of uncertain pedigree or disposition.

## U

uke, *n.* and *adj.* week; also wook.

## V

vailyeand, *adj.* valiant, worthy.

vauntie, *adj.* proud; vain.

venue, *n.* a meeting-place, *esp.* for an exhibition, concert or sporting event.

virle, *n.* a ferrule, a band of metal &c. around a walking-stick or instrument: "Virle, a ring round a column &c." (Burns, 1787).

virtù, *n.* a love of and taste in the fine arts, the Antique &c.; virtuoso, a man of *virtù*; a skilled performer (*pl. virtuosi*). "In the language of connoisseurs and *Dilettanti*, Vertu means the study of antiquities and curiosities of nature and art" (Adam Ferguson, *Principles of Moral and Political Science*, Edinburgh, 1792, Vol. I, p. 302); "In Italy it [virtue] means a taste for antiquities, and curiosities of nature or art" (*ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 137).

vista, *n.* a view or prospect, *esp.* one along or through an avenue of trees, houses &c.

Vocable, *n.* a word.

Volk, *n.* the folk, people collectively, *esp.* those with a common language and culture; the Common People, farmers, fishermen, artisans; volkslied, folk-song. [German.]

## W

wab, see wabster.

wabster, *n.* weaver; from *wab*, a web, a complete piece of cloth as woven in a loom.

wad, *past t.* of will; would; wadna, would not, wouldn't.

waefu', *adj.* woeful, sad; causing woe.

waen, *n.* a child.

wae's me for, *idiom. phr.* "alas!", &c. Cf Burns, Glossary to *Poems* 1787: "Waesucks! or wae's me! alas! O the pity!".

waff, *adj.* strayed (also *v.i.*, to wander).

wale, *v.i.* and *v.t.*, to choose, select; -*n.* the pick, the very best of a number of choices; -*adj.* waly, choice, select &c.; excellent; -*n.* wally (usually in *pl.* form wallies), choice article, "ornament", "Wale, to pick and chuse. The wale, *i.e.* the best", "Wally, chosen, beautiful, large. A bonny wally, *i.e.* a fine thing", "Bonywalys, toys, gewgaws" (all three Herd).

wallet, *n.* not a pocket-book for bills but a small satchel or knapsack, often of



canvas or leather; "a bag, in which the necessaries of a traveller are put; a knapsack" (Johnson).

wallop, *v.* and *n.* to beat, run, or dance vigorously. "To move quickly with much agitation of the body or clothes", "To gallop", "Quick motion, with agitation of the clothes, especially when in a ragged state", "The noise caused by this motion", "A sudden and severe blow" (all five Jamieson).

wallsteads, *n. pl.* the ruins of a cottage or farmstead, esp. in the country; the outline of buildings long abandoned and covered over with moss and grass.

wame, *n.* the belly; "womb" (Herd); "the belly, *Wamefou'* a bellyfull" (Burns, 1787).

war, waur, *adj.* worse (*comp.* of bad).

warst, *adj.* worst (*superl.* of bad).

wather, wether, *n.* male sheep; gelded ram.

wauk, *v. i.* and *v. t.* to awake; to keep watch over, esp. a sheep-fold; *-n.* wauking, the watch over the sheep-fold.

wear, *v. t.* to drive sheep or kye slowly to the buchts or to the milking-place, &c.

wee, *adj.* little. Also *n.* a short time.

weel, wiel, *adj.* well; *-adv.* well, very; weel-aff, *adj.* well-off, prosperous.

weid, *n.* clothing, apparel, dress; hence, "hamely weid", a simple, natural style.

wha, *pron.* who.

whan, *adv.* and *conj.* when.

when, *n.* a number [of]; some; a few.

whin, *n.* gorse; "Whins, furze" (Herd).

whindging, see whinge.

whinge, *v. i.* to complain peevishly; to whine; "Whinging, whining, speaking with a doleful tone" (Herd).

whisht, *interj.* or *imper.* "hush"; "Whisht, husht, hold your peace" (Herd); "Whisht! silence! *to hold one's whisht*, to be silent" (Burns, 1787).

wiel, see weel.

win, *v. i.* to live in a place; "win or won, to reside, dwell" (Herd).

winna, *v. i.* will not.

winson[el], *adj.* pleasant, sweet, admired, attractive, &c; "Winson, gaining, desirable, agreeable, complete, large, we say, My winsome love" (Herd); "Winsome, gay,

hearty, vaunted" (Burns, 1787).

wiss, *v. i.* to wish; *past t.* wist.

wither, *conj.* whether.

witht, *prep.* with.

woo, *n.* wool. See *Ancient and Modern Scottish Songs*, Glossary; "Woo or W, wool; as in the whim of making five words out of four letters, thus, *z, a, e, w*; (i.e.) Is it all one wool?" (Herd).

wordy, *adj.* worth, worthy.

wreaths, *n. pl.* "Wreaths (of snow), when heaps of it are blown together by the wind" (Herd).

wykkytly, *adv.* wickedly, cruelly.

wynd, *n.* a narrow lane, particularly in a town; "an alley; a lane" (Jamieson).

## Y

yade, *n.* "Properly an old mare" (Jamieson); also yad and yaud; "bra' basin'd yade", a fine old mare with a white stripe on her face.

yard, yaird *n.* a garden a small enclosure.

yce, *n.* ice.

yence, *adv.* once, formerly.

yird, *n.* earth; yirdfast, *adj.* stuck fast in the ground, used esp. of great stones which remained thus fixed for centuries until cleared by communal effort; also *n.* such a stone.

yett, *n.* a gate; "a gate, *such as is usually at the entrance into a farm yard or field*" (Currie).

yill, *n.* ale; yill-caup, ale-cup (see caup); *yill-caup* Commentators, those among whom the consumption of yill awakens fluency in debate on "*Logic*" and "*Scripture*" (see Burns, "The Holy Fair", stanza XVIII).

yokin, *n.* literally, a yoking: "the time that a horse is in the *yoke*" (Jamieson); or, of work in general, a stint which is not broken by a period of rest: "Yokin, yoking, a bout" (Burns, 1787; cf n. 171 to Chapter VII). "To enter on any sort of employment with vigour or keenness, S. *Ross's Helenore*" (Jamieson).

yowe, *n.* ewe, a female sheep.

Yule, *n.* and *adj.* Christmas.



Notes to the text.



## Abbreviations used in the Notes:

Some of these abbreviations - e.g. BM and *exh.* - are also used in the list of Illustrations. Abbreviations used in the Glossary are separately noted.

BM	British Museum.
Currie	<i>The Works of Robert Burns; with An Account of his Life, and A Criticism on his Writings. To which are prefixed, some Observations on the Character and Condition of The Scottish Peasantry</i> [ed. James Currie], 4 vols, Liverpool, 1800 (references are to the sixth edition, London, 1809).
<i>exh.</i>	exhibited.
Herd	<i>Ancient and Modern Scottish Songs Heroic Ballads Etc. Collected from Memory, Tradition, and Ancient Authors The Second Edition In Two Volumes</i> , Edinburgh, 1776. Although described as a second edition, this is in fact a new and much enlarged publication incorporating all but one of the pieces in Herd's earlier collection, <i>The Ancient and Modern Scots Songs, Heroic Ballads, etc., Now first Collected into one Body From the various Miscellanies wherein they formerly lay dispersed Containing likewise A great Number of Original Songs, from Manuscripts never before published</i> , Edinburgh, 1769. The edition published in 1791 by Lawrie and Symington omits Herd's Preface and most of his notes; for bibliographical details, see Dr. Hans Hecht, <i>Songs from David Herd's Manuscripts</i> , Edinburgh, 1904, pp. 65-9.
HMC	Historic Manuscripts Commission.
HMSO	Her Majesty's Stationery Office.
<i>Illustrations</i>	<i>Illustrations of the Lyric Poetry and Music of Scotland By William Stenhouse in The Scots Musical Museum</i> (see <i>SMM</i> ).
Jamieson	<i>Etymological Dictionary of the Scottish Language</i> , 2 vols., compiled by Dr. John Jamieson, Edinburgh, 1808; Supplement, 2 vols., Edinburgh, 1825. An abridged edition was prepared by John Johnstone and published in Edinburgh, 1846 (references are to the revised edition, prepared by John Longmuir, and published by William P. Nimmo, Edinburgh and London, 1877).
<i>JWCI</i>	<i>Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes</i> .
<i>Letters</i>	<i>The Letters of Robert Burns Edited from the original manuscripts by J. De Lancey Ferguson</i> , 2 vols., Clarendon Press, 1931; 2nd edn., edited by G. Ross Roy, 2 vols., Clarendon Press, 1985. The serial numbers of the first edition are retained in the second, with additions to the canon, and those letters relocated in the sequence, being designated thus; 485.A. (this example both corrected from the original and relocated). References are made to both editions, and to the names of recipients and dates of letters where possible. The Burns Federation edn. of <i>The Complete Letters of Robert Burns</i> , edited by James A. Mackay, Alloway Publishing, 1987, includes a "Chronological List of Letters" (pp. 792-809) in which the serial numbers of the Clarendon Press <i>Letters</i> , 1985, are noted. The page numbers given in this List are sometimes slightly aghley.



- Memoirs* MEMOIRS of the late DAVID ALLAN, Painter in Edinburgh; commonly called the Scots Hogarth, printed in an edition of *The Gentle Shepherd* prepared by Robert Brown of Newhall House and published in Edinburgh, 2 vols., 1808. The *Memoirs* were partly taken down from Allan's widow Shirley and his half-brother James.
- MMC *The Merry Muses of Caledonia*, Edinburgh, 1959 (2nd edition, Edinburgh, 1964), ed. James Barke, Sydney Goodsir Smith and Professor John De Lancey Ferguson.
- NGS National Galleries of Scotland.
- NLS National Library of Scotland.
- publ. published.
- RA Royal Academy.
- Royal Academy* *The Royal Academy of Arts. A Complete Dictionary of Contributors and their Work from its foundation in 1769 to 1904. By Algernon Graves, London, 1905.*
- RSA Royal Scottish Academy.
- SA *The Statistical Account of Scotland, 1791-1799; a reissue in twenty volumes by EP Publishing Ltd., Wakefield; The Scholar Press, Yorkshire.*
- Sale I *A Catalogue of the Valuable Pictures, Drawings, Sketches, Prints and Books of Prints, the Property of the late Mr. David Allan, History-Painter, Edinburgh. Most of the Pictures and Drawings being from that ingenious artist's own Pencil; and possessing all that originality, character, and interesting simplicity of composition which distinguished his Productions. Which will be sold by Auction By Mr. Martin at his Rooms, South-Bridge, Edinburgh, on Monday, February 6 1797 And Six Following Days, at Twelve o' clock. To be viewed Four Days preceding the Sale, by those having Catalogues, which are to be had of Mr. Martin, Price Sixpence. Edinburgh. Printed by John Moir Paterson's Court 1797.*
- Sale II *A Catalogue of Drawings, Sketches, and a few prints, the property of the late Mr. David Allan, History Painter, Edinburgh: Most of the Pieces being from that ingenious artist's own Pencil; - comprising many of the best Drawings purchased at the former Sale for Mrs Allan, in the view of her teaching Drawing, but which, in consequence of her having lately gone abroad, will be sold by Auction by Mr. Martin at his Rooms, South Bridge, Edinburgh, on Monday, January 22<sup>d</sup> 1798 at 12 o' clock Noon; - and at 6 in the Evening of the Two following Days To be viewed for two Days preceding the Day of Sale, and Catalogues to be had of Mr. Martin, Edinburgh Printed by J. Moir, Paterson's Court 1798.*
- SC *A Select Collection of Original Scottish Airs for the Voice* [ed. George Thomson], in 5 volumes, Edinburgh and London, 1793-1818 (the folio edition; the title-page of the fifth volume, in which the title is given as *A Select Collection of Original Scottish Airs, &c.*, is reproduced as Figure 251, facing page 284 *supra*). Reference is also made to Thomson's octavo edition, *Select Melodies of Scotland and of Ireland & Wales . . . in Six Volumes*, 1822-25; these editions are distinguished in the notes by date (for bibliographical details see Cecil Hopkinson and C. B. Oldman, "Thomson's Collections of National Song", article in *Transactions of the Edinburgh Bibliographical Society*, Vol. II (1938-45), Edinburgh, 1946.



- SMM*      *The Scots Musical Museum*, 6 vols., Edinburgh, 1787-1803. Edited mainly by James Johnson, Robert Burns and Stephen Clarke. Reprinted in *facsimile* from the four volume edition of 1853 (Blackwood and Sons; printed from Johnson's original pewter plates) by Folklore Associates, as *The Scots Musical Museum Originally Published by James Johnson With Illustrations of the Lyric Poetry and Music of Scotland By William Stenhouse*, 2 vols., Pennsylvania, 1962, with a Foreword by Henry George Farmer (references are to this edition).
- SNPG*      Scottish National Portrait Gallery.
- Societies*      *The Society of Artists of Great Britain 1760-1791 The Free Society of Artists 1761-1783 A Complete Dictionary of Contributors and their Works from the foundation of the Societies to 1791 by Algernon Graves*, London 1907.
- STS*      The Scottish Text Society.
- TTM*      *The Tea-Table Miscellany: A Collection of Choice Songs, Scots and English. By Allan Ramsay*, 4 vols., Edinburgh, 1723-37. Various editions.
- WSD*      *The Works of Robert Burns*, edited by William Scott Douglas, 6 vols., Edinburgh, 1877-79. Reissued 1891.



## Notes

### Notes to Chapter I

#### Making a progress in the Arts.

Quoted from Sir Joshua Reynolds, *Discourses on Art*, I, lines 98-9.

1. Letter to Lady Frances Erskine, April 23rd, 1773 (sent from Rome). Quoted - from John Crawford's *Memorials of Alloa*, pp. 197-98 - by the Reverend Thomas Crouther Gordon, in *David Allan of Alloa 1744-1796 The Scottish Hogarth*, Alva, 1951, pp. 23-4; Allan "hope[d] by degrees to let all [his] friends have some of [his] pictures".

2. *MEMOIRS of the late DAVID ALLAN, Painter in Edinburgh; commonly called the Scots Hogarth*, in Robert Brown's edition of *The Gentle Shepherd*, Edinburgh 1808, pp. 623-24: "I made it like him; and I only did it for fun.". Allan Cunningham's elaboration reads, "I could nae help it," said little David; 'he looked sae queer; I made it like him, and a' for fun.'" (*The Lives of the Most Eminent British Painters, Sculptors, and Architects*, 6 vols., London, 1833, Vol. VI, p. 24; also *The Lives of the Most Eminent British Painters by Allan Cunningham, Revised edition, Annotated and continued to the Present Time by Mrs. Charles Heaton*, 3 vols., London, 1879, Vol. II, p. 360).

3. Allan's birthday was 13<sup>th</sup> February 1744; he entered the Academy in 1755, on the 23rd of that month (*Memoirs*, 1808, p. 625; Cunningham - *Lives*, 1833, Vol. VI, p. 25, and 1879 Vol. II, p. 361 - gives 22nd) See T. C. Gordon, *op. cit.*, pp. 5 and 9 for Cathcart and the Academy.

4. See Appendices II, III and V, and letters to Hopetoun (p. 21), Grant (p. 121) and Buchan (pp. 204 & 205), *infra*. For Erskine, Cathcart and Abercrombie, see *Memoirs*, 1808, p. 625, and Gordon, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

5. The *Memoirs* of 1808 were taken down partly from James Allan and David's widow Shirley, née Welsh. See also Gordon, *op. cit.*, pp. 5-6, and 2-7 on Alloa itself. Tobias Smollett, *The Expedition of Humphry Clinker*, (1771), letter of Aug. 28 from Matt. Bramble to Dr. Lewis, mentions tobacco being sent from Glasgow to Alloa for shipment. John Francis Erskine contributed to the account of Alloa

in the *Statistical Account of Scotland*; see *SA*, Vol. IX, pp. 657-707.

6. Letter of March [ 1794 ]; *The Letters of Robert Burns*, ed. John De Lancey Ferguson, Clarendon Press, 1931 (2nd edn, revised by G. Ross Roy, 1985), Vol. I, pp. 236-38 (2nd edn, pp. 284-86), no. 620.

7. *Memoirs*, 1808, p. 624.

8. Or at least a sketch in oils of the same subject: Sale I, p. 8, lot 61; its dimensions, 16 in. by 13, correspond to those of the painting now in the Hunterian Gallery.

9. See D. Murray, *Robert and Andrew Foulis and the Glasgow Press*, 1913, pp. 66-7, and letter from Robert Foulis to the Hon. Charles Yorke, 1758, quoted Murray, *op. cit.*, p. 70.

10. Murray, *op. cit.*, pp. 68-9. Buchan was born in 1742. Robert Brydall, *Art in Scotland its origin and progress*, 1889, p. 129, suggests that Buchan learned engraving at the Foulis Academy. His having met Allan there is likely; they were in contact soon after Allan's return to Scotland (Appendix III).

11. William Smellie, "A Dissertation on the Means of Supporting and Promoting Public Spirit, wrote November, 1760": quoted, from Smellie's *Literary and Characteristical Lives*, pp. 386-87, by D. D. McElroy, in *Scotland's Age of Improvement A Survey of Eighteenth-Century Literary Clubs and Societies*, Washington State University Press, 1969, p. 66. The Select Society was founded in 1754. A good account of the Select Society and its several subsidiary societies is in McElroy, *op. cit.*, pp. 48-67. Equally indispensable is his *The literary clubs and societies of eighteenth century Scotland and their influence on the literary productions of the period from 1700 to 1800*, PhD. thesis, Edinburgh University, 1952.

12. Brydall, *op. cit.*, pp. 143-44. See *infra*, p. 24.

13. *Annual Register*, December, 1768. Quoted in "An Ambitious Man The career and the achievement of Sir Joshua Reynolds" by Nicholas Penny, in *Reynolds*, Catalogue of Royal Academy exhibition, 1986, p. 30, n. 100.

14. Quoted Murray, *op. cit.*, p. 57. In 1743 Robert went to France in order to engage an engraver; in 1745 the Foulis Press published *Conversation sur la connaissance de la*



peinture, by de Piles. See also Brydall, *op. cit.*, pp. 122-23, and Gordon, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

15. Quoted Murray, *op. cit.*, pp. 67-8, from MS source; "Aubin" may be a misreading of "Avline" the spelling Foulis used in a letter to Count Bentinck, 1752 (Murray, *op. cit.*, p. 62).

16. Brydall, *op. cit.*, p. 124, gives Aveline, Payien and Torrie, with their occupations; Murray adds Dubois, and describes two Italians "of the name of Torrie" as "experts for moulding and modelling and casting figures in plaster of Paris" (p. 73). An unfinished proof of Aveline's engraving after Ramsay's portrait of Archibald, Duke of Argyll (then in the "Town Hall, Glasgow") is in a volume of prints from the Foulis Academy in the Rare Books Department of the Mitchell Library, Glasgow (D 311485).

17. 553 paintings in all. See Gordon, *op. cit.*, for the representation of some artists, presumably following the analysis by Gabriel Neil in Murray, *op. cit.*, p. 72. In 1776 Robert Foulis prepared *A Catalogue of Pictures, composed and painted chiefly by the most admired masters of the Roman, Florentine, Parman, Bolognese, Venetian, Flemish and French schools*. The brothers' aim had been to give as wide and representative a survey as possible (as is noted in David and Francina Irwin, *Scottish Painters at Home and Abroad 1620-1900*, London, 1975, p. 85; account of the Foulis Academy is pp. 85-90). Mitchell's print of "Daniel in the Lions' Den" is listed in Foulis' *Catalogue*, p. xvi; Murray, *op. cit.*, p. 75, implies that Payien made the painting seen in one of Allan's engravings (Fig. 2, facing p. 7). The original Rubens is now in the National Gallery of Art, Washington.

18. *A Proposal for encouraging by subscription, an academy for Painting and Sculpture now instituted at Glasgow*, Glasgow [n.d.].

19. Quoted Murray, *op. cit.*, p. 67.

20. Cf. n. 18 *supra*, *A Proposal* . . .

21. Robert Foulis, *Catalogue*, 1776, Vol. I, pp. vi and xiii. Military uses included reconnaissance sketches.

22. *ibid.*, p. xvii.

23. Murray, *op. cit.*, p. 68, quoting from *Glasgow Journal*, August 1755.

24. See *infra*, pp 177-78 and 334, and Figures 131-33.

25. Cf. Reynolds, *Discourses*, IV, esp. ll 17-45.

26. Foulis sale catalogue of 1758, the Mitchell Library, Glasgow.

27. Tassie (1735-1799) "executed some excellent work, particularly busts of Livy and Cicero", while at the Academy (Murray, *op. cit.*, p. 87, but whether modelled or carved is not specified). Since no mention is made of an instructor in glyptic sculpture being engaged, the figure shown carving in Allan's print may

be Tassie. For the Italian(s) Torrie and work in plaster, cf. n. 16 *supra*.

28. Robert Foulis, *Catalogue*, 1776, Vol. I.

29. *Ibid.*

30. Gordon, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

31. Basil C. Skinner, *Scots in Italy in the Eighteenth Century*, Edinburgh 1966, p. 25, lists William Cochran, James Maxwell, John Paxton and Archibald McLaughlan; the last named was sent to Rome "partly in order to copy Raphael's School of Athens" (Foulis *Catalogue*, 1776, Vol. III, p. 145). It is not clear exactly when Allan went to Italy. Cunningham gives the date of his departure as "summer of 1764" (there is no indication in the 1808 *Memoirs*), the Rev. Gordon - probably bearing in mind the Masonic summons card which was prepared by Allan in 1764 (British Museum, Print Room, BM 1868-3-28-606) - advances it to "late autumn", but Basil Skinner mentions both an inscription on the verso of a "Cottage interior" at Mochrum - "painted by David Allan before he was sent to study at Rome by means of his worthy patron, Lord Cathcart, 1767" - and Andrew Lumisden's expectation of the "arrival of Mr. Allan" in August of the same year (*The Indefatigable Mr Allan*, catalogue of Scottish Arts Council exhibition, 1973, pp. 4 and 6). Allan wrote to Lord Cathcart from Livorno, August 24<sup>th</sup>. 1767 (Hist. MSS. Comm., 2nd Report, Appendix, p. 26). The only mention of Allan in Hayward's Roman notebook is "Mr. David Allan, painter from Scotland 1773" and must refer to the *Concorso* of that year (Lindsay Stainton, article in *Journal of the Walpole Society*, XLIX, 1983).

32. Thomas Jones, 22nd July 1782; *Journal of the Walpole Society*, XXXII, 1948, p. 113. Cathcart remitted money to Allan via "Messrs Drummond Bankers Charing Cross London", who forwarded it to "Mr David Allan Painter at Rome au Caffé Anglais a Rome" (Hopetoun MSS, NRA 888 46 801).

33. Hamilton (1723-98) studied under Masucci in Rome in the 1740s, and was resident there from 1756. He visited Scotland in 1789; see Allan's letter to the Earl of Buchan, transcribed in full p. 204 *infra*.

34. Letter from John Aikman of the Ross to John Forbes, 29 August 1767, transcribed by Basil Skinner and quoted by Duncan Macmillan in *Painting in Scotland The Golden Age*, Oxford, 1986, p. 33. Allan's description of the Accademia is quoted from a letter to Lady Frances Erskine; cf. n. 1. *supra*.

35. Sketchbook D5088, Print Room, National Gallery of Scotland, and another sketchbook, private collection, *passim*. Tomb of Virgil at Pozzuoli, watercolour, NGS Print Room. "Temple of Peace" &c., Sale I: p. 14, lot 136; p. 12, lot 89; p. 13, lot 126. Macenas' villa was on the Esquiline Hill in Rome, but cf. Brydall



*op. cit.*, p. 159, on More's "View of the Campania from Tivoli with Maecenas's Villa and the Cascatella" (1783). In Sale I also appeared an oil painting of "The Tomb of Virgil at Mantua"; Mantua was Virgil's birthplace (p. 9, lot 70).

36. Cf. Reynolds, *Discourses*, I, line 205. Allan seems to have bought prints on behalf of Lords Kinnoull and Alva (cf. n. 109). Allan's own prints: Volumes: Sale I, p. 1, lots 1, 2, 14. "Veduti di Roma, by Piranese [*sic*] 2 vol. imperial", Sale I, p. 1, lot 7 (Also owned "Collection of Vases Candlesticks and Bass-reliefs engraved from the Antique by Piranesi, in all 29 prints", Sale I, p. 2, lot 37). Prints after paintings, all from Sale I: Titian ("Christ and his Disciples at Emmaus"), p. 4, lot 72. Correggio ("Virgin and Child"), p. 4, lot 79. Domenichino ("St. Jerome receiving the sacrament"), p. 4, lot 67. Reni ("Les Couseuses", "Madona" [*sic*], "Magdalene", "Cupid" and "Maria Anna Cenci"), p. 3, lot 52, p. 4, lots 73, 76-8, p. 5, lot 107. Cortona ("Ananias cured of his blindness"), p. 3, lot 49. Carracci (with prints after Raphael and other artists), p. 1, lot 9. Sacchi (an unspecified number of "subjects"), p. 3, lot 50. Carlo Marat [*sic*], ("Holy Family" and "The Vestal"), p. 4, lot 74, p. 5, lot 130. Allan also owned a print by "Jac. Frey" after "Noah's Sacrifice" by Poussin, p. 3, lot 54, and a "Holy Family" by Poilly after the French classicist Mignard, p. 4, lot 75.

37. The quotation is from Reynolds, *op. cit.*, V, 126. All other references are to Sale I. Volumes: "Raphael's Bible", p. 1, lot 8; "Logge di Rafaele nel Vaticano", p. 2, lot 36; twelve prints, "The marriage of Cupid and Psyche", p. 1, lot 9. Loose prints included "The School of Athens" and "The Transfiguration", p. 3, lots 42 and 47. The tracing after Michelangelo was one of a pair, p. 10, lot 29 and that following. There is no definite proof that all these prints were bought in Italy, but it is likely that most were. A further nineteen prints after Raphael have, however, been excluded from the number given, since these were "heads from Rafaele's Cartoons", and thus presumably of English origin (Sale I, p. 3, lot 55, engraver not named).

38. Cf. *Discourses*, I, 47-8, and I, 584. Allan's former rooms were described by Northcote when he took them over in 1777 (W. T. Whitley, *Artists and their friends in England*, Vol. II, pp. 307-8, quoted in T. C. Gordon, *David Allan of Alloa*, 1951, p. 19).

39. Reynolds, *op. cit.*, I, 115 and VII, 679-80.

40. Drawings: Sale I, p. 12, lot 91; I, p. 10, lot 28, either the Borghese Gladiator/Warrior or the Dying Gladiator/Gaul. Faun, NGS 05088 (sketchbook, f. 50 Recto). Busts, reliefs, altars, cameos and architectural details in this

book and another (private collection), *passim*.

41. Relief of Orpheus, Eurydice and Hermes, now Naples Museum 6729. Allan's drawing (NGS 05088, f. 46 Verso) shows the crack which runs across the top right corner of the relief, and records the Greek inscriptions, which do not appear in the Villa Albani version. Allan did not understand Greek, as his pencil note proves: "The hair of P. & Helen wore off". He wrote the names HPMHZ, EYΔIKH, and ZV7P90 at the back of the sketchbook (f. 65, Recto), and obtained a translation.

42. Sale I, p. 17, "MISCELLANEOUS ARTICLES", lot 1 (model); lot 20 (box). The seal (Fig. 5) was used by Allan in a letter of 1782 to Lord Hopetoun, and may be "A Seal [of lapis lazuli set in gold]", part of lot 19. Also appearing in lot 19 was a "Gold Ring, Roman Soldier mounting his Horse", perhaps the seal used in several letters to Sir James Grant, which more probably shows Odysseus climbing into the wooden horse. Allan owned at least four of Tassie's portrait medallions; Sir William Hamilton, James Byres, "the late Countess of Hopetoun" and "the Late Mr. Foulis of Glasgow": Sale I, p. 17, lots 24, 23, 25 and 22.

43. The quotation is from Reynolds, *Discourses*, I, 47-8. On collecting in general, cf. James Barry, letter sent to Edmund Burke from Rome (undated - early 1766): "the English have much money to lay out in Vertù and have, perhaps, a greater passion for the ancients than they have, generally speaking, judgement to distinguish among them ... there are instances of some good things being sent over, but the multitude of bad ones make us the amazement and ridicule of French, Germans, and all other indifferent people" (in *The Works of James Barry Esq. Historical Painter*, London, 1809, 2 Vols., Vol. I, p. 71).

44. Sale I, pp. 6-7 *passim*, many not identified. Drawings after Raphael: Sale I, p. 10, lots 17 and 27, "a Figure" and "a Groupe [of three figures]" from "Raphael's picture of the Burning of Rome", which also appear in Sale II, p. 4, lots 42-3; Sale I, p. 10, lot 20, "Figure of Raphael, from the School of Athens"; p. 13, lot 93, "St. Bonaventura, after Raphael's picture of the dispute on the Sacrament", Allan also painted "Two Heads after Raphael" (from "The School of Athens"), Sale I, p. 6, lot 11, now in a private collection. He drew "six sketches of Vestals, same size with the original at Rome, by Guido", and "The Persian Sibyl" after Guercino (Sale I, pp. 14 and 16, lots 160 and 202). He also copied the "St. Francis" at Hopetoun House; Sale I, p. 7, lot 21 (in oils), and Sale II, p. 3, lot 11 (in chalks).

45. All references are to Sale I. Titian



("Child and Dog"), p. 7, lot 19. Correggio ("Marriage of St Catherine"), p. 7, lot 24, now in a private collection. Caravaggio ("The Gamblers and Fortune Tellers"), a pair, p. 7, lots 17 and 18. Guercino, p. 7, lot 27, and cf. p. 16, lot 202 (n. 44 *supra*). Barocci p. 7 lot 20.

46. Sale I, p. 7, lots 30 & 16. To the drawings mentioned above (n. 40) may be added "Juno, an original Drawing from the Antique, framed, 18 in by 12", Sale I, p. 16, lot 197, which could have been of a statue, relief or wall-painting.

47. Hamilton; Sale I, p. 7, lot 22. Guercino ("St Cecilia, an original Drawing, in red chalk") I, p. 16, lot 196. Piranesi ("The Villa Medici at Rome, from Memory") I, p. 11, lot 44. "A Caricature by Antonio Bernini, a disciple of Carracci", Sale II, p. 4, lot 51. "Battoni", I, p. 12, lots 76 and 77. Borgognone, I, p. 12, lot 75. Dürer, I, p. 11, lot 60. Allan also owned a print of "The Shepherds, by Albert Durer", II, p. 8, lot 59. In Sale I appear almost thirty drawings by a number of "great Masters", none of whom, unfortunately, is identified. Lot 160, p. 14 (n. 44 *supra*) is ambiguous; the drawings themselves may have been attributed to Guido.

48. Cf. Sale I: "Schola Italica Pictura, being the Select Collection published by Gavin Hamilton Esq; 40 prints *fine impress*" The book was published in 1773.

49. With Christie's (London), May 1947; reproduced in *The Dictionary of British 18<sup>th</sup> Century Painters in oils and crayons*, Sir Ellis K. Waterhouse, Woodbridge, 1981, p. 26.

50. See Macmillan, *Painting in Scotland*, Oxford 1986, p. 42, and p. 43 on Hamilton's "open studio" and generosity. The series was originally planned as six small pictures for Lord Shelburne. The quotation is from a letter sent to Shelburne on 13<sup>th</sup> March 1777, quoted in catalogue of a sale at Lansdowne House, Christie's, London 1930, p. 98 (David Irwin, *English Neoclassical Art, Studies in Inspiration and Taste*, London and Greenwich, Connecticut, 1966, p. 98; Macmillan, *op. cit.*, p. 42). Macmillan notes "similar schemes" by Alexander Runciman, Fuseli and Barry "all apparently originating at the same time". See *infra*, p. 39 ff.

51. Sketchbook in NGS, D 5088, ff. 27V-35V. Allan refers to a "Feast of the Gods as executed [for] S<sup>r</sup> L. Dundas at Edn." (f. 30R), and to "the grecian hall at Kedleston the seat of the right Honnerable the lord scardale" (f. 35V, Allan's spelling), heading this leaf "plate" and approving the stucco work by "mossirs rosse". James Byres prepared architectural designs for Dundas; see Basil Skinner, *Scots in Italy in the eighteenth century*, Edinburgh, 1966, p. 16. See also p. 38 *infra*.

52. One of these subjects—that of Hercules

and Omphale (f. 29V) — appears as an ink sketch on f. 26R. Three subjects mentioned on f. 30V were also recorded as finished works: "Mutius Scaevola burning his hand on the Altar before Porsenna King of [the *deleted*] Clusium in Etruria"; ". . . the four Quarters of the world"; "Mark Antony & Cleopatra". The first of these, "The fortitude of Mutius Scaevola, framed, 6ft 7in by 4ft 6in", was sold in 1797 (Sale I, p. 9, lot 81) and is now in a private collection. Also painted in oils were "Four quarters of the World, (separate) allegorically represented, in oval, each 3ft by 2." (Sale I, p. 7, lot 28; a drawing in red chalk, NGS D 4450, may be related to these pictures). A small oil painting of Mark Antony and Cleopatra is in another private collection, and is certainly not that which was exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1771 (see Appendix VII); a drawing of *that* melancholy subject is in the Dunimarle Album, on loan to the NGS.

53. Part of a scheme for a "Drawing Room", NGS D5088, f. 33R; the spelling is Allan's own, but subjects have been separated for clarity. Other Homeric subjects noted by Allan include three scenes involving Achilles (f. 32V; for a "Dining Room"), three more involving the gods and goddesses of the Trojan War (f. 33R; for a "Picture Room"), and "the funeral games instituted by Achilles, in in honour of patrocles" (f. 35R, transcribed *verbatim*; the games "as Described in homer's Iliad" are listed, with several additional but related subjects).

54. See n. 33 *supra*, Andrew Lumsden — whose surname is often spelt Lumsden, the Scots pronunciation being the same in either case — was Secretary to Prince Charles Edward in the exiled Stuart court. Hamilton had studied under Agostino Masucci, who painted a number of portraits for this court, in the 1740s. Allan wrote of James Byres — whose surname is often spelt Byers — to Sir William Hamilton in 1780 (Appendix II) and to the Earl of Buchan in 1783 (NLS MS 590 no 1728). For Byres' interest in geology, and an interesting speculation on one motive for Allan's costume studies (see pp. 13-14 *infra*), see Macmillan, *op. cit.*, pp. 68 and 140. It was Byres who owned Allan's "Origin of Painting" (see pp. 17-19 *infra*), and one of the medallions in Allan's possession was Tassie's "Head of Mr Byres of Rome" (Sale I, p. 17, lot 23; the next lot was a "Head of Sir William Hamilton, Naples, by do.").

55. Allan mentions Grant in his letter of August 9<sup>th</sup> 1783 to Buchan (see n. 54). For some of the Scots then in Rome — "they were quite a crowd" — see Macmillan, *op. cit.*, p. 42, where they are also described as a "casual



academy". See also Basil Skinner, *Scots in Italy in the 18th Century*, Edinburgh, 1966, *passim*. Allan drew his drafts from Lord Cathcart (n.32) "au Caffé Anglais a Rome", which he also drew in watercolours (versions in NGS and Aberdeen Art Gallery). Andrew Wilson (1780-1848), pupil of Nasmyth and friend of Wilkie, wrote that "in Rome, Allan was much thought of, and considered a historical painter of great promise"; Wilson may also have studied under Allan (footnote to Cunningham's *Lives of the Most Eminent British Painters, Revised Edition, annotated and continued to the present time by Mrs. Charles Heaton*, 3 vols., London, 1879, Vol. II, pp. 362-63).

56. Allan sent a painting of "The Prodigal Son" to the Royal Academy in 1773, as did Alexander Runciman in 1774 (Brydall, *Art in Scotland*, Edinburgh, 1889, p. 163). This subject had been etched by John Runciman; see Macmillan, *op. cit.*, Figure 32. Alexander Runciman's "Origin of Painting" (1773) and David Allan's famous version (1775), are among the earliest paintings of the story; although Runciman left Italy in 1771, his drawing of this subject may date from the previous year; see Macmillan, *op. cit.*, pp. 51-2.

57. See Macmillan, *op. cit.*, p. 49; "In Rome the Runcimans were living under the same roof as Anne Forbes and her mother, where James Nevay was a regular visitor". The Abbé Grant wrote to the Earl of Hopetoun that both Hamilton and Nevay gave Forbes "their best instruction"; NRA (Scotland) 888 46 bundle 593. See also Chapter III, p. 123 and Figure 87.

58. Reynolds, *Discourses on Art*, II, 104 ff. Allan's surviving landscapes are generally backgrounds, or backdrops, for figures.

59. Sale I, p. 4, lot 71: "Lot of nine subjects, engraved from designs by Mengs in the Vatican". Mengs had "a gallery with the finest collection of casts from the antique that [Northcote had] ever seen, where anybody [had] full liberty to draw at all hours who [was] only just once introduced to him"; quoted in W. T. Whitley, *Artists and their Friends in England 1700-1799*, London and Boston, 1928, p. 310.

60. See Brian Fothergill, *Sir William Hamilton Envoy Extraordinary*, London, 1969, pp. 427-42, where the catalogue of Hamilton's possessions records half a dozen such pictures by Fabris, including (Case 10) "Two Bambacciate Companions, one a Night-Piece with many Lazaroni sitting by a fire; & the other a popular Feast at Monte Vergine", and two by Allan (Case 12) "Two Bambacciati [*sic*] Companions, One representing a Painter of the Rue Catalana with his wife and Child, & the other Two Zampagnari playing before the Virgin". A painting of the former subject, oil on

copper, of approximately the size noted, belongs to the NGS; a smaller version was sold in Edinburgh by Phillips in April 1988, and is in a private collection. The latter subject is clearly related to Figure 9.

61. The first two pictures are in the NGS sketchbook, D5088, ff. 52 and 62. The "Schiavon of Venice" is so entitled in an album of watercolour drawings, dated 1776, in Aberdeen Art Gallery (with Christie's 1986; N° 43, title in Allan's hand), but another version (NGS D4497g) is inscribed, also in Allan's hand, "Bochinese Man". To complicate matters further, N° 17 in the 1776 album (cf. NGS D4497k) is entitled "Bochinese Venice", this figure, with a heavy, fringed cloak, appearing in one of Allan's drawings of the Roman Carnival (see Macmillan, *op. cit.*, Fig. 46, p. 65. At any rate, the drawing referred to on p. 11 *supra* has in the background a gondola.

62. Sale I, p. 1, lot 13. Michael Levey, in *Painting in XVIII Century Venice*, London, 1959, points out Amigoni as a precursor of Zompini (p. 118). Other precedents for Allan's *Genre* scenes are indicated in Chapter VII, p. 327 and Figs. 279-83 *infra*.

63. The portrait was presented to the RSA in 1866 by a Mrs. Grieg, whose husband had bought it from Allan's daughter Barbara (Rev. T. C. Gordon, *David Allan of Alloa*, Alva, 1951, p. 27; Gordon seems to have misinterpreted the words "painting from a statue" in the 1808 *Memoirs*). On the *Concorsi* of the Accademia di San Luca, see Skinner, *Scots in Italy*, p. 28.

64. The quotation is from "Childe Harold's Pilgrimage", Canto IV, stanza cxlvii, where Byron refers to the Pantheon. Batoni did use the ruins of Rome, most notably the Colosseum, in the backgrounds of his portraits.

65. Allan's portraits are discussed more fully in Chapter III, pp. 112-25 *infra*.

66. First and second states in BM. The second is entitled in Allan's hand; he also etched this spelling.

67. Cf. Reynolds, *Discourses*, II, lines 274 and 289. Allan's pictures of Minorcan characters indicate that he did sail from Britain to Italy on at least one occasion (like Alexander Runciman; Skinner, *Scots in Italy* p. 33) rather than taking the more usual route, a journey through France followed by a voyage to Genoa or Livorno or a crossing of the Alpine passes. Cf. also his encounter with a Turkish vessel, reported in a letter of August 1767 to Lord Cathcart (summarised in Historic MSS. Commission, 2nd Report, Appendix, p. 26). Seven books of Neapolitan and Italian "original Sketches and Studies" appeared in Sale II, p. 5, lots 57-63, two of them being dated (1770 and 1776). Finished watercolour collections of costume studies were sold in



the previous year: Sale I, p. 15, lots 180-81 and 185. None of these is the 1776 album in Aberdeen. A large collection of similar drawings is in the Yale Center, New Haven.

68. "Evening Amusements at Rome", 1769, and "Evening Amusements at Naples", 1770, both Glasgow Art Gallery and Museum. Figures in each of these are related to sketches in NGS D5088; e.g. f. 8V and f. 60, R. & V.; f. 60R is, like several of the sketches in this collection, numbered "47", and has, like them, been added to the original sketchbook. The number is probably that of a lot at some auction, but does not refer to those of 1797 and 1798.

69. A sign in the foreground of Allan's drawing indicates that races will be held on Ruglen Green on 22nd October (Saint Luke's Day is October 18<sup>th</sup>). See David Murison, *The Scottish Year*, Edinburgh, 1982, p. 144, quoting the New Statistical Account, 1836 (for Rutherglen). "Ruglan" is the spelling in Blaeu's map of Glasgow, 1654; see Daiches, *Glasgow*, London, 1977, p. 34.

70. Among the Dutch *Genre* scenes at the Foulis Academy were "Dutch Country Merriments" by Teniers (4 prints), "A Fair" by Breughel, "Two merry meetings of Boors", and "Some Dutch and Flenish Boors drinking in a Tavern", by Teniers: 1776 *Catalogue*, Vol. III, pp. 41, 91, 107, and 108. Carse was a pupil of Allan's, who is said to have employed him to copy his drawings before touching them up himself (Irwin, *Scottish Painters at Home and Abroad*, London, 1975, p. 190, n. 12, "Information from Kenneth Sanderson's MS Notebook, National Gallery of Scotland". Carse's style is certainly very close to Allan's; his "A Brawl in the Alehouse" dates from around 1808. Wilkie's "Pitlessie Fair" is dated 1804.

71. Sale I, p. 15, lots 180-81, and 185. See also p. 21 *infra*.

72. "Blessing the Beasts [at] Rome", 1776 album, N° 49; "At Rome" was added later, in Allan's hand but with darker ink (he seldom crossed "t"). *Morra and Pallone*, *ibid*, N° 51 and 52.

73. Inscription, in Allan's hand, to N° 51 in 1776 album. James Barry was intrigued by the similarity of contemporary Italian hair-styles and sandals to those described in the Classics; *Works*, London, 1809, Vol. I, p. 109.

74. Versions in Aberdeen and in NGS. Cf. Sale I, p. 14, lot 168: "A large Book, containing 36 Eastern Dresses, 27 Figures in Roman Ecclesiastical Habits, 50 Figures, each with a different Musical Instrument". One of the sketches in NGS D5088 is of a "Canonne de Notre Dame Paris" playing a serpent (f. 42V), but there is no other link, even one so tenuous, with this "large Book". Similarly, a

drawing "in black and white chalks, of an Antique Cup found in Greece", rather than being additional evidence of a voyage to the eastern Mediterranean, merely confirms Allan's interests.

75. On the other hand, see Allan's letter of December, 1782, to the Earl and Countess of Hopetoun (transcribed in full p. 21 *infra*), in which he writes of "upwards of fifty" (that is, approximately the number still known). His habit of "shuffling" drawings was not confined to those of Italian subjects or to costume studies; see - in addition to the Roman Carnival series (pp. 14-17), and the repetitions of figures in his views of Edinburgh - Figs. 82 and 115, between pp. 121-22 and 168-69 respectively, Figs. 5, 12 and 231 (facing pp. 9, 12, and 274), and also Figs. 182 and 212, between pp. 245-46 and facing p. 254 respectively.

76. On Edinburgh Water Carriers, see Cockburn, *Memorials of his Time*, Edinburgh, 1856, pp. 353-55, and Chambers, *Traditions of Edinburgh*, Edinburgh, 1824 (last revised edn. 1868, reprinted 1967), p. 4.

77. Ten of the original drawings are in the Royal Library at Windsor, one more in a private collection, and a figure-group which Allan cut from a version of "The Arrival of a Traveller" is in the Mitchell Library, Glasgow (Cowie Coll., SR. 241, No. 308864, f. 2R, inscribed "Inocence betrayed D A inv<sup>to</sup>", in Allan's hand; he also made an engraving of this group). "Contented Capuchin" is N° 57 in the 1776 album (listed as 61), "Michelito" is N° 44 (also spelt "Micholetto", by Allan), and "Woman of Nettuna" is N° 19 (Nettuno is a coastal town some fifty miles south of Rome). The quotation is from the letterpress plate published with Sandby's four aquatints, and, as in all the subsequent quotations from this source, is transcribed *verbatim et literatim*.

78. Perhaps the feature of the text most noteworthy to a contemporary would have been Allan's attitude to the Roman Catholic Church. Leaving aside the Gordon Riots, Lord Cockburn recorded in his *Journal* how "the toleration of the Catholics by the people is one of the striking changes of our time. Since I was born their only chapel here [in Edinburgh] was destroyed by the mob (1780); and the secret feeling of most true Protestants for long after was that that was rather a virtuous excess". (entry for 15<sup>th</sup> March 1835; compare for example Allan's description of "The Opening of the Carnival", Figure 18, facing p. 15).

79. Cf. Reynolds, *Discourses*, IV, 288 ff.

80. The Rev. T. C. Gordon correctly points out that "the grim and sordid debaucheries of Hogarth's prints" were alien to Allan's taste,



but does not allow him any real moral purpose (*David Allan of Alloa*, 1951, p. 26). Cf. also Macmillan, *Painting in Scotland*, 1986, p. 65: "the good humour of social festivity is represented with lively characterisation, but little obvious satire". See also Chapter VII, p. 336 *infra*.

81. This design was not printed. The detail is surely a jibe at the French Academy rather than any comment on the theorists themselves.

82. *Lives*, 1833, Vol. VI, p. 32 (1879, revised edn, Vol. II, pp. 365-66). Throughout his treatment of this series, Cunningham omits events, changes the order in which others are described, and uses Allan's words only sometimes. His account of the reaction of the English "horse-boy" - "the latter, of course, is laughing" - quite misses the irony of Allan's own text; cf. Reynolds, *op. cit.*, VII, 644-54, and also Addison, *Spectator* No. 50, Friday, April 27<sup>th</sup>, 1711 (Everyman edn., London and New York, 1907, 1957 reprint, Vol. I, pp. 150-53).

83. The quotation is from Fuseli's Fourth RA Lecture, in *The Life and Writings of Henry Fuseli ... the former written, and the latter edited by John Knowles*, 3 vols., London, 1831, Vol. II, p. 190; the question of such "assistance" is considered in Chapter II, pp. 34-6 and pp. 72-83 *infra*.

84. See Appendix VII, "Works exhibited by David Allan". Colnaghi bought "Eleven capital drawings by D. Allan, Views in Rome during the Carnival with many Humorous figures", at the second Paul Sandby sale, 17<sup>th</sup> March 1812. Ten were bought by the Prince Regent a few days later, and are still in the Royal Library, Windsor (A. P. Oppé, *English Drawings ... at Windsor Castle*, London, 1950; he points out that reversal in architecture and, e.g., in the way guitars are played or swords are carried shows that Allan always had printing in mind. An eleventh drawing is in a private collection.

85. For Allan's friendship with Sandby, see his letter of 1782 to the Earl and Countess of Hopetoun (p. 21) and also Chapters III and VII, pp. 126 and 325 respectively. Two of Sandby's four prints were published on 1st January 1781; Allan's letter of December 1780 to Sir William Hamilton indicates that some at least were prepared by then, he having seen that Sandby had "executed them charmingly in aquatinta prints" (Appendix II). That Allan wrote "they take well" may refer to their appearance in that medium; that he only remembered having drawn eight views is mysterious. See also Dr. Peter Wright's "biographical sketch", Appendix VIII.

86. On the *Concorsi Balestra*, which supplemented the *Concorsi Clementini*, see Skinner, *Scots in Italy*, Edinburgh, 1966, p. 28.

87. Skinner, *The Indefatigable Mr. Allan*, Edinburgh, 1973, p. 6. Allan presented his medal (National Museum of Antiquities) to the Scottish Society of Antiquaries, in 1783. A similarity between Allan's painting of the "Parting", Hamilton's version of the subject, and a mural in the *Domus Aurea* is noted in Irwin, *Scottish Painters at Home and Abroad*, London, 1975, p. 115, and Macmillan writes that the "specification of the subject for the competition is preserved in the archive of the academy. It reads like a detailed description of Hamilton's picture" (*Painting in Scotland*, Oxford, 1986, p. 33). Such similarities are to be expected. Written and painted descriptions of the scene are based on the ancient text.

88. Allan owned a number of Cunego's prints after Hamilton: "Pair, Allegro and Penseroso"; "Innocence"; "Five Subjects from the Iliad"; "Pair, Hebe and Juno"; "Death of Lucretia" (Sale I, pp. 3 and 5, lots 45-6, 53, 127-28; short titles). Hamilton's "Parting" was never engraved. Allan's "Origin" was printed by at least three engravers. Cunego's version is inscribed "Da. Allan pinxt 1775 Dom. Cunego Sculp<sup>t</sup> Roma 1776 I The Origin of Painting I In the possession of Ja<sup>m</sup> Byres Rome, I Publish'd as the Act directs by D. Allan Febr<sup>y</sup> 1777". Allan owned this plate himself, as well as a "fine impress" from it; Sale I, pp. 3 and 16, lots 56 and 1. Salvatore Tresca's mezzotint (BM, nd) was made in Paris. In 1797 (Sale I, p. 3, lot 58) were sold five copies of the version by Volpato, who also engraved "Confession" after Allan (BM, nd). The Rev. T. C. Gordon, *op. cit.*, p. 25, states that Allan painted copies for his friends, one which was made for "James Denholm of the Foulis Academy" being owned by a Mrs. Parker of Glasgow (1951).

89. *Lives*, 1833, Vol. VI, p. 27 (1879, revised edn., Vol. II, p. 362), Cunningham's spelling. The judgment of the Accademia was first correctly reported in Skinner's *The Indefatigable Mr. Allan*, 1973, p. 6.

90. See R. Rosenblum, *Transformations in Late Eighteenth-Century Art*, Princeton, 1967, and the rather pessimistically entitled "The Origin of Painting: a Problem in the Iconography of Romantic Classicism", *Art Bulletin*, Vol. XXXIX, 1957, p. 279. Runciman treated the theme more decoratively than Allan did, and Wright of Derby in his version adapted the famous Antique bas-relief of Endymion for the (sleeping) youth.

91. *Lives*, *loc. cit.*

92. *Ibid.*

93. Cunningham, *loc. cit.*, calls it an "old poetic dream". Cf. publications such as Francis Hutcheson's *Inquiry into the Original*



of our Ideas of Beauty and Virtue, Burke's *Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful*, Adam Ferguson's *An Essay on the History of Civil Society*, and Lord Monboddo's *Of the Origin and Progress of Language*.

94. Reynolds, *Discourses*, III, 247-65. Cf. Barry, letter to Dr. Sleight: "that unaffected air of the antients [*sic*], which alone constitutes true taste" (*Works*, London, 1809, Vol. I, p. 15).

95. *Antiquités Etrusques*, published 1766-67 (see J. R. F. Thompson, "David Allan and the Hamilton portraits", *Connoisseur*, Vol. CLXXIII, pp. 250-53, 1970). See also Allan's sketch from Baiardi's *Antichità di Ercolano*, Fig. 6, facing p. 10 *supra*. Flaxman's outline illustrations to Homer were first published in 1793; Cunningham must surely have known them, the more so because of his connection with Chantrey.

96. Letter from Lord Cathcart to Lord Kinnoull, 22nd February 1776 (SRA 888 46 801).

97. See Sale I, p. 13, lot 109, "Swiss Farm" (a drawing). Finished watercolour drawings in the 1776 album, or sketches in NGS D5088, include figures from all these places: album, Nos 20, 21, 23, 24, and 25. No 22 is of three couriers, and is probably connected with the same trip. No 21 is of the Pont Neuf in Paris, and a version is also in the NGS, Print Room, D4497. Both versions are derived from NGS sketchbook D5088, ff. 40, 41 and 42. In all, seven related drawings are in this book: f. 40 R & V, f. 41, f. 42 R & V, f. 56 and f. 58. The Rev. T. C. Gordon (*David Allan of Alloa*, 1951, p. 28), seems to have seen it, but the date of 1770 he mentions is either a misreading of 1776, or indicates a missing drawing; the book as it stands is a compilation of at least two books. Allan's costume studies include several of Minorcans, so his visit(s) home and his return(s) to Italy clearly entailed another sea voyage, like that described in a letter of Aug 1767 to Lord Cathcart, Hist. MSS. Comm. 2nd Report Appendix p 26. He seems not to have been back home by 1772 (letter to Lady Frances Erskine, in Gordon, *op. cit.*, pp. 23-4). His RA exhibits for 1775 were sent from Edinburgh, but could have been left with patrons; 1774 is a possible date for a visit, there are portraits dated 1772, 1773 and 1774 (as well as others from 1768 and 1769), but fortunately the question of his visit(s) home, more difficult of resolution than that of his arrival in Italy, is less important. Finally, Salvatore Tresca's engraving of "The Origin of Painting" was dedicated to "S. Eccellenza il Sig<sup>ro</sup> Marchese di Circello de Principi del Colle, Gentil uomo di Camera di Sua Maestà il

Rè delle Sicilie"; from Hôtel de Cluny, rue des Mathurins, Paris. The painting itself dates from 1775.

98. Sale I, p. 13, lot 124, "Dutch Fort". NGS D5088, f. 56R, a milkmaid of "Boulogne France". A note by David Laing stating that Allan "remained some time in Holland, where his genius languished and his health declined" is quoted in Gordon, *op. cit.*, p. 28.

99. Crozat (*publ.* Bologna) Sale I, p. 2, lot 30. Cousin (*publ.* Paris, 1750) Sale II, p. 6, lot 100, Sale I, p. 2, lot 26 (spelt "designer"); Vasari and Bellori, Sale I, p. 2, lots 29 and 31, both in Italian; Orsini, Sale II, p. 6, lot 95.

100. Hogarth, Sale I, p. 2, lot 32; Gilpin, Sale II, p. 6, lot 92; Leonardo, Sale II, p. 6, lot 98, *publ.* London, 1721, sold for 8/-.

101. Tassie was then living at 20 Leicester Fields. By 1778 Allan had moved to 4 Leicester Fields, as the Rev. Gordon points out (from Graves's lists of exhibitors) in *David Allan of Alloa*, 1951, p. 28. Paxton exhibited from London addresses until 1776; he died in Bombay in 1780 (Brydall, *Art in Scotland*, Edinburgh, 1889, p. 129). Gordon's statement that Allan "left Italy for London in 1777" is too definite - see n. 96 - and Cunningham's uncharacteristically cautious account - "all we know is, that in 1764 he left the Academy of Glasgow; and that in 1777 he was in London" - is nearer the mark (*Lives*, VI, p. 27; revised edn., 1879, Vol. II, p. 363). Allan's letter of December, 1780, to Sir William Hamilton implies that he returned to Scotland in the spring of 1779, having spent two years in London (1777-78). If he were only counting full years, he may have arrived in 1776, if not so early as April, when Foulis was in London; see Brydall, *op. cit.*, p. 127, where it is recorded that Foulis received the "warm sympathy" of Dr. William Hunter, first professor of anatomy at the Royal Academy.

102. Sale catalogue for Friday, 6<sup>th</sup> December and following day, M.DCC.LXXVI (1776).

103. *ibid.*, "Tassey" bought "a head, and three more", p. 6, lot 11 (portraits, or possibly saints). Foulis owned some "drawings and pictures" by Allan from his time in Glasgow, and these paintings of the Battle of Otterburn may have been among them (see p. 6, n. 22 *supra*). Fig. 20 is of much later date, but - if Allan's pictures were of the Scottish ballad rather than the English - it may repeat one of his compositions.

104. Lots 47, 53, 57 and 59. The manner in which Lot 53 is listed - "St. Peter, 153, and two more, 127 and 538, by Guido" - is typical of the catalogue. These pictures realised 7/6.

105. Letter of December, 1780 (Appendix II).

106. Engraved by Caldwell and published June 1st, 1778. The edition contains a frontis-



piece, engraved by Caldwell from Thomson's memorial in Westminster Abbey, and two illustrations by Caldwell after "Hamilton", all three of these prints having been published April 1st, 1778. That of "Musidora" is really of the Venus de Medicis, as Thomson's lines require (see Chapter II, p. 55 *infra*). From an edition in the British Library, with the shelf-mark 1608 4271; some volumes containing these illustrations omit the artists' and engraver's names.

107. Letter to Sir William Hamilton, December 1780 (Appendix II). Allan's frequent references to his health seem more significant than a conventional wish like "*deo volente*"; he was asthmatic, perhaps the cause of that "natural turn for retirement at [his] study" of which he wrote to the Earl of Buchan (Appendix III). The condition may also have had some effect on the tone of his art; Watteau is similarly gentle, if more melancholic.

108. *Ibid*, "Groupes" was Allan's usual spelling, but the original letter is not available for consultation.

109. *Ibid*. When in Rome, Allan had corresponded with John, the second Earl, about the purchase of prints for lords Kinnoull and Alva (SRA 888 46 801), and it would have been he who extended the invitation, although Allan mentions the whole family. James Hope, the third Earl, succeeded to the title in the following year.

110. See Chapter VII, p. 322 *ff. infra*. An account of payment from Lord Hope to Phillipe Mercier "for teaching the Miss Hopes drawing" in 1779-80 is preserved in the Hopetoun Archive; NRA (S) 888, Bundle 660.

111. Hopetoun Archive, Marquess of Linlithgow NRA (S) 888, 468/1. Addressed by Allan to "The Right Honble | The Earl of Hopetoun | Dover Street | London", and endorsed in another hand "Mr D. Allan | Decr 1782", with "painter" added in pencil. The wax seal of this letter was imprinted with a "bacchante" design, identical to that in Fig. 5, facing page 9, *supra*.

112. Letter to Buchan, December 1780, first sentence of second paragraph (transcribed in full as Appendix III). The first phrase must have caused Buchan some difficulty, even if he realised that "wishis" was a slip for "wishes", and interpreted "the invention groupe" as a reference to Historical Composition. The general sense is plain, even if the expression is hasty. The version of this letter in the Rev. Gordon's *David Allan of Alloa*, Alva 1951, pp. 34-5, is very corrupt.

113. *Ibid*.

114. On calculating "the level of real wages", see T. C. Smout, *A History of the Scot-*

tish People 1560-1830, London, 1969, pp. 316 *ff.*, and also H. G. Graham, *The Social life of Scotland in the Eighteenth Century*, 1899, fourth edition, 1937, p. 446. In 1788 Allan married Shirley Welsh; see Gordon, *op. cit.*, p. 44 and p. 73n. The notice appeared in *The Scots Magazine*, 1788, p. 569.

115. The letter is transcribed in full as Appendix V. The comment in Irwin, *Scottish Painters at Home and Abroad*, London, 1975, p. 79, that "Allan's scorn was unmerited", misses the point entirely. Allan did not scorn Brown's skill in his field at all, but judged his own invention superior to that of any portraitist, however excellent.

116. Appendix V. Erskine's son John studied drawing under Allan (Gordon, *op. cit.*, p. 44, citing a letter of Allan's daughter Barbara).

117. The quotation is from Lord Cockburn's *Memorials*, Edinburgh, 1856, Chapter II, p. 87. The various appointments held by Dundas (1742-1811), and their durations, are given in *D.N.B.* Vol. 16. The "Dundas Despotism" is noted in any worthwhile account of the period, and examples of his influence being sought even in minor details of patronage are cited in John Patrick, *Scotland the age of achievement*, London, 1972, p. 121, and Bruce Lenman, *Enlightenment, Industrialisation and Integration: Scotland 1746-1832*, New History of Scotland, Vol. VI, London, 1981, p. 100.

118. Quoted in Francina Irwin, "Scottish Eighteenth-Century Chintz and its Design", *Burlington Magazine*, Vol. CVII, p. 457.

119. Letter in Hopetoun archive, NRA (Scotland) 888; quoted in Skinner, *The Indefatigable Mr Allan*, p. 11.

120. Peter Wright, M.D., "Answer to Query respecting Allan the Painter" *Scots Magazine*, Vol. LXVI, December, 1804, pp. 912-13; transcribed in full as Appendix VIII. The original query, by "A.S." of Edinburgh, had appeared in the *Scots Magazine* for October of that year. Wright believed that "a very tolerable biographical sketch of our departed friend might be made out, and transmitted to posterity"; for convenience, his account is generally referred to in the text as the "biographical sketch".

121. The quotation is from the *Edinburgh Advertiser*, 16<sup>th</sup> January, 1798, and refers to Sale II; extract pasted into the volume in the NLS.

122. All references are to Sale II. Delacour and Runciman: p. 10, lot 11, drawings of flowers in red chalk. Pavillon: page 7, lots 7, 10 and 11; page 10, lot 3 (generally drawings of fruit and flowers in red chalk). Allan's drawings: "One large Drawing of a Scots Fir, &c. from Nature", p. 10, lot 19; "Two [drawings], in red chalk, viz. a Pine



Apple and Tulip", p. 7, lot 9 (two other drawings of pineapples by Allan appeared as lots 17 and 14, pp. 7 and 10 respectively). Drawings of "Scots Thistle and Grapes" formed lot 22, p. 7. It is interesting that Runciman should have "developed in later life a naturalistic style of draughtsmanship for which there is no precedent in his earlier work"; Macmillan, *Fainting in Scotland The Golden Age*, 1986, p. 60, where he also considers "the demands of pattern drawing" for the Trustees' Academy to be the reason for this change.

123. Skinner, *Indefatigable Mr Allan*, p. 11.

124. Items listed by page and lot only are from Sale II. For example: table-cloth design, p. 8, lot 36; five designs for "Gauze Manufacturers", p. 11, lot 32; two drawings for "Callicoe Printers", p. 10, lot 22; "A Design for a Carpet, in the Etruscan stile, in China ink", p. 8, lot 35, (original spelling); three designs for upholsterers, p. 10, lot 28; "Two Designs of Ceilings in Indian Ink, Arabesque Stile", p. 11, lot 37; "Two designs, in colour, viz. a Cieling and Etruscan Border", p. 11, lot 46, (original spelling); "Three designs of Chimney Pieces, by Allan, in Indian Ink", p. 5, lot 85 (sold for 5/-). More than a dozen of Allan's drawings for panels, fire-screens, "borders" and "sides of rooms" are also listed (p. 5, lots 83-5, each of three designs; p. 11, lot 40, "Two designs in colours, for Pannels"; p. 11, lots 33 and 42, three large designs for fire-screens); several of these are probably in the NGS; see for example D438. No furniture designs other than those for fire-screens, for "Furniture Prints", or for the ornaments noted in the text (p. 24, n. 132) are recorded, but Allan certainly had some interest in this field. He owned both a *Universal system of Household Furniture, by Ince and Mayhew, 1 vol. fol.*, and *The Gentleman and Cabinet-maker's Director, 1 vol. fol.*, presumably that published by Chippendale in 1754 (Sale I, p. 2, lots 19 and 18 respectively).

125. See note 51 *supra*.

126. Sale II, p. 6, lot 86. They were knocked down for 11/- to a Mr. Walker, whose purchases are noted in the copy in the NLS; he did not, however, buy lot 68 on the same day, "Three prints of Ornaments, from Dioclesian's Baths, published by Adams" (original spellings).

127. *Logge ... nel Vaticano and Antichità*, Sale I, p. 2, lot 36 and p. 1, lot 11. The "Six leaves, containing a number of sketches and outlines from the Antique, by Allan" which appeared at Sale II, p. 3, lot 16, formed but a fraction of his work of this kind; among half a dozen lots at the same Sale, lot 53, a "Volume of sketches from Herculaneum, being figure and groupes" — perhaps the "Volume of

outlines of Figures and Groupes, from Herculaneum", Sale I, p. 15, lot 175 — may be that now in a private collection (with Christie's, London, July 1987).

128. Minutes, N6 1/1/27, January 1791. On the Trustees' Academy, see Brydall, *Art in Scotland*, Edinburgh, 1889, pp. 142-46; Gordon, *David Allan of Alloa*, Alva, 1951, pp. 42-3; Skinner, *The Indefatigable Mr Allan*, Edinburgh, 1973, p. 10; Irwin, *Scottish Painters at Home and Abroad*, London, 1975, pp. 90-3.

129. Sale II, pp. 9 and 11, lots 68 and 49, twelve copies and sixteen copies. The plates themselves (a pair) had been sold in 1797; Sale I, p. 16, lot 4.

130. Quoted by Stanley Cursiter in *Scottish Art to the Close of the Nineteenth Century*, London, 1949, p. 49; see also Brydall, *op. cit.*, p. 134. The meeting hour for these private classes was from two to three o'clock on Mondays, Wednesdays and Thursdays, and the fee one guinea per month. Allan's collection of plaster casts is listed in Sale I, p. 17, lots 1-21, and included — together with "Basso & Alto-Relievos" and some feet, hands, ornaments and masks — "The dying Gladiator", "Ariadne", "Alexander the Great" and the Venus de Medicis. The well-known story of Runciman's having set Alexander Nasmyth to draw a (reduced) cast of the Laocoön when this was placed upside-down proves that the Academy was not devoid of casts, confirming at the same time that it could not have had many (Brydall, *op. cit.*, p. 146, citing the autobiography of James Nasmyth. The drawing "so pleased his master that he had it framed. It hung up in the class-room for a long time, with a memorandum attached detailing the circumstance.").

131. An album of drawings and engravings by Scott — some of them after Allan — is in the NGS, Print Room, D4711. Scott drew from drawings, prints, casts and, inevitably (see p. 23, n. 122), fruit. Allan's own training is described pp. 6-7 *supra*. There is no evidence for a life-drawing class in Edinburgh until the early nineteenth century; Brydall, *op. cit.*, p. 326; Irwin, *Scottish Painters at Home and Abroad*, p. 96.

132. Sale I, p. 16, lot 201 ("6in by 4").

133. Of the series considered, there is no evidence that Allan's major Historical cycle was conceived any earlier than 1789, although Gavin Hamilton had been working on his own painting of Mary Stuart's abdication while Allan was in Italy. The likely date for Allan's having begun his later series of song illustrations — that is, excluding the early pictures of "the stories of Percy and Douglas on Chevy Chase" — is discussed in Chapter VI. He had thought of a set of plates for *The Gen-*



Notes to pp. 24-26.

*the Shepherd* by 1783 (Chapter IV), and of "groups of the manners in Scotland" earlier still (Chapters III and VII).

134. *Letters*, ed. J. De Lancey Ferguson, Clarendon Press, 1931, Vol. II, pp. 236-38 (words quoted from p. 238), no. 620; second edn. revised G. Ross Roy, 1985, Vol. II, pp. 284-86 (p. 286), no. 620; Roy comments, "The Foulis edition is probably the most beautiful ever produced". Burns's letter was sent to Alexander Cunningham on 22nd March [1794]; he later sent a copy of Allan's edition to Burns (see n. to Chapter IV, on p. *infra*).

135. This epistle is transcribed in full as Appendix IV, from a copy of *The Gentle Shepherd* in the Mitchell Library, Glasgow. For clarity, all quotations from it in the text are given in upright characters, although the original, emphases apart, is in italics.

136. These drawings, now in the Dunimarle album (on loan to the NGS) were sold in 1797; Sale I, p. 13, lot 101. Of Allan's later Scottish works, this pair is closest to his pictures of the Roman Carnival.

137. *A Collection of Ancient Poems, Translated from the Gaelic* - of Ullin, Ossian, Orran &c. By John Smith, Minister at Kilbrandon Argyshire 1780" (the title page, and the contents, partly printed and partly in manuscript). Pages were specially bound in for Allan's illustrations, and for a number of views by "JA", possibly James Allan, the artist's half-brother; Cowie Collection, the Mitchell Library, Glasgow, SR 243 308888 (in addition to Plate XI, one of Allan's drawings is reproduced in Chapter VI, Figure 179, between pp 243-44). The original drawings for *Morison's Edition of the Poems of Ossian, the Son of Fingal, Translated by James Macpherson, Esq; Carefully corrected, and greatly improved, with a sett [sic] of Elegant Engravings, from Original Drawings, by Stothard and Allan, Perth M,DCC,XCV.*, were presumably lost in the printer's; at least two engravers - Stevenson and Pyet - were employed on the two volumes of this edition.

138. Title page by "J. Macdonald", Print Room, NGS, but it is doubtful if Allan ever actually issued this collection; "Eight [copperplates] of different subjects from Scottish Songs, designed and etched by Allan, (never published)" were sold in 1797; Sale I, p. 16, lot 3. The publishing history of these etchings is discussed in Chapter VI, pp. 238-39 (see also Appendix IX). A twenty-sixth etching signed and dated by Allan but rather smaller than the others and without an oval frame was published in 1795 (see Chapter VI, p. 238, n. 14). Allan's interest in songs and ballads probably dated from his years at the Foulis Academy; see p. 20 *supra*, and also *The Percy*

*Letters: Correspondence of ... Lord Hailes*, ed. A. Falconer, 1954, p. 64, mentioning a set of ballad illustrations in the Academy.

139. George Thomson to Robert Burns, September 1792; quoted from *The Works of Robert Burns; with an Account of his Life, and a Criticism on his Writings. To which are prefixed, some Observations on the Character and Condition of the Scottish Peasantry*, 4 vols., 1800 (the Sixth Edition, London 1809), Vol IV, p. 1 (edited by James Currie).

140. *Ibid.*, p. 2. Thomson's description of the kind of words he sought is quoted from his Preface to Volume Three of *A Select Collection of Original Scottish Airs for the Voice*, Edinburgh, 1802 (Preface dated December, 1801).

141. Burns to Thomson, 16<sup>th</sup> September, 1792 (*Letters*, 1931, Vol. II, p. 123, no. 507; revised edn., 1985, Vol. II, p. 149). Burns was indignant when Thomson sent him a "pecuniary parcel" in July, 1793, with the first "set" of the *Select Collection*; *Letters*, Vol. II, p. 181, no. 569; revised edn., Vol. II, p. 220.

142. On Thomson's various presents, see J. C. Hadden, *George Thomson The Friend of Burns*, London, 1898, p. 147. That sent to Jean Burns was "a Scoto-Indian shawl" (? i.e. of Paisley pattern). Thomson's statement that he "got the ingenious artist David Allan to paint for [Burns] *con amore* the interesting scene of family worship from The Cotter's Saturday Night" seems to have been made in 1845 (Thomson died in 1851, aged ninety-four), and it must be treated with caution. In a letter of April 17<sup>th</sup>, 1794, Thomson wrote that Allan had "just begun a sketch from your Cotter's Saturday Night, and if it pleases himself in the design, he will probably etch or engrave it" (*The Works of Robert Burns*, ed. Currie, Vol. IV, p. 149); cf. also pp. 230-31 and 236). The statement in Irwin, *Scottish Painters at Home and Abroad*, p. 424, n. 15, that the painting was in oils, is presumably based upon T. C. Gordon's account of such a painting in a private collection, but is incorrect (*David Allan of Alloa*, p. 63). The picture which was sent to Burns was in watercolours, the medium which Allan would most probably have chosen at this time, and several drawings of this kind, all derived from the poem, are located, one in Glasgow Art Gallery and Museum, the others in private collections. One piece of near-contemporary evidence may be adduced, this perhaps confirming that the picture, which Thomson referred to in May 1795 as a "drawing" (Currie, IV, p. 236), was completed in the austere tints which Allan favoured in these years, the "sombre" colouring upon which Thomson commented (Currie, IV, p. 149, and cf. also Wright's opinion, Appendix VIII);



Dorothy Wordsworth may have mistaken it for a print; see n. 6 to Chapter VI (p. 476 *infra*).

143. Letter of May 1795; *Letters*, Vol. II, pp. 300-01, no. 670 (revised edn., II, p. 356). The relevant passage from this letter is transcribed (from Roy's revision of the text in Ferguson's edition) under a reproduction of Scott's engraving after Allan's picture, Figure 296, facing p. 349 *infra*.

144. Drawings from Tasso and Ariosto (*Gerusalemme Liberata* and *Orlando Furioso*) are in the Dunimarle collection (on loan to the NGS) and a small, unusually frivolous painting (oil on copper) of Henry IV and Gabrielle D'Estrées, from Voltaire's *Contes*, is in a private collection. Twenty of Allan's drawings from Shakespeare were sold in 1797; Sale I, p. 11, lot 66 ("Sketches, Falstaff, &c. from Henry IV. pair"), and p. 15, lots 172-74, eighteen more "Sketches from Shakespeare", each lot being of six. So too were three oil paintings, one perhaps a copy of Penny's "The Smith swallowing the Taylor's news, from Shakespeare, a sketch" (p. 6, lot 7). A "Scene from Shakespeare's Henry IV 24in by 16" by Allan himself was sold on the same day as one of "Juliet and Nurse, Act II Scene V ... by R. Smirke, R. A. London" (p. 9, lots 71 and 85). Smirke's painting was engraved by J. Parker for Boydell's nine volume edition of Shakespeare's plays; see *The Boydell Shakespeare Prints*, Arno Press, New York, 1979, the third part (entitled "a collection of the 100 prints from The Dramatic Works of Shakespeare, Edited by George Steevens 1802", the twenty-third page of plates, no. 1; the words quoted in Sale I match the action perfectly). Despite this tenuous link with the Boydell Gallery, the style of Allan's surviving drawings from Shakespeare suggests that they are of the early 1780s; only before 1786, when he became Master of the Trustees' Academy and also began his work on *The Gentle Shepherd*, would Allan have had much time for any other project. John Graham, a later Master of the Academy, was in London when Boydell commissioned him to paint a scene from *Othello*; engraved by W. Leney (see *The Boydell Shakespeare Prints*, no. XLVII).

145. *A Descriptive Catalogue ... Arranged and Described by R. E. Raspe*, London, 1791.

146. "Sketches of the Murder of Sir James Johnston, and Beheading of Lord Maxwell", Sale I, p. 12, lot 87; the drawings (Dunimarle album, on loan to the NGS) are in the style of Allan's drawings for his cycle from the life of Mary Stuart (Chapter V).

147. Letter to Buchan, September 1789, transcribed in full in Chapter V, p. 204 *infra* (original spelling).

148. *Ibid.*

149. *Ibid.* Allan owned a *Collection of the Dresses of different Nations, ancient and modern, particularly old English Dresses, after the designs of Holbein, Vandyke, &c.* 1 vol. quar.; Sale I, p. 1, lot 4. Details of his other research, literary, pictorial and practical, are related in Chapter V, principally pp. 194-96, 204-07, 211-13 and 222, with Figures 160-61, facing pp 205 and 206.

150. *Memoirs of the late David Allan, Painter in Edinburgh; commonly called the Scots Hogarth*, in *The Gentle Shepherd*, Edinburgh, 1808, the edition published for Robert Brown of Newhall House, Vol. II, pp. 622-29. Cunningham made use of this account in *Lives of ... Eminent British Painters*, 1833, Vol. VI, not always with acknowledgment but sometimes with silent (and misleading) changes; see Introduction, p. xlvii *supra*.

151. Letter to Sir William Hamilton, given as Appendix II.

152. A stained drawing in Perth Museum and Art Gallery is entitled, in Allan's hand and spelling, "Near Moffat Agust...1795"; Figure 25 is a study for it and for a version in water-colours, Glasgow Art Gallery and Museum. The pencil inscription crudely added to this picture, "D. ALLAN del 1790", presumably prompted by the word "Paris" which Allan picked out as a headline in *The Edinburgh Advertiser*, has as little authority as the overly optimistic one on the *verso* of that in Perth ("Central figure possibly Burns/David Allan").

153. See Chapter VII, p. 348 and Figure 295 *infra*. The composition is, of course, a variation upon that of *The Highland Dance* (Plate I); see also Chapter III, pp. 126-27 and Figures 93-4 *infra*.

154. Cf. Macmillan, *Painting in Scotland The Golden Age*, Oxford, 1986, p. 73, but the suggestion of a pair of dancers from Barry's Adelphi cycle as sources for the principal figures in Allan's "A Penny Wedding" (despite the differences which Macmillan acknowledges and then, apparently, discounts) is strained; Allan had been drawing similar figures in Italy almost ten years before Barry began his cycle (see e.g. Figures 12 and 231).

155. See *The Works of Robert Burns*, ed. James Currie (sixth edn., London, 1809), Vol. I, pp. 12-16 and 313-20.

156. See Captain Edward Topham, *Letters from Edinburgh written in the years 1774 and 1775*, London, 1776, esp. Letters IX, XII, and XLV "On the Scotch Music": a telling observation of Topham's is quoted in Chapter VI, p. 289 *infra*.

157. Burns described "the Common People" as "Nature's Judges [of songs]" in his Preface to Vol. II of the *SMN* (see Chapter VI, p. 290).

158. That is, poems and songs such as "Muirland Willie", "The Country Wedding", "The



Blythsome Bridal" (Herd's *Ancient and Modern Scottish Songs, Heroic Ballads, Etc.*, Edinburgh, 1776, Vol. II, pp. 73, 88 and 24), "The Bridal o't" by Alexander Ross, and the Rev. John Skinner's "Tullochgorum" (*SMH* III, 1790, pp. 278 and 298, Nos. 269 and 289).

## Notes to Chapter II

### The higher Arts of Design.

(Title quoted from Sir Joshua Reynolds, *Discourses on Art*, London, 1797 (ed. Robert R. Wark, New Haven and London, 1974), I, line 14.

1. Letter to the Duke of Richmond, 29<sup>th</sup> August 1773; in *The Works of James Barry Esq. Historical Painter*, 2 vols., London, 1809, Vol. I, p. 241. Barry refers specifically to the decorative scheme for St. Paul's Cathedral.

2. Reynolds, *Discourses on Art*, VII, lines 35 and 524-8.

3. Jean Hagstrum, *The Sister Arts The Tradition of Literary Pictorialism and English Poetry from Dryden to Gray*, University of Chicago Press, 1958, pp. 59-61 and notes; Hagstrum shows that Classical authority and "Renaissance cultural history" were of more weight than "the position of a colon" in this "dogmatic intensification of critical theory". See also *Ut Pictura Poesis: the Humanistic Theory of Painting*, 1967, Rensselaer W. Lee *passim* (for the passage from *Ars Poetica*, see p. 5, n. 15).

4. *The Spectator* No. 417; Richardson, *Explanatory Notes and Remarks on Milton's Paradise Lost*, 1734 (eg. pp. 24, 35, 46, 78, 81, 157 and 183. Also p. 319, writing of Book VII line 306, which tells of the "course of a gentle river... You cannot Read it Otherwise than Slowly, and so as to give your Mind a Picture of the thing Described"); Burke, *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful*, (2nd edn., 1759), Part II, Section III, p. 100. When seeking a literary example, Burke as often as not selects Milton. See also Joseph Addison, *Spectator*, Nos 416 and 417.

5. Richardson's *An Essay on the Theory of Painting*, 1725, p. 10; Dryden's "To Sir Godfrey Kneller", *Works*, University of California, 1974, Vol. VI, pp. 461-66, line 127; Reynolds, *op. cit.*, eq. XIII, lines 262-93; XV *passim*, esp. 255 ff.; and cf. also XIV, 203-5 (on Gainsborough); Walpole, *Anecdotes of Painting*, IV, pp. 146-7.

6. Reynolds, *op. cit.*, XV, lines 215-8 and n. (Reynolds' spelling of Parmigianino).

7. *Ibid.*, lines 346 and 350-2.

8. Introduction to *An Account of a Series of Pictures in the Great Room of the Adelphi*,

London, 1783, in *Works*, London, 1809, Vol. II, p. 318. Cf. Barry's own Lecture II, *ibid.*, p. 410, and Reynolds, *op. cit.*, VII, 532 ff., citing Cicero.

9. Richardson, *Theory of Painting*, p. 74. While Rhetoric, strictly speaking, is concerned with oratory, it is but a small step to apply its terms to writing.

10. Reynolds, *op. cit.*, II, 24-8 and 241-3. Cf. Steele, *Tatler* 219 (August 1710) "painting is eloquence and poetry in mechanism".

11. *Defence of Poesy*, 253-6, and 546 ff.

12. Dedication of his translation of *Aeneis*, *Poems*, ed. James Kinsley, 1958, Vol. III, p. 1003.

13. Henry Fuseli, Aphorism 55, *The Life and Writings of Henry Fuseli*, ed. John Knowles, 3 vols., London, 1831, Vol. III, p. 80. Cf. Richardson, *Theory of Painting*, p. 172; "Common Nature is no more fit for a Picture than plain Narration is for a Poem".

14. Henry Fielding, Preface to *Joseph Andrews*, (1742); New American Library of World Literature, New York, 1961, p. vii.

15. *Ibid.*, pp. vii-viii.

16. Quoted by Austin Dobson in *William Hogarth*, London 1891, p. 42. Cf. the "Autobiographical Notes" in *The Analysis of Beauty*, Clarendon Press, 1955 (ed. Joseph Burke), p. 215, and see also Chapter IV, p. 154 *infra* for David Allan's modification of this belief.

17. *Acts and Monuments* is better known as "Foxe's Martyrs", in eight volumes. In Scotland, *Christina Ker* was a favourite prose "Character".

18. In fairness to Reynolds, it must be said that the Ninth Discourse does mention the rôle of the Arts in forestalling the "greatest depravation" of manners. Nevertheless, to hold a present vice up to ridicule is more directly corrective than to conduct the thoughts through successive stages of excellence.

19. Reynolds, *op. cit.*, IX, lines 67-70.

20. *Exh. RA* 1796, ten paintings (not four, as stated in E. K. Waterhouse, *The Dictionary of British 18th Century Painters in oils and crayons*, Woodbridge, 1981, where two are reproduced). Like a set of four prints (1782) by Goldar after Collet (1765), they seem to be a minor variation on Hogarth's type of "modern moral subject" (see R. L. S. Cowley, *Marriage à la Mode, a review of Hogarth's narrative Art*, Manchester University Press, 1983, pp. 174-75, Fig. 43, a, b, c & d). In 1773 Elias Martin exhibited "The tender mother educating her daughter, from her birth to her marriage, six prints in imitation of red chalk". Allan's own three prints from Hector MacNeill's *Scotland's Skaith; or, the History of Will and Jean*, simply repeat the import of the poem, though they do make the contrast between the sober and the dissolute more immediate.



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21. Cf. *The Analysis of Beauty*, XVI, "Of Attitude", and XVII "Of Action".

22. "A Character, Panegyric and Description of the Legion Club", (1736), lines 219-230, in *The Poems of Jonathan Swift*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1958, Vol. III, pp. 829-39; also in *Poetical Works*, London, 1967, pp. 601-8.

23. Richardson, *Theory of Painting*, p. 74. Cf. Shaftesbury, *Characteristicks of Men, Manners, Opinions, Times, etc.*, III, pp. 374-8, where he describes Triumphs where "all manner of magnificence" had actually been displayed (cited by E. Croft-Murray, *Decorative Painting in England 1537-1837*, 2 vols., Country Life, Feltham, 1962-70, Vol. I, p. 28).

24. See for example Reynolds *Discourses on Art*, XIII, lines 134-9; Barry, *An Inquiry into the Real and Imaginary Obstructions to the Acquisition of the Arts in England*, London 1775, Chapter X, in *Works*, 1809, Vol. II, pp. 252-53. See also *The Political Theory of Painting from Reynolds to Hazlitt 'The Body of the Public'*, Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 1986, pp. 65-8, where John Barrell shows how an exclusively male readership was "continually assumed" by writers on art at this time (p. 66).

25. Burke, *Philosophical Enquiry*, Part II, Section IV (2nd Edn., 1759, p. 104).

26. *Critical Essays*, 1818, "On Style".

27. See Alexandre Beljame, *Men of Letters and the English Public in the Eighteenth Century 1660-1744*, Dryden, Addison, Pope, first published 1881, revised 1897; English edition, London, 1948 (translated by E. D. Lorrimer), p. 114 n. and pp. 356-57. There were at this time more than one hundred and thirty booksellers in London alone. There had been earlier illustrated editions. In his survey of "Illustrations of Shakespeare's Plays in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries" (*Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, Vol. X (1947), pp. 83-108, T. S. R. Boase mentions an English translation of *Orlando Furioso* from 1591, with forty-six plates adapted from a Venetian edition of 1584. As he also points out, this was "a coterie book" and is therefore quite different from one intended for a "common miscellaneous public".

28. See Lawrence Gowing, *Burlington Magazine*, XCV, January 1953, and also *infra*, pp. 40-41.

29. Reynolds, *op. cit.*, IV, first paragraph. See also Farington's *Diaries*, V, p. 150, quoted in F. W. Hilles *The Literary Career of Sir Joshua Reynolds*, Cambridge, 1936, p. 112.

30. From Algernon Graves, *The Society of Artists of Great Britain 1760-1791 The Free Society of Artists 1761-1783 A complete Dictionary of Contributors and their works from the foundation of the Societies to 1791*, London, 1907, p. 52 (cited as *Societies* in sub-

sequent notes). See also West's exhibits at the Society of Artists 1764 and 1766, and Ryley's at the Royal Academy in 1778.

31. Kent completed a "Feast of the Gods" left unfinished by Ricci. While the Renaissance and Baroque decorative tradition as a whole should be kept in mind, examples like the Banqueting House or the Hampton Court Cartoons would have been of particular importance to British artists. The *Marie de Medicis* cycle drew the attention of the Scottish artist John Alexander before 1720; see Chapter V, pp. 201-02 *infra*.

32. Lecture IV, in *Works*, Vol. I, p. 467. Cf. Fuseli's attack on "the laborious pedantry of emblems . . . by which arbitrary and conventional signs have been substituted for character and expression" (Lecture IV, p. 12).

33. Edgar Wind, "The Revolution of History Painting", *Journal of the Warburg Institute*, Vol. II (1938), pp. 116-127; Charles Mitchell, "Benjamin West's 'Death of General Wolfe' and the Popular History Piece", *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, Vol. VII, (1944), pp. 20-33, esp. p. 25; Sir Ellis K. Waterhouse, *Painting in Britain 1530-1790*, London, 1955, p. 93 (reference to Wind), David Irwin, *English Neoclassical Art. Studies in Inspiration and Taste*, London, 1966, pp. 147-51.

34. The dilemma of inaccurate or unworthy representation surfaces again with the critical controversy surrounding West's painting of General Wolfe; see *infra*, p. 58 ff.

35. Mitchell, *op. cit.*, p. 26, also mentions a cycle commemorating the deeds of William of Orange, in Ireland.

36. For Lebrun, and the Gobelins tapestry by Van der Meulen, see *Art Bulletin*, Volume XLI, (1959), p. 237.

37. Sketchbook, NGS Print Room (D5088). Cf. *supra* p. 10. The three quotations following are from ff. 32V, 31R and 31V respectively, transcribed *verbatim et literatim*. Allan could have seen personifications such as those he mentions in Batoni's work at the Palazzo Colonna in Rome, but the Foulis collection included pieces such as "Twelve prints Ornaments emblematical of the arts and sciences . . . by de Laune"; *Catalogue*, 1776, p. 37, original spelling. Other allegorical prints appear on p. 25.

38. Lecture IV, in *Works*, Vol. I, p. 468.

39. *Henry Fuseli*, Tate Gallery, 1975, pp. 72-3. The plays were *King Lear*, *The Tempest*, *Macbeth* and, curiously, *Twelfth Night*; the plans which survive may be only a fragment of his original ambition. On Runciman and Hamilton, see Duncan Macmillan, *Painting in Scotland the Golden Age*, Oxford, 1986, p. 42.

40. T. S. R. Boase, *JWCI*, X (1947), general survey of illustrations to Shakespeare's works,



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and another similar account of "Macklin and Bowyer" in *JWCI*, XXVI (1963), pp. 148-177. It was the historical subject-matter drawn from sources such as Hume's *History of England* which was to triumph; see Sir Roy Strong, *And when did you last see your father? The Victorian Painter and British History*, Hampshire, 1978, *passim*.

41. John Galt, *The Life, Studies and Works of Benjamin West*, London, 1820, Vol. II, p. 72; Fuseli's opinion appeared in the *Analytical Review*, XVI, 1793, p. 52, quoted Eudo C. Mason, *The Mind of Henry Fuseli; Selections from his Writings with an Introductory Study*, London, 1951, p. 139.

42. This usage persisted until at least the middle of the nineteenth century, by then meaning a collection of prints whether or no these or the original paintings were actually gathered together in one place of exhibition; for example, *The Wilkie Gallery, A Selection of the best pictures of the late Sir David Wilkie, R.A.*, London and New York [n.d.].

43. See primarily Barry's *Works*, Vol. II, for relevant letters and *Account*; W. L. Pressly, *The Life and Art of James Barry*, New Haven and London, 1981, p. 86 ff., Joseph Burke, *English Art 1714-1800*, Clarendon Press, 1976, pp. 248-50, E. Croft-Murray, *Decorative Painting in England 1537-1837*, Country Life Publishing, Feltham, 1962-70, Vol. I, p. 68-9.

44. Letter to Sir G. Saville Bt., 19<sup>th</sup> April 1777; *Works*, Vol. II, p. 254. Barry later altered the scheme outlined in this letter.

45. Letter of January 1790, in *Works*, II, p. 467. Pressly (*op. cit.*, p. 121) is correct in stating that Barry never considered the work complete; his incessant and restless adjustments to its paintings, and to prints after these, provide sufficient evidence. In his *Account* of the series (*Works*, Vol. II, p. 315) he mentions the need for another year's work.

46. Letter to the Duke of Richmond, 29<sup>th</sup> August, 1773, *Works*, Vol. I, p. 241 (cf. *supra*, p. 29, n. 1). Barry's remarks on the "Jubilee of hackney'd German music" are given in Pressly, *op. cit.*, p. 120, with some "verdicts" on the cycle being quoted p. 119; see also D. Irwin, *English Neoclassical Art*, London 1966, pp. 41 and 43, where the approval of Lawrence, Blake, Southey and the Earl of Buchan is mentioned, as well as that of Dr. Johnson. On Copley, see W. T. Whitley, *Artists and their friends in England 1700-1799*, London, 1928, Vol. I, pp. 355-63, and Pressly, *op. cit.*, pp. 120-1.

47. See Lawrence Gowing, *Burlington Magazine*, XCV, January 1953, "Falstaff in the Buck basket" is reproduced by Boase, *J.W.C.I.*, X, Fig. 24, facing page 89.

48. "Historical" was evidently used in a sense analogous to that in "History painting".

Only one scene was from the "Histories", "Henry V with Mountjoy"; the others were from *The Tempest*, *King Lear* and *Hamlet*, the Play Scene from the last being painted by Hayman.

49. Graves, *Societies*, p. 302, quoting from John Pye's *Patronage of British Art*. On the Foundling Hospital, see R. Nicholls and F. Wray, *The History of the Foundling Hospital*, 1935.

50. See Chapter I, pp. 7-8 and Figure 2 *supra*.

51. See Strong, *op. cit.*, pp. 17, 18, 25, 26, for paintings by West, Edwards and Smirke. Westall exhibited two such scenes, in 1790 and 1791. Episodes from the lives of Edward III and the Black Prince were among those historical subjects most frequently chosen by artists of the time, to judge from the catalogues of exhibitions.

52. Graves, *Societies*, p. 305, quoting Pye. See also Whitley, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, Chapters X-XV. For a briefer account of this history, see Joseph Burke, *op. cit.*, p. 233 or, more recently, Reynolds, catalogue of exhibition, Royal Academy of Arts, London, 1986, p. 30.

53. Quoted by John Hayes, *Gainsborough*, 1980, Tate Gallery, p. 37.

54. Quoted by Joseph Farington, diary entry for 24<sup>th</sup> July, 1805; David Irwin, *English Neoclassical Art*, London 1966, p. 133.

55. Letter to the Earl of Buchan, 3rd December, 1780, transcribed in full as Appendix III. Spelling and repetition as in original text.

56. Letter to *St. James's Post*, June 1737, quoted in Dobson, *op. cit.*, p. 69. Cf. James Barry, *An Inquiry into the Real and Imaginary Obstructions to the Acquisition of the Arts in England*, (1775), Chapter VI, in *Works*, Vol. II, p. 217; "all the refuse and filth of Europe is emptied into this country".

57. Richardson, *Theory of Painting*, 1725, p. 14.

58. Lecture IV, p. 25. Barry's comments on portraiture in his *Account of a Series of Pictures*, or rather, his comments on those who attained "rank and consequence" by concentrating on face-painting, are even more vituperative.

59. Quoted by E. K. Waterhouse in *Painting in Britain 1530-1790*, London, 1955, p. 158.

60. Letter, satirical rather than literal, to the *St. James's Chronicle*, 1761, quoted by Whitley, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 173-74. The "Tailpiece" shows an ape, foppishly dressed, inspecting with an eyeglass long-dead potted plants - "Exoticks" - which he nevertheless tends and waters.

61. Letter to Burke, undated (? early 1766) in *Works*, Vol. I, pp. 71-2; an early indication of what was to appear in Barry's *Inquiry*; cf. n. 56 *supra*.

62. Cf. Reynolds, *Discourses*, IV, 46 ff.

63. *Ibid.*, lines 18 and 34-8; "subject" and



"story" are there used synonymously.

64. Edgar Wind, "The Revolution of History Painting", *Journal of the Warburg Institute*, Vol. II, pp. 120-21; his argument at this point deals with topographical *Genre* as well as Conversation Pieces, but its sense has not been changed here.

65. Figures compiled from Algernon Graves, *Societies and The Royal Academy of Arts A Complete Dictionary of Contributors and their work from its foundation in 1769 to 1904*, London, 1905 (cited as *Royal Academy* in subsequent notes). Statistics can be misused to imply virtually anything. Thus, it would appear from these figures that each artist who exhibited narrative paintings sent, on average, four such works. As Reynolds might have said, though this might strictly be true in arithmetic, it bears no relation to reality (cf. *Discourses*, IV, 278). It will readily be seen from Graves' lists, and in some cases confirmed by Waterhouse's *Dictionary*, that some artists only ever exhibited one work, while others only exhibited one work *probably* of "some narrative content". On the other hand, the contributions of West and Kauffmann (see footnote "f") must restore the balance a little. The favourite Classical sources were Homer and Ovid, the latter being better represented than Irwin's brief survey (*English Neoclassical Art*, 1966, p. 78) implies. As in the case of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, "hardly a year goes by" without something from Ovid as well. Events from history were much less often chosen, though the *range* of authors consulted is impressive. Finally, it is virtually certain that some of the pictures whose titles suggest that they were based on the Classics were actually derived from sources such as Dryden and Handel.

66. Waterhouse, *Painting in Britain*, p. 158. It was only in the 1790s that *Genre* scenes, and paintings from *modern* literature, began to supplant Historical (i.e. Classical and Biblical) Compositions. Waterhouse's definition of "history" is of course retrospective and "of a very different kind from anything Reynolds recommended", including as it does subjects from modern literature and contemporary events. When all these quite disparate sources are considered together, the "heyday" of this kind of painting was indeed the later 1780s and the 1790s; *ibid.*, p. 161. His assessment of the effect of the French Revolution on the supply (to Britain) of Old Master paintings (*Dictionary*, p. 14) is interesting, but takes little account of dates.

67. Richardson, *Theory of Painting*, 1725, p. 93, "Of Expression". He is writing specifically of how characters ought to be seen to be "affected" by, for example, the raising of Lazarus,

but the statement holds true in a more general context, and will still be grammatically correct however the word "be" is understood.

68. RA exhibit 1783; comment in Graves, *Royal Academy*. Cosway's wife Maria also exhibited a few Classical figures; her "Medusa" is presumably not a "fancy portrait".

69. Reynolds, *Discourses*, XIV, 280-91.

70. Entry in Waterhouse, *Dictionary*.

71. Details from Graves' lists; Sandby, 1761, Society of Artists, "An Historical Landskip, representing the Welch Bard in the opening of Mr Gray's celebrated ode" (cf. Whitley *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 169, and also Thomas Jones's exhibit at the Society of Artists 1774, a "metzo-tinto" after this being exhibited there the following year, by John Raphael Smith); Cozens, 1761, Free Society, "An historical landscape, representing the retirement of Timoleon"; Hodges exhibited three landscapes with stories, those of "Imogen and Pisanio" (from *Cymbeline*), of "Hagar and Ishmael" and of "the destruction of the bards" (probably also inspired by Gray's "Ode"), in 1788, 1790 and 1791 respectively and always at the Royal Academy, to which in 1794 he sent "The Abbey, Taken from the Romance of the Forest"; Stuart included among his exhibits the story of Ulysses and Nausicaa ("being a sketch for a larger picture") and "The Choice of Hercules", 1766 and 1768 respectively (Free Society); Leigh, 1762, Free Society, "A view in the Mediterranean, with the story of the Good Samaritan" (also, 1765, Free Society, "A romantic view, with a rainbow, wherein is introduced, the story of Perseus and Andromeda"); Bond, 1766, Free Society, "A landscape with Sampson and the Lyon" (original spelling). Gainsborough's views on the matter might well be remembered; "do you really think that a regular composition in the Landskip way should ever be filled with History, or any figures but such as fill a place (I won't say stop a gap) or create a little business for the eye to be drawn from the trees in order to return to them with more glee." (Letter to William Jackson, 1767, in *Artists on Art*, compiled by Goldwater and Treves, London, 1945, 1981 reprint, p. 190). The title of Nattes' painting refers to *Paradise Lost*, Book I, lines 302-4, and is given in the original spelling. Historical paintings featuring animals also appear occasionally, examples including Sawrey Gilpin's "Darius obtaining the Persian empire by his horse neighing" (RA, 1769) and his scenes of Gulliver and the Houyhnhnms, from 1768, 1771 and 1772, John Graham's paintings, of Daniel, and of Una from Spenser's *Faerie Queene*, justify Waterhouse's description of his Historical pictures, "at first with lions in



them" (entry in *Dictionary*).

72. By Opie; exhibited RA, 1799.

73. Cf. Reynolds, *Discourses*, IV, 439-41.

74. W. Hamilton's painting *exh.* RA, 1791. Telemachus and Calypso were by far the most frequently seen of any characters from the *Odyssey*; a dozen such paintings account for about half of all those derived from this source, or from Fenelon's *Telemache*.

75. Versions by Kauffmann, 1786, Prince Hoare, 1784 (giving Valerius Maximus as his source), a Miss M. Stewart, 1792, and West, 1780, (a design for a fan). For a portrait "in the character of" Cornelia, see Reynolds, Royal Academy Catalogue, 1986, no. 88 (p. 260).

76. Portraits "in the character(s) of" Biblical figures are much less common than those adapting the Classics; the two examples quoted were painted by George Carter and Richard Cosway respectively.

77. "Seneca" &c. by Samuel Shelley, exhibited RA, 1796.

78. "Hector" &c. by Countze, *exh.* RA, 1796. "Scipio" &c. by, among others, Reynolds, 1789, and West, Society of Artists, 1766, and Miss M. Stewart in 1795; David Allan painted two versions (1774, NGS; another in a private collection), but did not exhibit either. "Agrippina" &c. *exh.* RA, by Gavin Hamilton, 1772, Alexander Runciman, 1780, and at Society of Artists by Benjamin West, 1768, and James Nevay, 1773. "Patroclus" &c. *exh.* RA, Thomas Stothard, 1780; the return of Priam with the body of Hector was shown at the RA by John Trumbull in 1786, and at the Free Society by a Miss Hoare in 1762.

79. At RA by Barralet, 1772, Bunck, 1774; at the Free Society by Phillips, 1772 ("Alexander and Diogenes a historical drawing"), and by Parker, 1773 ("Diogenes . . . seeing a countryman drink out of his hand, throws away his cup").

80. See J. Burke, *English Art*, pp. 284-84 and plate 81a, and Downman's entry in Waterhouse, *The Dictionary of British 18th Century Painters*; the identities of the players, and indeed the source of the text illustrated, are different in each.

81. "Andromache" &c. was exhibited at the Society of Artists, 1770, by Andrew Lens, and was probably a miniature. Walpole's comment from Graves, *Societies*. Bartolozzi and West designs both *exh.* RA, 1780; cf. also n. 75 *supra*.

82. Exhibited RA, 1771, by Hunes. For this spelling of "flays", however, see Richardson, *Theory of Painting*, p. 94 ("When Apollo fleas Marsyas..."). Cipriani also exhibited a "Marsias and Apollo", RA, 1772. More direct moral-pointing may be found in Metz's exhibit of 1785, "A Spartan youth convicted of intemperance before the Ephorii and ordered

to a spare diet", the title suggesting a Greuze-like *Genre* piece in ancient dress.

83. Exhibited RA by J. Sherwin, 1777, with "Glover's *Leonidas* Book I, line 321" as source. Now unlocated; how he treated the subject in practice cannot therefore be judged, but the various approaches of some contemporary painters can be imagined.

84. *Discourses*, III, 23-7.

85. *Poetical* is not to be understood as synonymous with *Historical*; Barry, for instance, described three of his six scenes in the *Adelphi* (*infra*, p. 67 ff.) as "poetical", the others as "historical". The beauty of Fuseli's term lies partly in its novelty; familiarity breeds confusion in the use of "History", "Historical subject-matter" and "history", particularly when contemporary events enter the field.

86. Reynolds, *Discourses*, IV, 29.

87. Only five of the six were engraved. For an account of their being commissioned and painted, see David and Francina Irwin, *Scottish Painters at Home and Abroad 1700-1900*, London, 1975, pp. 101-03, and also Duncan Macmillan, *Painting in Scotland*, pp. 32-40; the comparison with Hogarth's *The Rake's Progress* (p. 38) is strained.

88. See Reynolds, RA catalogue, 1986, no. 140 (reproduced in colour, p. 151).

89. Letter to Prince Potenkin, Reynolds' spelling, *ibid.*, p. 312.

90. The painting is considered in greater detail *infra*, p. 100 ff.

91. For an account of the herm and its inscription, see W. L. Pressly, *The Life and Art of James Barry*, New Haven and London, 1981, pp. 35-6 and note; the quotation is from p. 36.

92. "Histories" is, of course, used in its modern sense (cf. n. 48 *supra*). See W. Moelwyn Merchant, *Shakespeare and the Artist*, London, 1959, and T. S. R. Boase, "Illustrations of Shakespeare's Plays in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries", *JWCI*, Vol. X (1947), pp. 83-108. The Boydell Gallery is considered *infra*, pp. 64-7.

93. Figures from Graves' lists; for the intentions and failure of The Poets Gallery, see Boase, "Macklin and Bowyer", *JWCI*, XXVI, (1963), pp. 148-177, which has a survey of the paintings still known and the engravings which were published. Book illustration is an important *genre* in any account of narrative pictures of this time, and is considered as part of the context of Allan's illustrations to Scottish songs, Chapter VI. See also Catherine Gordon, *British paintings of subjects from the English Novel 1740-1870*, Garland Publishing, New York and London, 1988.

94. The three paintings cited were all exhibited at the Royal Academy, by Braine (1793),



Dayes, (1798) and Howard, (1795), Paxton's scenes from *Samson Agonistes* were both exhibited at the Society of Artists. For "devotional piety" in contemporary Scotland, see Robert Heron's *A Memoir of the Life of the Late Robert Burns*, Edinburgh 1797, in Hans Hecht, *Robert Burns the man and his work*, 2nd. edn. 1936, translated by Jane Lyburn, Alloway Publishing 1981, pp. 257-82 (p. 261); extract in Donald A. Low (ed.), *Robert Burns The Critical Heritage*, pp. 117-127 (p. 117); also T. C. Smout, *A History of The Scottish People 1560-1830*, London, 1969, pp. 306-7.

95. Hogarth's "Satan, Sin and Death" dates from around 1735-40. On Fuseli's Milton Gallery, see Henry Fuseli, Tate Gallery, 1975, pp. 87-106, and Irwin, *English Neoclassical Art*, London 1966, p. 131 ff.; on Barry's plans, Pressly, *The Life and Art of James Barry*, New Haven and London, 1981, p. 151 ff.

96. Reynolds, *Discourses*, VII, 539-40; for a notorious contemporary example, see pp. 58-62 *infra*.

97. *Ibid*, 538-9 and 520-1, all forming part of the same argument.

98. James Thomson, *The Seasons*, "Summer", lines 1217-18. Allan's oil painting, "Celadon and Amelia in the Thunderstorm, 2ft 6in by 2ft", appeared in Sale I, page 9, lot 75. Downman's version, *exh.* RA 1797. Williams' is illustrated in Waterhouse's *Dictionary*. Williams favoured taking "hints" for landscapes from literature; two different paintings, 1768 (Society of Artists) and 1770 (RA) were both derived from *Spectator* 425.

99. Thomson, *op. cit.*, "Summer", lines 1345-49. A perfect, if obvious example of the shared cultural knowledge noted p. 29 *supra*. William Hamilton's illustration to this passage in Murray's edition of *The Seasons* (1779) is virtually a scene of an Antique statue in a landscape. Opie's later painting is not.

100. As in p. 54, n. 92 *supra*, "Histories" denotes the plays dealing with the Wars of the Roses &c. The topic of paintings dealing with British history is considered more fully in Chapter V, as part of the context of Allan's series from the life of Mary Stuart.

101. Such as West's painting "The Death of General Wolfe"; see *infra*, p. 58 ff.

102. D. and J. Serres, quoted by D. Cordingley in *Marine Paintings in England 1700-1900*, London, 1974, p. 11.

103. *Ibid.*, p. 12. The story of Apelles and the shoemaker comes to mind (see Reynolds, *Discourses*, XIII, 146 and n. - from Pliny's *Historia naturalis*).

104. By Waterhouse, *Dictionary*, p. 158.

105. *Spectator* 418. Cf. Edmund Burke, *Philosophical Enquiry*, 1759, Sections XIV and XV.

106. Lucretius, *De Rerum Natura*, II, lines 1-7;

Reynolds, *op. cit.*, VII, 539-40. The depiction of distant danger and the suffering of others is an important and unpleasant feature of later so-called "history painting"; see pp. 95-9 *infra*.

107. Wheatley's picture is reproduced in J. Burke, *English Art*, plate 92a; Burke also calls attention to Penny's "Widow Costard's cow and goods, distrained for taxes, redeemed by the generosity of Johny Pearmain". See Charles Mitchell, "Benjamin West's 'Death of General Wolfe' and the Popular History Piece", *JWCI*, Vol. VII (1944), p. 33, n. 2, for a reference in Angelo's *Reminiscences* to the success of a print after Penny's "Marquis of Granby", a painting which Barry admired (*Works*, I, p. 19). John Barrell, in *The Dark Side of the Landscape The rural poor in English painting 1730-1840*, Cambridge, 1980, p. 20, suggests a couple of causes for the great increase in the "number of rural genre-pictures exhibited at the Academy" at this time; firstly, the death of Reynolds, who was "less friendly to the 'familiar' style of painting we are discussing than was his successor Benjamin West", and secondly, "the visible threat of war with France", with a consequent emphasis upon and celebration of the virtues of a stalwart British peasantry at home. A "bold peasantry, their country's pride" indeed; for a third, more prosaic reason for the proliferation of such pictures, the greatly increased number of *Genre* painters then practising, see p. 56 *supra*.

108. Singleton's painting *exh.* RA, 1798.

109. G. Carter's version reproduced in Waterhouse's *Dictionary*. Both Grignon and Ramberg exhibited their versions RA, 1784. Zoffany's reproduced in Hugh Honour, *Neoclassicism*, Harmondsworth, 1968, p. 117.

110. Wind points out the interest of both Hogarth and Thornhill in depicting "state criminals [and] . . . ordinary murderers!"; "The Revolution of History Painting", *Journal of the Warburg Institute*, II (1938), pp. 116-127.

111. The *locus classicus* is Wind, *op. cit.*, but this had been preceded by *The Pictorial Life of General Wolfe*, 1924, by A. E. Wolfe-Aylward, and "The Pictures of the Death of Major-General Wolfe", *Journal of the Society of Army Historical Research*, VI, 1927, pp. 30-6, by J. Clarence Webster. More and earlier examples of the same and related subjects are given in Mitchell's article of a few years after Wind's, "Benjamin West's 'Death of General Wolfe' and the Popular History Piece", *JWCI*, VII (1944), pp. 20-33. Wind followed this with another, shorter, article, *JWCI*, X; David Irwin contributed an article to *Art Bulletin* XLI in 1959, "James Barry, and the Death of Wolfe in 1759". See also Whitley,



*Artists and their friends in England 1700-1799*, London and Boston, 1928, II, pp. 281-82; Waterhouse, *Painting in Britain 1530-1790*, London, 1955, pp. 159-60, 205, 206 n. 3, and 223; and David Piper, *The Genius of British Painting*, p. 195. Joseph Burke gives contemporary views of Romney's version (1763) in *English Art 1714-1800*, Oxford, 1976, p. 245.

112. See p. 62 and n. 132 *infra*.

113. Galt, *Life, Studies and Works of Benjamin West*, Vol. II, p. 46 ff; Reynolds, *Discourses*, IV, 29-31 and 41-2. See also X, 367-389, on dress in sculpture.

114. Reynolds, *op. cit.*, IV, 464-6.

115. See p. 35, notes 24 and 25 *supra*, and also Reynolds, *op. cit.*, XV, 346-418.

116. Reynolds, *op. cit.*, V, 419-23 (quoted) but the "caution" begins at line 399.

117. Wind, *op. cit.*, p. 117.

118. Mitchell, *op. cit.*, refers to the paintings at Vauxhall. Naval painting is also an important precedent for the sensational aspect of West's painting. It should also be remembered that West was interested in the use of antiquarian research in depicting scenes from the past (n. 41 *supra*), and that this discipline may have been adapted by him in this modern instance. The whole question of modern dress seems to have engaged Wind's attention as much as it did West's, and as much as it is said to have done Reynolds'.

119. On Wootton, see *John Wootton 1682-1764 Landscape and sporting art in early Georgian England*, Arline Meyer, Kenwood, 1984. The painting of Dettingen is in the National Army Museum. Reynolds' equestrian portrait of Lord Ligonier (1760-Tate Gallery) is in this tradition, but may be more profitably compared to works by Velazquez, or to Rembrandt's portrait of Frederick Rickel (National Gallery, London). See also Chapter V, p. 209 and Figure 165 *infra*.

120. Reynolds, *Discourses*, IV, 18-27. He is, of course, referring to "great events of Greek and Roman fable and history, . . . [and] capital subjects of scripture".

121. Helmut von Erffa and Allen Staley, *The Paintings of Benjamin West*, Yale, 1986, p. 212. The name "Necha, Chief of the Cherokees", is given in J. Burke, *English Art 1714-1800*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1976, p. 246.

122. Translated by Roger Fry, in *Characteristics of French Art*, 1932, quoted by Wind, *op. cit.*, p. 117 and note.

123. Racine's Second Preface to *Bajazet*, first performed 1672; *OEuvres de J. Racine*, ed. Paul Mesnard, 7 vols., Paris 1865 (Vol. 2, pp. 475-78; the phrase quoted is from p. 477). This emphasis is considered in greater depth *infra*, pp. 97-9, esp. p. 98, and in Chapter III, pp. 130-34, esp. p. 133.

124. See p. 44 *supra* for the exceptions allowed by Fuseli.

125. Reynolds, *op. cit.*, V, 370-2.

126. West's reasoning is given in Galt, *loc. cit.*; the view on "setting" is from Wind, *op. cit.*, pp. 120-21; cf. n. 64 *supra*.

127. The quotation is from Richardson's *Theory of Painting*, "Of Invention", p. 41; for Barry's approach, see Pressly, *op. cit.*, p. 61, with a passage from Barry's "Commonplace Book", in a private collection.

128. Sir Roy Strong, *And when did you last see your father?* Hampshire, 1978, p. 26.

129. For an account of Trumbull's "The Sortie from Gibraltar", see Whitley, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 109-111. Bourgeoise exhibited two pictures of encounters between *sans culottes* and British Light Dragoons, the first in 1794 and the second in 1803, although it may date from before this. The later picture, to judge from a print, is a spirited piece reminiscent of the work of Baron Gros (e.g. his painting of the Battle of the Pyramids), though one less chaotically crowded with figures. The course of the French Revolution also prompted William Hamilton's "Marie Antionette leaving prison", a sentimental picture reproduced in T. S. R. Boase, "Macklin and Bowyer", *JWCI*, XXVI, Plate 20a. This small group of scenes compares very uneasily with around two hundred paintings based on the works of Shakespeare which were exhibited in the same period. If Boydell's venture (*infra*, pp. 64-7) is included, the number of "Shakespearean" paintings leaps to some four hundred.

130. Exhibited RA, 1800: "General Fraser mortally wounded by the shot of a rifleman near Hudson's river, 7, October, 1777; in the groupe on the right hand are Lady H. Acland, Mad. Reidesell, with some English and German officers, who had the command of the camp".

131. Engraving in Scottish United Services Museum.

132. See Mildred Archer, *India and British Portraiture 1770-1825*, OUP, 1979, pp. 300-10, for a full account, and a reproduction in colour.

133. Whitley, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 355-62, and J. Burke, *op. cit.*, p. 250. Sir William Chambers called the exhibition "a raree-show" (Whitley, *op. cit.*, p. 356).

134. For Copley, de Louthembourg, Wright of Derby, Trumbull *et al*, see Whitley *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 100, p. 109 ff, pp. 137-40, and J. Burke, *op. cit.*, pp. 255-57. Copley's picture was shown in a tent. The popularity of seascapes in such panoramas may not have been entirely due to a public desire for elemental drama and spectacle. In covering with paint such great surfaces, often curved, a rapid and fluid technique would soon have recommended itself.

135. Burke, *Philosophical Enquiry*, Part II,



Notes to pp. 64-70.

Section II, p. 97. The sentence which follows is crucial: "Indeed terror is in all cases whatsoever, either more openly or latently the ruling principle of the sublime."

136. Cf. Copley on an Irish ceremony, quoted Whitley, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 363. On the intended, apparent and actual meanings which may be conveyed by pictures, see especially: pp. 76-7 and p. 99 ff; Chapter III, p. 130 ff; Chapter V, p. 230 ff; Chapter VI, pp. 264-67, and Chapter VII, pp. 335-44 and pp. 347-48 *infra*.

137. See J. Burke, *English Art*, p. 256-7.

138. See T. S. R. Boase, "Illustrations of Shakespeare's Plays in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries", *JWCI*, X, for a survey of the Boydell scheme from inception to final lottery, and Boase "Macklin and Bowyer" *JWCI*, XXVI, p. 148 ff, for a general survey of the plans of Macklin and Bowyer. Fuseli's Milton Gallery seems to have had its origin in an illustrative scheme; see Irwin, *English Neo-classical Art*, 1966, p. 132.

139. John Boydell, preface to a descriptive catalogue (1789); quoted by Josiah Boydell (a nephew) in his Preface to *Collection of Prints, from pictures painted for the purpose of illustrating the Dramatic Works of SHAKESPEARE by the Artists of Great-Britain*, London, 1805 (Arno Press reprint, 1979).

140. Only one of Fuseli's paintings from *Macbeth* was for Boydell, that of Macbeth meeting the weird sisters for the first time. He painted five "fairy pictures" for the Galleries, two of these for Boydell, the other three for Woodmason; see *Henry Fuseli*, Tate Gallery, 1975, pp. 61-3. The plates and the text are strangely disordered at this point.

141. *Ibid.*, no. 45, pp. 70-1; dated 1771. Cf. p. 39 *supra*, his plan for a scheme of decoration. Fuseli first exhibited Shakespearean subjects in 1774 (RA) and 1775 (Society of Artists). On his veneration of Shakespeare, and his phenomenal ability to memorise and declaim passages of poetry, see E. Mason, *The Mind of Henry Fuseli; Selections from his Writings with an Introductory study*, London, 1951, p. 69, quoting Farington's *Diary* for 1809.

142. Hogarth's "Falstaff recruiting" dates from 1728; Hayman's, c. 1760-65; Grimm's "Falstaff recruiting . . . (a stained drawing)", exh. RA 1771. J. Durno's version for Boydell (Vol. II, Plate IX) was engraved by T. Ryder.

143. Reynolds, *op. cit.*, VI, 446 ff; XII, 425-32; cf. also XV, 455-78.

144. *Ibid.*, VI, 448-50.

145. Letter of 12<sup>th</sup> September 1792, given in W. G. Constable, *John Flaxman*, 1927, pp. 35-6.

146. Wright, in a scene from *The Tempest* (Vol. I, Plate V); Hamilton, in a scene from *Much Ado about Nothing* (Vol. I, Plate XVII), and see also his Plate XXX in this volume;

Fuseli, Vol. II, Plate XII. All references are to Boydell's *Collection of Prints*, 1805 (Arno Press reprint, 1979).

147. Both Stothard and the Reverend Peters borrowed the king from the Holbein portrait; Vol. II, Plates XXV and XXVIII respectively; Stothard's use of the Dionysos *motif* also occurs in Plate XXV. Howard may have derived the Gaul, at second hand, from Poussin's "Sabines" (the 1637 version).

148. Boydell's *Catalogue*, 1805, quoted by Boase, "Illustrations of Shakespeare's Plays in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries", *JWCI*, X, p. 106.

149. Lecture IV, "Invention"; in *Life and Writings*, ed. Knowles, Vol. II, pp. 225-6. Cf. also Aphorism 58, *ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 81; and Edmund Burke, *Philosophical Enquiry*, Part II, Section III, "Obscurity", *passim*.

150. Hazlitt, quoted Boase, *JWCI*, X, p. 102.

151. See Whitley, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 353, Vol. II, p. 352-3; J. Burke, *op. cit.*, p. 383-85. For an account of Barry's existence at this time, see *Works*, Vol. I, p. 251 ff. For other contemporaneous accounts, see Blake's marginalia to Reynolds' *Discourses*, edited by R. R. Wark (Yale, 1959, reprinted 1975), pp. 284, 285 and 289, esp. 285; "Barry told me that while he did that work, he lived on Bread & Apples". Also Benjamin Robert Haydon, *Autobiography and Diaries*, London, 1853, Vol. I, p. 90, on the "apathy, brutality and insincerity of the Patrons" (Pressly, *Life and Art of James Barry*, cites also Farington's *Diary* for February 25<sup>th</sup>, 1805).

152. Fryer's biography of Barry, in *Works*, Vol. I, p. 251. Barry's own *Account of a Series of Pictures in the Great Room of the Adelphi* is given *ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 301 ff. See Pressly, *Life and Art*, esp. pp. 86-122 (Chapter IV) for the conception, progress and reception of the series, a stimulating discussion of Barry's views, and notes on the actual financial contribution of the Society of Arts. J. Burke has a brief account, *op. cit.*, pp. 248-50, and D. Irwin another, *op. cit.*, pp. 41-3.

153. Fryer, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 251-2, and Pressly, *op. cit.*, p. 131.

154. Barry, *An Account of a Series of Pictures, in the Great Room of the Society of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce, at the Adelphi*, London, 1783, in *Works*, Vol. II, p. 323. (also quoted in Pressly, *op. cit.*, p. 90).

155. Lecture I, *Works*, Vol. I, p. 366.

156. Barry, *Account*, in *Works*, Vol. II, p. 327.

157. *Ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 389-90.

158. *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 361.

159. Barry, Lecture II, *Works*, Vol. I p. 380.

160. "Letter to the Dilettante Society", in *Works*, Vol. II, p. 500.

161. *Account*, in *Works*, Vol. II, pp. 369-70.



162. *Ibid.*, p.430.

163. Milton, *Paradise Lost*, Book IV, line 553. Barry (*Account*, in *Works*, Vol. II, p. 370) specifically refers to *Paradise Lost* IV, 549, as the source for his "Angelic Guards".

164. *Account*, in *Works*, Vol. II, p.430.

165. Pressly, *op. cit.*, p. 118. But cf. Reynolds, *Discourses*, XV, 362-4: "The sublime in Painting, as in Poetry, so overpowers, and takes such a possession of the whole mind, that no room is left for attention to minute criticism."

166. Barry, *Account*, in *Works*, Vol. II, p. 312.

167. Barry, *Account*, in *Works*, Vol. II, p. 406.

168. Reynolds, *op. cit.*, IV, line 18.

169. Anthony A. Cooper, Earl of Shaftesbury, "Advice to an Author", *Characteristicks of Men, Manners, Opinions, Times*, 1713, I, p. 129, paraphrasing Horace, *Ars Poetica*, lines 343-44. Shaftesbury is but one source among many; for the second phrase, e.g., Johnson's Preface to his edition of Shakespeare: "The end of writing is to instruct; the end of poetry is to instruct by pleasing." (Yale edition of Johnson's *Works*, Volume VII, p.67).

170. Barry, Lecture IV, *Works*, Vol. I, p. 454.

171. *Theory of Painting*, p. 10; the first quotation is from Reynolds, *op. cit.*, IV, 111-12.

172. Reynolds, *ibid.*, lines 112-15.

173. *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1766, pp. 354-55 quoted in Mary Webster, *Francis Wheatley*, London, 1970, p. 61. Cf. Richardson, *Theory of Painting*, 1725, p. 4: "Painting has another Advantage over Words, and that is, it Pours Ideas into our Minds, Words only Drop 'em. The whole Scene opens at one View, whereas the other way lifts up the Curtain by little, and little".

174. *Lives of the Most Eminent Poets*, 3 vols, London, 1854, Vol. III, p. 238 (fifth paragraph from the end).

175. Reynolds, *op. cit.*, VII, 294-95. Cf. *Idler* 45: "It is not very easy to find an action or event that can be efficaciously represented by a painter. He must have an action not successive but instantaneous; for the time of a picture is a single moment." Having referred to an episode from the *Iliad*, the author continues, "this cannot be painted, because no peculiarity of attitude or disposition can so supply the place of language as to impress the sentiment" (Yale edition of Johnson's *Works*, Vol. II, p. 141).

176. *Infra*, p. 89 ff. Series, both of History paintings and of "modern moral subjects", are also considered, pp. 91-4 *infra* and Chapter V.

177. W.B. Yeats, "Leda and the Swan", from *The Tower*, 1928; *Collected Poems*, Macmillan, 2nd Edition, reprinted 1969, p. 241.

178. Lecture IV, in *Works*, Vol. I, pp. 454-55. Cf. Fuseli, Aphorisms 63 and 96, in *The Life and Writings of Henry Fuseli, Esq., M.A. R.A.,*

*Keeper, and Professor of Painting to the Royal Academy in London . . . the former written, and the latter edited by John Knowles FRS*, 3 vols., London, 1831, (Vol. III, pp. 82 and 94). Fuseli's theories are indicated *infra*, p. 80 ff.

179. Richardson, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

180. *Ibid.*, p. 41. Cf. Aristotle's *Poetics*, IX, 1-3. Richardson goes on to consider examples of this "Liberty of heightning a Story" in pp. 42-6 (original spelling).

181. *St. James's Chronicle*, quoted by W. T. Whitley, *Artists and their friends in England, 1700-1800*, 1928, Vol. I, p. 180.

182. *Discourses*, III, 20-1, XIII, 91 ff.

183. Aphorisms 30 and 199, in *Life and Writings*, 1831 (Vol. III, pp. 72 and 137, the latter with an allusion to Michelangelo, Titian and Baccio Bandinelli); cf. Reynolds, *op. cit.*, VI, 361, "he that follows must necessarily be behind."

184. See for example the remarkable discussions of one of Raphael's tapestry cartoons, and of the Raising of Lazarus, in Richardson, *op. cit.*, pp. 42-3 and 93-4.

185. *Discourses*, VIII 583-85. The following quotation is of lines 602-08. Cf. Edmund Burke, *Philosophical Enquiry*, Part V, Section V, p. 330, on Homer's description of the "fatal beauty" of Helen; also Fuseli, Aphorism 41 (corollary) and Charles Lamb on the attempt to paint subjects from Shakespeare, and thus "to be tied down to an authentic face of Juliet" (cited by T. S. R. Boase, *JWCL*, X, p. 104).

186. Lecture II, in *Works*, Vol. I, p. 410.

187. As briefly noted by Pressly, in *Life and Art of James Barry*, p. 134. Hogarth had already written that "ocular demonstration carries more conviction to the mind of a sensible man, than all the world could find in a thousand volumes"; quoted by R. L. S. Cowley in *Marriage à la Mode a review of Hogarth's Narrative Art*, Manchester University Press, 1983, p. 120 (cf the "Autobiographical Notes" in *The Analysis of Beauty*, ed. J. Burke, Clarendon Press, 1955, p. 215).

188. *Discourses*, IX, 75-8.

189. *Ibid.*, XIII, 135.

190. *Ibid.*, 32-5. Cf. IV, esp. 82-90.

191. *Ibid.*, 44-5 (quoted. Reynolds' argument begins at line 32; that the "great end of art is to strike the imagination" is proposed in Discourse IV, line 82).

192. *Ibid.*, III, 78. The argument summarised in the following paragraph (page 79) is primarily from Discourse XIII, 32-90.

193. *Ibid.*, XV, 340-55; cf. p. 30 *supra*.

194. Lecture IV, p. 9. Johnson's criticism of Shakespeare comes to mind: his "first defect is that to which may be imputed most of the evil in books or in men. He sacrifices



virtue to convenience, and is so much more careful to please than to instruct, that he seems to write without any moral purpose" (Yale edn. of *The Works of Samuel Johnson*, New Haven and London, 1958, Vol. VII, p. 71).

195. Aphorism 18 and Corollary, in *Life and Writings*, ed. Knowles, 1831, Vol. III, pp. 66-7.

196. Barry, Lecture IV, in *Works*, Vol. I pp. 454-55; see initially Fuseli, Aphorisms 63 and 96, in *Life and Writings*, Vol. III, pp. 82 and 94 (see also p. 75 *supra*).

197. Aphorism 48, Corollary, in *Life and Writings*, Vol. III, p. 78; the argument is more fully stated in Lecture III, *ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 137-38 ("to invent is to find ... invention ... discovers, selects, combines the possible, the probable, the known, in a mode that strikes with an air of truth and novelty, at once"). Reynolds had written that subjects were "commonly" supplied by poet or historian (Discourse IV, line 18).

198. Aphorism 48, *loc. cit.*

199. Lecture III, in *Life and Writings*, Vol. II, p. 141; the words quoted appear as a question, to which Fuseli then responds with several more rhetorical questions. Cf. Reynolds, Discourse II, lines 83-7.

200. Aphorism 239, Corollary, in *Life and Writings*, III, p. 149; considered more fully in his fourth Royal Academy lecture, *ibid.*, Volume II, pp. 189-235.

201. Barry, Lecture IV, in *Works*, I p. 458.

202. Aphorism 239, Corollary, *loc. cit.*

203. Fuseli, Lecture IV, from which the following quotation is also made; *Life and Writings*, II, p. 190.

204. Aphorism 239, Corollary. The "Legacy" is also cited in Fuseli's fourth lecture.

205. Lecture V, in *Life and Writings*, Vol. II, pp. 239-271. The quotation is from p. 264; the discussion of these three paintings occupies pp. 264-67.

206. In Lecture V, *Life and Writings*, Vol. II, pp. 246-47. Fuseli refers to the Hampton Court Cartoons; see John Pope-Hennessy, *The Raphael Cartoons* (London 1950), for their locations at different times. John Barrell discusses Fuseli's account of this cartoon, with particular emphasis upon its composition and import, in *The Political Theory of Painting From Reynolds To Hazlitt*, New Haven and London, 1986, pp. 299-301. A print is reproduced on p. 300.

207. *Theory of Painting*, 1725, p. 11.

208. Cowley, *Marriage à la Mode*, 1983, p. 162.

209. *The Analysis of Beauty*, London, 1753, XVI, "Of Attitude" and XVII, "Of Action", *passim*; cf. also XI, "Of Proportion" and XV, "Of the Face" (ed. Joseph Burke, 1955, Clarendon Press; pp. 145-62, 82-106, and 134-45).

210. *Supra*, p. 53 and n. 89.

211. See also Strong, *And when did you last see your Father?* Hampshire, 1978, p. 19, on the significance of Magna Carta, as represented by artists.

212. See Chapter V, p. 213 and Figure 168 *infra*. Copley's painting was exhibited at Spring Gardens in 1795; Jules David Prown, *John Singleton Copley*, 2 vols., Harvard University Press, 1966, pp. 343-45. See also Strong, *op. cit.*, p. 28, and Edgar Wind, "The Revolution of History Painting", *Journal of the Warburg Institute*, Vol. II, p. 125, on Copley's politics.

213. *Inquiry* (1775), Chapter X, in *Works*, Vol. II, pp. 246-47. See Pressly, *Life and Art*, pp. 67-8, on Barry's view of portraiture in general, and pp. 73-6 on this painting; Pressly concentrates on the psychological aspect, and does not suggest any precise meaning.

214. Pressly, *op. cit.*, p. 75.

215. On Burke's advice, see esp. Pressly, *op. cit.*, p. 15. "Out of step" *sc.*, though traditional, has been "transplanted" from Joseph Burke's *English Art 1714-1800*, p. 247. Incidentally, the double portrait is rather more than the "academic joke" suggested by Irwin in *English Neoclassical Art*, p. 40.

216. Pressly, *op. cit.*, p. 75.

217. Hugh Honour, *Neoclassicism*, p. 31. Cf. Macmillan, *Painting in Scotland The Golden Age*, Oxford, 1986, p. 41 on Hamilton's drawing style; see also Chapter III, pp. 135-37 *infra*.

218. Shaftesbury, *Characteristicks*, Vol. I, pp. 143-44n, cited Macmillan, *op. cit.*, p. 36, n. 22.

219. From Joseph Burke, *English Art*, p. 242, quoting Ellis Waterhouse, *Proceedings of the British Academy*, XL, pp. 67-8, himself quoting Carl Justi from 1898.

220. Cf. Reynolds, *Discourses*, V, 35-7, and VIII, lines 568 to end, esp. 568-91 and 619 ff. See also Chapter V, p. 215 *infra*.

221. Reynolds, *op. cit.*, I, 50-2. Many examples of such literary references could be adduced, from the short passages heading articles in the *Spectator* to Johnson's "Vanity of Human Wishes". Burns made a joke of "the periodical Writers" and their texts "quoted from some Classic of undoubted authority", in a letter of August, 1787, to Robert Ainslie (*Letters*, 2 vols., ed. John de Lancey Ferguson, Clarendon Press, 1931, Vol. I, p. 119, no. 130; 2nd edn, revised G. Ross Roy 1985, Vol. I, p. 149).

222. For an exhaustive analysis of *Marriage à la Mode*, see Cowley *op. cit.*. On Hogarth's work as a whole, see Ronald Paulson, *Hogarth, his life, art and times*, 3 vols., Yale, 1971.

223. Shaftesbury's treatise was first published in 1712.

224. Mr. Justice Welsh, quoted Nicholls and Wray, *History of the Foundling Hospital*, p. 255.

225. See Reynolds, *op. cit.*, VII, 688-701, and



Notes to pp. 89-98.

footnote p. 138 in Wark's edition, 1959, Yale reprint 1975; also E. Wind "Borrowed Attitudes in Reynolds and Hogarth", *JWCI*, II (1939), pp. 182-85. See pp. 99-100 *infra* for a superficial use of such reference.

226. *The Rake's Progress* and the Election series are in Sir John Soane's Museum. Parallels between Hogarth and Fielding have frequently been drawn - not least by Fielding himself - and a passage from *Joseph Andrews* comes to mind: "I declare here once for all I describe not men, but manners; not an individual, but a species ... Are not the characters then taken from life? To which I answer in the affirmative ... The lawyer is not only alive, but hath been so these four thousand years" (Book Three, Chapter I; New American Library, 1961, p. 162).

227. Aphorism 63, in *Life and Writings*, Vol. III, p. 82. Cf. a passage from *Idler* 45, quoted in n. 175 *supra*.

228. Chapter I, p. 16 *supra*. Allan does not explain what a "Newmarketman" was doing so far from home; if drawn from the life, the character was presumably some *milord* or his *valet* in *masquerade*.

229. "The Autobiographical Notes", [f. 10], in *The Analysis of Beauty*, ed. Joseph Burke, Clarendon Press 1955, p. 209. Also quoted by Austin Dobson, *William Hogarth*, London, 1891, pp. 42-3.

230. *Account of a Series of Pictures*, in *Works*, Vol. II, p. 385; "ocular demonstration" is Hogarth's expression (n. 187 *supra*).

231. See pp. 72 ff. *supra*.

232. Lecture IV, pp. 1-2.

233. "The Autobiographical Notes", [f. 52b], in *The Analysis of Beauty*, ed. J. Burke, Clarendon Press, 1955, p. 229; the elision of "e" is not indicated in the original.

234. John Brittan FSA, *The Union of Architecture, Sculpture and Painting*, 1827, p. 53 (The House and Museum of John Soane).

235. Hogarth's notice in *London Daily Post and Advertiser*, April 1743, quoted in R. L. S. Cowley, *Marriage à la Mode*, p. 7; he points out that "author" at this time signified "any kind of first beginner" (p. 1).

236. *London Evening Post*, January 1745; see Cowley, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

237. The quotation is from Barry's *Account of a Series of Pictures ... at the Adelphi*, London, 1783, in *Works*, 1809, Vol. II, p. 312; the passage from which it is taken is given more fully on p. 71 *supra*.

238. Jack Lindsay, *Hogarth*, 1977, p. 75.

239. Reynolds, *Discourses*, VII, 294-95.

240. Fuseli, Lecture IV, in *Life and Writings*, Vol. II, p. 198.

241. Cf. Reynolds, Discourse III, 87-9 ("Could we teach taste or genius by rules, they would

be no longer taste and genius"), and also Richard Payne-Knight, *Analytical Enquiry into the Principles of Taste*, London, 1805, p. 240 (II, ii, 115): "though rules and theories may prevent those who have no just feeling or natural taste from judging totally wrong, they in an equal degree prevent those who have from judging entirely right".

242. Aphorism 48, Corollary; *Life and Writings*, Vol. III, p. 78 (also Lectures III and IV, *ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 133-235, *passim*).

243. Engraved by J. R. Smith, 1781; a painting of the seated Count is in the Soane Museum. Tomory, *The Poetical Circle*, New Zealand, 1979, p. 65 (no. 38) suggests that Braccioferro may have been based upon Eccelino da Romano, d. 1259.

244. Fuseli, Lecture IV, in *Life and Writings*, Vol. II, p. 194.

245. Sir Ellis K. Waterhouse, *Painting in Britain 1530-1790*, London 1955, p. 160.

246. For several versions of this picture, see Prown, *John Singleton Copley*, 2 vols., Harvard University Press 1966, p. 267 ff; also Cummings and Staley, *Romantic Art in Britain*, Philadelphia, 1968, p. 90 ff.

247. Burke, *Philosophical Enquiry*, 1759, Part I, Section VII (opening paragraph).

248. *Ibid.*, Part I, Sections XIV and XVIII.

249. *Ibid.*, Part II Section X. The Section is entitled "Magnitude in BUILDING", but the context shows that Burke intended the judgment quoted to be of general relevance and application.

250. Barry, *An Inquiry into the Real and Imaginary Obstructions to the Acquisition of the Arts in England*, London 1775, in *Works*, London, 1809, Vol. II, p. 261.

251. Reynolds, *Discourses*, XIII, 355 (cf. also IV, 110-12: "A Painter ... has but one sentence to utter").

252. Waterhouse wrote that Watson was "no national figure but rather the kind of person made familiar to-day by some of the Sunday newspapers" (*Painting in Britain*, p. 203). Copley's painting has, incredibly, been misconstrued as a "historical composition" which would "establish his name as a painter of historical subjects" (*Romantic Art in Britain*, p. 91, essay by "F.C."; cf. also Edgar Wind's opinion that a Conversation Piece could pass "unnoticeably from portraiture to 'history painting'", quoted p. 47 *supra*, from "The Revolution of History Painting", *Journal of the Warburg Institute*, II, 1938-39, pp. 120-21.

253. *Macbeth*, Act I, scene v, quoted from memory by Reynolds, Discourse XIII, 224.

254. Cf. Fuseli, Lecture IV: "The exhibition of character in the conflict of passions with the rights, the rules, the prejudices of society, is the legitimate sphere of dramatic



invention ... whatever makes events, and time and place, the ministers of character and pathos, let fiction or reality compose the tissue, is its legitimate claim" &c. (in *Life and Writings*, Vol. II, pp. 195-96).

255. Discourse XV, 394-99 (cf. p. 105 *infra*).

256. Reynolds, Discourse XIII, 134-35.

257. Cf. Reynolds, *ibid*, 299-306; the "lower kind of Comedy, or Farce, like the inferior style of Painting, the more naturally it is represented, the better; but the higher appears to me to aim no more at imitation, so far as it belongs to any thing like deception, or to expect that the spectators should think that the events there represented are really passing before them, than Raffaele in his Cartoons, or Poussin in his Sacraments, expected it to be believed, even for a moment, that what they exhibited were real figures."

258. The picture, signed and dated 1794, and in a private collection, is reproduced in D. M. Mayer, *Angelica Kauffmann RA 1741-1807*, and in D. Shawe-Taylor, *Genial Company*, Nottingham University, 1987.

259. Cf. Barry's painting of "Ulysses and his companions escaping from the cave of Polypheme", where there can only be one *kind* of meaning, the escape from a mighty but hampered enemy by calmness and clear thinking. In *Genial Company* (p. 21), that a quotation from Kauffmann's memorandum book — "the Artist ... says good-bye to Music who is trying to seduce with her charm" — can be reconciled with the opinion that the painter "made good manners and fine sensibility the dominant theme of the allegory" is incomprehensible.

260. The painting (Naples), formerly in the Farnese Palace in Rome, was described at length by Bellori in his *Vite*. See Theodor Mommsen, "Petrarch and the Story of the Choice of Hercules", *JWCI*, XVI, (1953), 178-92.

261. *Inquiry*, 1775, Chapter X; in *Works*, Vol. II, p. 246-47.

262. The first opinion was that of a Dr Morgan, writing in 1774 (quoted in Whitley, *Artists and their Friends in England*, 1928, Vol. I, pp. 371-72. Wincklemann is quoted in Mayer, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

263. Glasgow Art Gallery and Museum. The painting — signed and dated 1772 — has been introduced as a *Poetical* work, p. 53 *supra*.

264. John Dryden, translation of Virgil's *Aeneid*, Book I, lines 396-99; *Works*, ed. James Kinsley, Clarendon Press, 1958, Vol. III, p. 1074.

265. Allan's stylistic experiments are considered in Chapters III, IV and VI, especially pp. 135-37, 161-63, 244, 256 and 2., ff. *infra*.

266. The picture was engraved by Cunego, by Volpato, and by Salvatore Tresca; p. 18, n. 86.

267. Burke, *Philosophical Enquiry*, Part II, Section VII, "Vastness" (1759 edn, p. 127).

268. An anonymous review of "The Progress of Human Culture", sent to Barry and quoted in *Works*, Vol. I, pp. 263-64.

269. Reynolds, *Discourses*, III, 267-68; on "the Ancients as instructors" and the "real simplicity of nature", cf. *ibid*, lines 256-91.

270. Barry, Lecture II, second paragraph.

271. Barry, Lecture I; *Works*, Vol. I, p. 358. Although Barry's manner as a lecturer was, surprisingly, said to be "awkward, cold, and unimpressive", his reading aloud of this passage would at least have made it immediately clear that "perfect" is used as a verb (Pasquin, *Memoirs of the Royal Academicians*, London 1796, quoted by William L. Pressly, *The Life and Art of James Barry*, New Haven and London, 1981, p. 134).

272. Reynolds, Discourse I, 47-8.

273. The first quotation is from Barry's first RA Lecture, in *Works*, Vol. I p. 366; see p. 68 *supra* for the passage itself. Fuseli's words are quoted from his twelfth RA Lecture, in *Life and Writings*, Vol. III, pp. 44-5.

274. *Inquiry*, Chapter X; in *Works*, Vol. II, p. 248. That Sir Ellis Waterhouse dismissed these words as "perverse nonsense" is disappointing (*Painting in Britain, 1530-1790*, London, 1955, p. 197).

275. Lines 505 ff. (507-08 quoted).

276. Discourse IV, 511-13.

277. Cf. p. 59 *supra*.

278. Reynolds, Discourse V, 402-03, 417-18.

279. Lecture XII, in *Life and Writings*, ed. Knowles, Vol. III, pp. 58-9. Fuseli's paraphrase — "Reynolds has told us ... 'that those who court the applause of their own time, must reckon on the neglect of posterity'" — if less resonant than the original period, makes much better sense. Reynolds seems to have given more attention to the sound of his concluding sentence than to its matter. The "great examples of the Art" were surely "celebrated" both in their own day and in the eighteenth century, and Fuseli indicates why.

280. Reynolds' words are quoted from Discourse IX, lines 77-8.

281. *Discourses*, V, 404-07. Cf. Burke's views, quoted p. 35 *supra*.

282. See pp. 31-34 *supra*.

283. See pp. 49-52 *supra*.

284. *Works of James Barry*, 1809, Vol. I, p. 239.

285. Reynolds, *Discourses*, V, 406.

286. Reynolds, Discourse IV, 509-10.

287. Adapted from Johnson's criticism of Shakespeare; see n. 194 *supra*.

288. *Preface* to the second edition of *Lyrical Ballads*, 1801; in *Poetical Works*, edited by Thomas Hutchinson, revised by Ernest



de Selincourt, Oxford Standard Authors series, 1936, reprinted 1978, pp. 734-41. The words quoted are all from p. 735, second column.

289. Cf. Chapter IV, p. 159, and Chapter VI, pp. 256-59 *infra*.

290. Cf. p. 35 *supra*.

291. Cf. Sir Roy Strong, *And when did you last see your father? The Victorian Painter and British History*, Hampshire, 1978, p. .. ff, and also John Barrell, *The Dark Side of the Landscape, The rural poor in English painting 1730-1840*, Cambridge, 1980, quoted n. 107 *supra*.

292. Mr. William Lockhart of Baronald, "Parish of Lanark", *S.A.*, VII, *Lanarkshire and Renfrewshire*, p. 468. Lockhart's report was compiled towards the close of 1793; *ibid*, p. 461.

293. Cf. his letter to the Earl of Buchan, December 3rd, 1780, transcribed in full as Appendix III. The discovery that there was so little "incouragem<sup>t</sup>" was probably not a complete surprise, but Allan was still not reconciled to the situation eight years later; see Appendix IV.

### Notes to Chapter III.

Groups of the manners in Scotland (Title quoted from David Allan's letter of November 1780 to Sir William Hamilton, given as Appendix II).

1. *Ibid*.

2. *Ibid*; "as I have employment here for some time I am incited to stay", and also passage quoted p. 111 *infra*. *Memoirs of the late David Allan*, 1808, implies that Allan's ill health had forced him to leave London; cf. the Rev. T. C. Gordon, *David Allan of Alloa*, Alva 1951, p. 29, on the smoke from "countless fires" there (citing G. M. Trevelyn, *English Social History*, p. 337).

3. This letter is transcribed in full as Appendix III. In thinking of his copying portraits by artists like Kneller and Lely for his patrons, Allan is reminded of Hogarth's "Five Orders of Periwigs" (1761); see nn. 24 and 37 *infra*, and also the photographic archive of the Scottish National Portrait Gallery, S Ph IV 804-1 and S Ph II 211-1. Allan's reference to wigs may possibly have had a further significance, however; the Wig Club of Edinburgh, antedating Buchan's Society of Antiquaries by some five years, was organised as "a burlesque antiquarian club" (see Davis D. McElroy, *Scotland's Age of Improvement A survey of Eighteenth-Century Literary Clubs and Societies*, Washington State University Press, 1969, p. 74).

4. November, 1780 (Appendix II). Allan's hav-

ing written "has introduced ... and has the prospect" &c. is a distinctively Scottish usage; cf. Sir James Murray, cited by John De Lancey Ferguson, *Pride and Passion*, New York, 1939, p. 272, and by David Daiches, *Robert Burns*, London 1952 (1981 reprint of the 1966 revision), p. 309, n. 5 (p. 323). See also Allan's letter of June, 1790, to the Earl of Buchan, Chapter V, pp. 193 and 205 *infra*.

5. The quotation is from the account of his tour in Scotland by Faujas St. Fond, in *The Discovery of Scotland: Travellers in Scotland from the thirteenth to the eighteenth centuries*, London, 1966, ed. Maurice Lindsay, p. 208. Allan may have recalled these *façades* some years later; see Chapter V, p. 207 and Fig. 171, facing p. 216 *infra*. For descriptions of the scenery along the route mentioned, see e.g. Pennant, *A Tour in Scotland MDCCCLXIX*, 1771, (Third Edition, 1774), July 25<sup>th</sup>-August 2nd, pp. 71-5, 80-2 and 103-5; Dorothy Wordsworth, *Recollections of a Tour made in Scotland A.D. 1803*, Sept 6<sup>th</sup>-9<sup>th</sup>, esp. pp. 196-212; James Hogg, *A Journey Through the Highlands and Islands of Scotland, in the Months of July and August 1802, in a Series of Letters to Walter Scott, Esq.*; on the 26<sup>th</sup> July he describes "romantic hills, crowned with wood to the very tops". Elizabeth Grant of Rothemurchus remembered that in 1804 the Tay was "full and deep and dark, the banks overhung by fine timber trees" (*Memoirs of a Highland lady 1797-1827*, London [n.d.], p. 31). The 4<sup>th</sup> Duke of Atholl ("The planting Duke") particularly favoured the larch tree (see Cockburn's *Journal*, entry for 30<sup>th</sup> April 1842; Vol. I, p. 318), but the approach to Dunkeld was already wooded in Pennant's time (*Tour*, p. 80).

6. Sale I, p. 13, lot 113; p. 11, lot 51 (two).

7. *Ibid*, p. 11, lot 65, "Goat milk and Country exercise, pair"; either of these may also have been seen at Moffat (Chapter VII, p. 329 *infra*), but cf. Tobias Smollett *The Expedition of Humphry Clinker*, Matt Bramble's letter of August 8<sup>th</sup>, "Dr Gregory ... advises the Highland air, and the use of goat-milk whey", and also E. Burt, *Letters from a Gentleman in the North of Scotland*, 1754, Letter XX, p. 148.

8. Allan's letter to Sir William Hamilton, November, 1780 (Appendix II).

9. G. C. Williamson, *English Conversation pieces of the Eighteenth and early Nineteenth centuries*, New York, 1975, p. 20, with documentation. See also Williamson and Lady Victoria Manners, *Zoffany*, London, 1953, pp. 15-16 and 174. The painting is signed and dated 1767.

10. Manners and Williamson, *op. cit.*, p. 16; Williamson, *loc. cit.* Not only was the painting executed in London, Zoffany portrayed the members of the family over a number of years.

11. The quotation is from Robert Burns, "The



Cotter's Saturday Night", stanza V, line 42 (*Poems and Songs*, ed. James Kinsley, Clarendon Press, 1968, Vol. I, no. 72.)

12. For Ramsay's "William, 17<sup>th</sup> Earl of Sutherland" (1753), his "7<sup>th</sup> Earl of Wemyss and his wife" (c. 1746) and his "Norman, 22nd Chief of Macleod" (1748), see David and Francina Irwin, *Scottish Painters At Home and Abroad 1700-1900*, London, 1975, pp. 54 and 56, and Plate 14. Batoni's "Col. William Gordon of Fyvie" dates from 1766 and is at Fyvie Castle; *Treasures of Fyvie*, HMSO, 1985, pp. 47-8 and Plate 16. The subject of Wright's painting has finally been identified from the Ormond Papers (National Library of Ireland) as Sir Mungo Murray, 1668-1700, and a date of 1684 suggested for its execution. For earlier scholarship, see Sara Stevenson and Duncan Thomson, *John Michael Wright The King's Painter*, HMSO, 1982, pp. 91-2 and Plate 36. A series of portraits of the Clan Grant was commissioned from Richard Waitt in 1713; some of these subjects also wear Highland dress (D. & F. Irwin, *op. cit.*, p. 45).

13. Among about a dozen Scottish landscapes he exhibited are "Bell Veu up the Strath Tay, near Dunkeld, the seat of his Grace the Duke of Athol" (1768) and "A View from his Grace the Duke of Athol's garden at Inver-ferry, Dunkeld" (1770). In 1763 and 1764 Stewart took Second and Third Premiums for Landscape Painting at the Free Society (Twenty-five guineas and ten guineas; from Graves, *Societies*, 1907, original spelling here and in text). Cf. also n. 10 *supra*.

14. Gordon, *David Allan of Alloa*, 1951, p. 31, identifies the gamekeeper as Alexander Crerar.

15. Smollett, *op. cit.*, J. Melford's letter of September 3rd.

16. The first quotation is from Burt, *op. cit.*, Letter XV; the second, from Thomas Pennant, *op. cit.*, 1771, p. 81.

17. The "rocks of Scotland" alludes to Johnson's own "London", lines 9-10 (Yale edition, Vol. VI, pp. 47-61); the second quotation is from *A Journey to the Western Isles of Scotland in 1773*, London, 1775, Chapter entitled "Anoch" (ed. Peter Levi, Harmondsworth, 1984, p. 60).

18. James Boswell, *The Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides with Samuel Johnson LL. D.*, 1786, "Friday, 8<sup>th</sup> October" (ed. Levi, 1984, p. 342.)

19. The Abbé Peter Grant consulted Gavin Hamilton about the purchase of prints for Sir James Grant of Grant, who had commissioned "Achilles lamenting the Death of Patroclus"; see Duncan Macmillan, *Painting in Scotland*, Oxford, 1986, p. 34. In a letter of August 1783 to the Earl of Buchan Allan wrote that Abbé Grant and James Byres had returned from Rome for the summer (Watson MSS., National Library

of Scotland, 590 1728; published in Gordon, *op. cit.*, pp. 37-8).

20. Allan's letter to Buchan, December, 1780 (Appendix III). The word partially lost from the phrase immediately following that quoted was most probably "Study", but may have been "Style". The version of this letter given by the Rev. T. C. Gordon, *David Allan of Alloa*, 1951, pp. 34-5, is very inaccurate, suffering from some misreading and omission, and a great deal of correction and modernisation.

21. *Ibid.*

22. See p. 121 *infra*. On Sir James Grant's commissions, see D. & F. Irwin, *Scottish Painters at Home and Abroad*, London, 1975, pp. 69 and 104.

23. Letter of November, 1780 (Appendix II).

24. SRD Register of Deeds, DAL 244, part 1, ff. 268 *et seq.*, Inventory of Pictures in Dupplin House, 1788, including "A Family Group consisting of six figures, viz. Thomas, 8<sup>th</sup> Earl of Kinnoull, Lady Elizabeth, Lady Abigail and Lady Henrietta Roper, his sisters and his two nieces Henrietta and Margaret Hay, all drawn from the life in 1781". Also noted was "Mary, 1<sup>st</sup> wife of William, 3rd earl of Kinnoull, & length copy by David Allan from Sir Peter Lilly" (original spelling). Dupplin House, in Strathearn, Perthshire, was destroyed by fire in 1827; Pennant, in 1769, had recorded paintings by Titian, Rubens, Lely and Van Dyck (*Tour*, 1773, p. 73.).

25. Watson of Saughton was connected by marriage with the families of Hope and Graham (Skinner, *The Indefatigable Mr Allan*, 1973, p. 11). See also p. 20 *supra* and n. 111.

26. Gordon, *op. cit.*, p. 39. Earlier matches are recorded, among them games played on the North Inch by soldiers stationed at Perth (A.M.C. Thorburn, article in *A Companion to Scottish Culture*, ed. D. Daiches, 1981, pp. 84-5). The *Caledonian Mercury* reported the Cathcarts' unfortunate showing against what the Irwins describe as "more experienced English rivals", who won a wager of one thousand guineas (*op. cit.*, p. 72, without source and probably from family tradition).

27. Gordon, *op. cit.*, p. 39. The Company was formed in 1744 and played on Leith Links (J.S. Young, article in *A Companion to Scottish Culture*, 1981, p. 155).

28. Robert Brydall, *Art in Scotland its origin and progress*, Edinburgh, 1889, p. 145. For an account of Allan as Master of the Academy, see Chapter I, pp. 22-4 *supra*.

29. Letter to Buchan, December, 1780 (transcribed as Appendix III; original spelling).

30. Honyman, c. 1790, SNP6; Stewart, 1780s, Private Collection; Rosebery, still at Dalmeny House.

31. Gordon, *op. cit.*, pp. 36-7. It was, 1824. The names of all the figures, and the ages of



the children, are inscribed on the *verso* of Allan's canvas; seven children are named, but only six appear, one son having been painted over or cut out and replaced by the hat, this part of the picture being on a new patch of canvas. Two paintings of the Forth near Alloa also date from 1783 (private collection).

32. Drawing, NGS D153, "Near Queensferry", inscribed "D. Allan del. 1791". Another, of North Queensferry, 1794, Duninvarle. Cf. drawings, all from Sale I: "Bay at N. Queensferry", p. 11, lot 52; "View near S. Queensferry", "S. Queensferry from the West", p. 13, lots 118 and 125; "Hopetoun House from the East" (three), p. 13, lots 132, 104 and 105, the last "in colours"; "Hopetoun House from the East 24 in. by 17 with figures, framed", p. 15, lot 190. Also the following copies, from Sale I and Sale II: "St. Francis and the Virgin, from the original at Hopetoun House, by Guido, same size [as the preceding lot, ie '20 in by 15']" Sale I, p. 7, lot 21; "Sketch in chalks from the picture of St. Francis and the Virgin, in the possession of the Earl of Hopetoun, by Allan", Sale II, p. 3, lot 11. There is also an outline sketch, in ink, of "the James" in Small at Hopt? House"; (Cowie collection, the Mitchell Library Glasgow (MS 6/a, in 308918); cf. Chapter V, p. 205 *infra*).

33. Historic Manuscripts Commission, 2nd Report, Appendix, p. 25; synopsis of a letter sent from Rome, March 1768, by Sir William Hamilton ("says that he has been with Lady Cathcart's little painter Allan, one of the greatest geniuses he ever met with; he was indefatigable").

34. Gordon, *David Allan of Alloa*, 1951, pp. 33-4, quoting from *Memoir on David Allan* (in "Blunt Collection") by "Alloaensis", whom he identifies as Mr. Robert Bald of Alloa. The Italian singer Tenducci, often a guest at Hopetoun House, had the good taste - or the good sense - to include Scottish songs in his performances (account of the concerts at St. Cecilia's Hall by "G. T. Octogenarius Edinburgensis", Feb. 1847, in Robert Chambers, *Traditions of Edinburgh*, Edinburgh 1824, last revised edn., 1868; 1967 reprint, pp. 249-254; G. T. was George Thomson).

35. Considered in Chapter VI, pp. 256-62.

36. Chapter II, p. 49 *supra*.

37. The painting is in the State Dining Room at Hopetoun House. Allan also copied or borrowed from portraits by Jamesone, Kneller, Lely, and Nasmyth (see n. 24 *supra*, and Chapter VII, Figure 296 *infra*).

38. The "gaberdine" and necktie worn by Shylock in Allan's drawing are similar to those in Zoffany's portrait of Macklin; a portrait of "Mr Macklin in the character of Shylock" was exhibited at the Royal Academy

in 1779, by John Kitchingham.

39. On the Foulis Academy engraving, see Chapter I, Figure 1, facing p. 6; Cathcart family and Concert at Hopetoun House, private collections; "Original Sketch of Antiquarian Society", Sale I, p. 13, lot 100.

40. Such as Chardin (e.g. "The drawing lesson", engraved by Le Bas in 1757; see Philip Conisbee, *Chardin*, Oxford, 1986, plates 17 and 170, pp. 28 and 174) or Gravelot (e.g. "Le Lacteur", Marble Hill); Longhi's *Genre* pieces might also be remembered; cf. Chapter I, p. 11.

41. Each of the four is numbered; a key (such as that to the Erskine family, n. 31 *supra*) may have been obscured when the canvas was relined. Basil Skinner, in "A Scottish Catalyst", *Country Life*, 19<sup>th</sup> August 1965, suggests that the oldest sitter may be Charles Hope Vere (painted by Allan on a couple of occasions), but the physiognomy, though not unlike, is hardly identical.

42. Letter to Buchan, December, 1780, transcribed as Appendix III (original spelling).

43. Brown to Earl of Buchan, Laing MSS, Edinburgh University Library (in La. IV 26); also quoted in Irwin, *Scottish Painters at Home and Abroad*, London, 1975, p. 78, and in Macmillan, *Painting in Scotland*, p. 61).

44. Basil Skinner, *Country Life*, August, 1965. Allan did own a "Lay Figure, very complete" (Sale I, p. 17, lot 2, "Miscellaneous Articles").

45. Seafield papers, East Register House, Edinburgh (GD 248, box 511 b.2). Grant's wife was Lady Jean Duff; the Grants were related to the Hope, Graham and Cathcart families (see Basil Skinner, *The Indefatigable Mr. Allan*, 1973, p. 19, no. 57.) The painting mentioned in the letter to Sir James Grant was presumably the one which Allan brought to London with him (see Appendix II); one version is at Blair Castle, the other in a private collection.

46. One of these small portraits of Eliza Hope (1768-86) is in Hopetoun House, the other in a private collection.

47. David Hume, *An Abstract of a book lately published entitled a Treatise of Human nature*, London, 1740, p. 24.

48. Letter to Dr. Maty, October, 1775, given as Appendix I. The second of the quotations in the preceding sentence is from Allan's letter to Buchan, December, 1780 (transcribed as Appendix III), and as in the first (from the letter to Dr. Maty) the original spelling is retained. For Allan's definition of the Conversation Piece, see p. 120, n. 42 *supra*.

49. This and its companion piece (Plate V) were recorded in Buchan's collection at Dryburgh Abbey, from 1781; the collection was sold in 1859 (letter from W. F. Watson, NLS, MS 129). See also Irwin, *Scottish Painters at Home and*



*Abroad*, London, 1975, p. 76.

50. See Chapter I, p. 10 *supra*. Among Allan's outlines from the *Antichità di Ercolano* is a drawing of a poetess copied from Tomo IV, Tavola XXXV; this album (Print Room, NGS) probably appeared at both Sale I - "Volume of outlines of Figures and Groupes, from Herculaneum", p. 15, lot 175 - and Sale II (p. 4, lot 53). To depict an artist with his or her drawing board, palette, pencils and the like is in any case an obvious device; Allan may have known Cotes's portrait of Paul Sandby, or the print after it by Edward Fisher (reproduced in *Genial Company*, Nottingham Art Gallery, 1987, Figure 22, p. 27).

51. Letter to Sir James Grant, 1785; see p. 121 *supra*. The portrait of Craig (Huntly House Museum, Edinburgh) is reproduced in A. J. Youngson, *The Making of Classical Edinburgh 1750-1840*, Edinburgh, 1966 (frontispiece).

52. *Memoirs of the late David Allan*, 1808, in *The Gentle Shepherd*, Edinburgh, 1808, Vol. II, p. 631, in which the two portraits are said to have been within the "same oblate oval frame". Two Tassie medallions (one of Allan, the other of his wife) appeared at Sotheby's sale in Gleneagles Hotel, 27<sup>th</sup> August, 1985, as part of Lot 867.

53. J. S. Young, article in *A Companion to Scottish Culture*, ed. D. Daiches, London, 1981, p. 155. Sir George Chalmers' informal portrait of an earlier Captain of the Honourable Company is noted in D. & F. Irwin, *op. cit.*, p. 73, and reproduced as Plate 25. For Allan's "Book of Scotch Figures, chiefly the Cries and Employments common in Edinburgh, drawn and coloured from Nature" (Sale I, p. 15, lot 182), see Chapter VII, pp 326-27, *infra*.

54. Captain Edward Topham, *Letters from Edinburgh written in the years 1774 and 1775*, London, 1776, Letter XII. Hugo Arnot was surprised that Topham wrote of his having seen golf played on Arthur's Seat; *History of Edinburgh*, Edinburgh, 1780, quoted in *A Series of Original Portraits and Caricature Etchings by the late Mr. John Kay, Miniature Painter*, Edinburgh, 1838, Vol. II, p. 213.

55. Tobias Smollett, *Humphry Clinker*, letter of August 8<sup>th</sup> from J. Melford to Sir Watkin Phillips (*Works*, Vol. IV, p. 81).

56. In 1798 a Mr. Sceales of Leith and Mr. Alexander Smellie the printer each drove six balls over the weathercock from the corner of Parliament Close. These "passed considerably higher than the weather-cock, and were found nearly opposite the Advocates' Close"; Grant, *Old and New Edinburgh*, and Arnot, *History of Edinburgh*, quoted in *A Series of Original Portraits and Caricature Etchings by the late Mr. John Kay, Miniature Painter*, Edinburgh, 1838, Vol. II, p. 213, which includes the helpful in-

formation that the weathercock was some one hundred and sixty feet above the ground, but does not record whether or no any windows, or heads, were broken in the exercise.

57. Writing to Josiah Walker (tutor to the Marquis of Tullibardine, son of the Duke of Atholl), Robert Burns declared on the 5<sup>th</sup> September, 1787, "I shall never forget the fine family piece I saw at Blair; the amiable, the truly noble Dutchess with her smiling little seraph in her lap, at the head of her table; the lovely 'olive plants,' as th[e Hebrew] Bard finely says, round the happy mother; the beautiful M<sup>rs</sup> Graham; the lovely, sweet Miss Cathcart, &c. I wish I had the powers of Guido to do them justice!"; *Letters*, ed. Ferguson, Vol. I, pp. 123-24 (2nd edn., ed. Ross Roy, pp. 154-55), no. 135. The description seems to be partly a memory of Allan's painting, which Burns would have seen less than a week before (*Journal*, ed. in *facsimile* by J. C. Ewing, 1927, for 31<sup>st</sup> August and 1<sup>st</sup> September 1787). Three pictures of "The Highland Family" appeared in Sale I: p. 9, lot 74; p. 10, lot 2; and p. 13, lot 134 (a sketch). The first of these was an oil painting, "3 one-half ft. by 2ft 8in", and may be that in the same private collection as a 'Highland Dance, unframed, 3ft 6in by 2ft 9in (Sale I, p. 9, lot 79). Two watercolour drawings of a Highland Cottage interior, together with a pencil sketch of the same composition, are in the Dunimarle Album (on loan to the NGS), one of these, a "Scotch Highland Family"—signed and dated "D. Allan 1795" - having been bought for "£ 3- 9-". The Rev. T. C. Gordon, *David Allan of Alloa*, 1951, p. 91, notes another three watercolours of Highland subjects, including a beggar, in private collections.

58. Sale II, p. 9, lot 65; "Highland Dance, and Funeral Procession".

59. The final quotation is from Topham, *op. cit.*, Letter XXXIV, p. 280; the others are from Smollett, *op. cit.*, letter of September 3rd from Melford to Sir Watkin Phillips (*Works*, Vol. IV, p. 103 and pp. 108-9).

60. The "List of Works by David Allan" in Gordon, *op. cit.*, p. 83 ff. includes a "Sketch" of "The Gows", dated 1779 and then in the "Thomson Collection". An oil painting of "Neil Gow and his Brother playing a reel, 23in by 28" appeared in Sale I, p. 9, lot 73.

61. In addition to the Dunimarle oil, the print (etching & aquatint) of 1783, and "A Scotch Highland Dance" exh. 1781 (R.A.), dated versions (from 1780-87) exist in four private collections. One interesting but undated version, in watercolours over an etched outline, presumably dates from after 1782 (see Allan's letter to the Earl of Hopetoun, p. 21 *supra*). Apart from the oil painting mentioned in n. 57



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*supra*, two more prints of "The Highland Dance", and a sketch which was probably similar to one in the Mitchell Library (Cowie Collection SR 241 308864, f. 9 verso). Sale I included a version of the same subject with "the Landscape part by Paul Sandby"; prints, pp. 5 & 6, lots 123 & 138; sketch, p. 11, lot 67; Sandby, p. 15, lot 188, also n. 62, and cf. Chapter VII, p. 325, n. 21 *infra*.

62. For Allan's exhibits see Appendix VII. A watercolour with the NGS, August, 1989, may be that listed in Sale I (p. 15, lot 188) as a collaboration; as often in Moir's catalogues a "Do" is ambiguous, indicating either "finished", "24 by 18 inches" or "glazed", from the description of the previous lot.

63. See Chapters IV, pp. 183-84, VI, pp. 244-45 *infra*, for dating and documentation.

64. The quotation is from "To Mr. Gow, visiting Dumfries", sometimes attributed (with little reason) to Burns; see *Poems and Songs of Robert Burns*, Collins, 1960, ed. James Barke (Fontana reissue 1983, pp. 495-97), and *Poems and Songs*, ed. James Kinsley, 3 vols., Clarendon Press, 1968, XV, Appendix to Vol. II, p. 928, no. 673 for other printings. On Gow (whose name always appears in his published collections of fiddle music [1784-1822] as "Niel") see, among others, F. Collinson *The Traditional and National Music of Scotland*, London, 1966, p. 214 ff., A. J. Hardie, *The Caledonian Companion*, London and Edinburgh, 1981, p. 17, J. Hunter *The Fiddle Music of Scotland*, Edinburgh, 1979, pp. xi-xii, and M. Alburger, *Scottish Fiddlers and their Music*, London, 1983, Chapter V (pp. 93-119). It was Nathaniel Gow, Niel's son, who visited Dumfries in 1793; see Burns's letter of 7 October to James Johnson, in *Letters*, II, p. 212 (2nd edn., p. 254), no. 591.

65. *The Scots Magazine*, quoted by William Stenhouse in *Illustrations*, note on *SMM* III (1790), No. 258, pp. 241-43.

66. Boswell, *Tour*, 8<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> September; ed. Levi, 1984, pp. 250 and 288. Johnson, in his *Journey* ("Sky Armidel"; p. 69, same edn.) noted that although "in the islands the plaid is rarely worn... the fillibeg, or lower garment, is still very common, and the bonnet almost universal". Cf. also n. 68 *infra*. For an earlier view, see Snollett, *Humphry Clinker*, letter from J. Melford to Sir Watkin Phillips, 3rd September (*Works*, Vol. IV, p. 104).

67. Dress Act, 1747, quoted by J. T. Dunbar in *A Companion to Scottish Culture*, London, 1981, p. 103.

68. *A Tour in Scotland*, London, 1772 (third edition, 1774), p. 190; Pennant also describes the "brechcan-feill" (his spelling), the belted plaid worn by "a most singular groupe of Highlanders" near Inverness. Cf. Captain Burt, *Letters from . . . the North of Scotland* (two vols., London, 1754), Letter XXII; "few besides Gentlemen wear the Trowse".

69. Cf. Chapter VII, pp. 344-45 *infra*.

70. Hardie, *The Caledonian Companion*, 1981, p. 50. Cf. Burns, note to *SMM*, Vol. III, No. 216; "The tune ['Abbeyhills Rant'] is an old Highland Air, called Shuan truish willighen" (Notes on Scottish Song in an interleaved copy of *SMM*, Notes, ed. James C. Dick, 1908).

71. Letter from the Duchess of Atholl, to her sister the Hon. Mrs Graham, quoted in NGS file on the Dunimarle "Highland Dance".

72. See I. F. Grant, *Highland Folk Ways*, London, 1961, pp. 364-65, quoting from an account "of Strathdearn in 1774-83" by Sir Eneas Mackintosh.

73. Burt, *op. cit.*, Letter XXII, p. 190. Sir Eneas Mackintosh wrote that when such a cake was "broken over the bride's head . . . a great struggle [was] made for a piece of it" (see I. F. Grant, *Highland Folk Ways*, p. 364 and n. 1; the "person who got the largest fragment of cake would be married next". Pieces of christening-cake, when broken and distributed, were also known as dreaming-breid.

74. *Memoirs of the late David Allan*, in *The Gentle Shepherd*, Edinburgh, 1808, p. 630. A more serious purpose is discussed on pp. 130-38 and in Chapter VII, pp. 332 and 336-44 *infra*.

75. Reynolds, *Discourses on Art*, VI, 633.

76. *Ibid.*, 276-79, and also 381-82.

77. Both quotations are from John Millar, *The Origin of the Distinction of Ranks*, (1779), 4th edn., Edinburgh, 1806, Introduction, pp. 11 and 12. Cf. also Adam Ferguson's *Essay on the History of Civil Society*, (1767), quoted in n. 65 to Introduction, p. xli *supra* (on p. lii).

78. *The History of America*, 11<sup>th</sup> edn., in 4 vols., London, 1808, Vol. II, Book IV, p. 50, with marginal gloss "Condition and Character of the Americans". Robertson became Principal in 1762, and both Moderator and Historiographer in the following year. In his *History of America*, first published 1777, he came to a balanced judgment on the native peoples: "if there be defects or vices peculiar to the savage state, there are likewise virtues which it inspires, and good qualities, to the exercise of which it is friendly" (*ibid.*, p. 233). Allan wrote to Robertson from Glasgow in 1792 (Appendix VI).

79. Johnson, *Journey*, "The Highlands", ninth paragraph (ed. Levi, Harmondsworth, 1984, p. 64).

80. Sir John Dalrymple, *Memoirs of Great Britain and Ireland from the dissolution of the last Parliament of Charles II until the sea-battle of La Hogue*, 3 vols., (fourth edn., Dublin, 1773), Vol. I, Part II, Book II (1689), p. 387. James Macpherson, in "A Dissertation concerning the Poems of Ossian" (prefixed to *The Poems of Ossian, the Son of Fingal*), also described "the inhabitants of the mountains of Scotland" as "an ancient and unmixed race of men"; p. 62, Edinburgh, 1830.

81. Johnson, *op. cit.*, pp. 62-3.



## Notes to pp. 131-142.

82. *Ibid.*, p.63.
83. Topham, *Letters from Edinburgh*, 1776, Letter X.
84. The first quotation is from Tobias Smollett's "Ode to Leven Water", line 25 (in *Humphry Clinker*, letter from Matt Bramble to Dr. Lewis, August 28<sup>th</sup>; *Works*, Vol. IV, p. 121). The second is from Macpherson's essay on "the Poems of Ossian" (see n. 80 *supra*), the third from "To W. S\*\*\*\*\*n, Ochiltree" by Burns (*Poems and Songs*, 1968, ed. James Kinsley, no. 59, line 115). The last is from an article by Scott in the *Quarterly Review*, February 1809, quoting "the sublime rant of Almanzor" (in *Robert Burns The Critical Heritage*, London and Boston, 1974, ed. Donald Low, p. 200).
85. Smollett, *op. cit.*, letters from Matt Bramble to Dr. Lewis, August 28<sup>th</sup> and September 6<sup>th</sup> (Vol. II, pp. 119 and 134). Captain Burt, in *Letters from . . . the North of Scotland* (Letter XIX), makes reference to an incident at the Battle of Glenshiel, 1719.
86. Smollett, *op. cit.*, letter from J. Melford to Sir Watkin Phillips, September 3rd (*Works*, Vol. IV, p. 104).
87. The first quotation is from Burns's own footnote to "Love and Liberty—A Cantata", line 194 (*Poems and Songs*, ed. Kinsley, 1968, no. 84; the "Cantata" is more often known as "The Jolly Beggars"). The second quotation is from Hugh Blair's "Critical Dissertation on the poems of Ossian", in *The Poems of Ossian Translated by James Macpherson Esq.*, Edinburgh, 1830, p. 94.
88. *Fragments of Ancient Poetry collected in the Highlands*, Edinburgh, 1760 (VII, p. 37).
89. See Chapters IV, pp. 145-46, and VI, pp. 257-58 and 309-13 *infra*; The description of the language and pronunciation of the Scots as "firy, abrupt, sprightly, and bold" is from *Pleadings*, 1673, by Sir George Mackenzie of Rosehaugh; see F. W. Freeman, "The Vernacular Movement", in *A Companion to Scottish Culture*, ed. D. Daiches, London, 1981, pp. 393-96, and Billy Kay, *Scots The Nither Tongue*, Edinburgh 1986, pp. 81-2. "Firy" may be translated by "brisk".
90. "Tartana, or The Plaid", line 39; in *Works*, STS edn, Vol. I, p. 27 ff.
91. *Ibid.*, lines 32-4 and 36-7.
92. See his letter to the Earl of Buchan, December 1780, transcribed as Appendix III.
93. William Wordsworth, *A Letter to a Friend of Robert Burns: Occasioned by an Intended Republication of the Account of the Life of Burns by Dr. Currie; and of the Selection made by him from his Letters*, 1816, in *Robert Burns The Critical Heritage*, ed. Low, 1974, p. 282.
94. The quotation is from Thomas Blackwell, *An Inquiry into the Life, and Writings of Homer*, London, 1735, p. 26. For the previous

consideration of West's painting, see p. 60 *supra*.

95. *Letters from . . . the North of Scotland*, 1754, Letter XXV.

96. *Ibid.*

97. *An Essay on the Theory of Painting*, London, 1725, pp. v, 3 and 11. Cf. p. 83 *supra*.

98. Reynolds, *Discourses*, IV, 371-72, on "painters of the Dutch school" (line 365).

99. The quotation is from Robert Burns's description of Gow, whom he met at Dunkeld, August 31<sup>st</sup>, 1787 (*Journal*, ed. J. C. Ewing, 1927). Of the five airs mentioned in the next sentence, all but the last are by Gow - and it was one of his own favourites (A. J. Hardie, *The Caledonian Companion*, 1981, p. 85).

100. George Fennell Robson, *Scenery of the Grampian Mountains; Principal Hills, Lakes and Rivers*, London 1819; Introduction.

101. Letter to the Earl of Elgin, 20<sup>th</sup> January, 1829; *Letters*, Vol. XI (in *Robert Burns The Critical Heritage*, ed. Low, 1974, pp. 263-64).

102. Sale I, p. 9, lots 74 and 79; the paintings were approximately equal in size (n. 57 *supra*). Lot 80 on the same day - an "Italian Dance, Naples and Vesuvius in the back ground unframed, 4ft by 3." - may well have been the picture Allan mentions in his letter to Sir William Hamilton, November, 1780 (Appendix II).

103. David Herd, *Ancient and Modern Scottish Songs, Heroic Ballads, &c*, Edinburgh, 1776, Preface, p. vii. This point is further developed in Chapter VII, p. 368 ff. *infra*.

104. Allan's words are from the dedication of *The Gentle Shepherd*, 1788 (Appendix IV). The final quotation is from *Memoirs*, in *The Gentle Shepherd*, Edinburgh, 1808, Vol. II, p. 629.

105. *Enquiry Concerning the Principles of Morals*, Part II, Section V (footnote).

106. Letter to Hamilton, November, 1780, given as Appendix II.

107. In the anecdote of his ready response to a request for a song when at Hopetoun House (p. 118 and n. 34 *supra*).

## Notes to Chapter IV

## The walks of homely life.

(Title quoted from William Wordsworth, *The Prelude*, 1850, Book XIII, line 266; *Poetical Works*, ed. T. Hutchinson, revised by E. De Selincourt, Oxford, 1936 (1978 reprint, p. 582).

1. Letter of 6<sup>th</sup> March, 1783, quoted by Basil Skinner, *The Indefatigable Mr. Allan*, Edinburgh, 1973, p. 18.

2. *The Ever Green: A Collection of Scots Poems Wrote by the Ingenious before 1600*, Edinburgh, 1724 (introduction). The quotation



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in the previous sentence, setting out Ramsay's aims, is in *The Works of Allan Ramsay*, STS edn., Vol. III, Edinburgh and London, 1961, edited by A. M. Kinghorn and A. Law, p. 186.

3. The quotation is from Robert Brown's edition of *The Gentle Shepherd*, Edinburgh, 1808, Vol. II, p. 51. Pope had already subscribed to the 1721 edition of Ramsay's poems (Ronald Paulson, *Hogarth, his life, art and times*, 3 vols., Yale, 1971; Vol. I, p. 156. Ramsay sold thirty copies of the edition of *Hudibras* mentioned (Paulson, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 155). The second air in *The Beggars' Opera*, "Bonny grey-eyed Morn", is Sang XX in *The Gentle Shepherd*. Gay also included "The Lass of Peatty's Mill" and "Gin thou wert my ain thing", to both of which Ramsay had already written words of his own; both also appeared in Thomson's *Orpheus Caledonius*, Vol. I (1725), Nos. I and XXIII.

4. See Thomas Crawford, *Society and the Lyric: a Study of the Song Culture of Eighteenth Century Scotland*, Scottish Academic Press, Edinburgh, 1979, p. 79, citing the manuscript life of the poet in Edinburgh University Library.

5. Alexander Pope, *A Discourse on Pastoral Poetry*, London, 1709; *Poetical Works*, London, [n.d.] (Chandos), p. 11; Pope in a footnote alludes to Fontenelle's *Discourse on Pastoral*.

6. See Matthew R. McDiarmid, "A Study of the Poetry of Robert Fergusson" pp 150-63, in *The Poems of Robert Fergusson*, STS edn., Vol. I, Edinburgh and London, 1954; and Crawford, *op. cit.*, pp. 72-8. The words quoted are from Rapin's Preface to his *Eclogæ Sacrae*, translated into English in 1684 and printed with Thomas Creech's translation of Theocritus' *Idylliums*; see Crawford, *op. cit.*, p. 73.

7. Advertisement in *The Post Boy*, 15<sup>th</sup> November 1716; Crawford *op. cit.*, p. 77, quoting from *The Works of Thomas Purney*, ed. H. White, Oxford, 1933, p. xxv.

8. See Francis M. Collinson, *The Traditional and National Music of Scotland*, London, 1956, p. 124 ff; David Johnson, *Music and Society in Lowland Scotland in the Eighteenth Century*, London, 1972, pp. 130-41; and McDiarmid, *op. cit.*, pp. 154-55.

9. Crawford, *op. cit.*, p. 78, quoting from *The Idylliums of Theocritus with Rapin's Discourse upon Pastoral ... to which is prefix'd the Life of Theocritus*, by Basil Kennet, London, 1713. Cf. James Currie's *Account of Burns*, in his edition of the *Works*, 1800; "the use of the Scottish dialect ... gives a Doric simplicity, which is very generally approved" (Vol. I, p. 335).

10. David Hume did; letter to Gilbert Elliot of Minto, 2nd July, 1757; *Letters*, ed. J. Y. T. Grieg, Oxford, 1932, Vol. I, p. 255 (quoted

by David Daiches in *Robert Burns*, 1952, 1981 reprint, p. 12, in *The Paradox of Scottish Culture: the Eighteenth-Century Experience*, London, 1964, p. 20, by F. W. Freeman in "The Vernacular Movement", article in *A Companion to Scottish Culture*, London, 1981, p. 394, and by many others); Dr. John Jamieson, in his "Dissertation on the Origin of the Scottish Language", remarked that this erroneous opinion had been so "generally received, and perhaps almost taken for granted" throughout Britain that he would never have questioned it had not "a learned foreigner" shown facts to the contrary. See *Etymological Dictionary of the Scottish Language*, Edinburgh 1808, 2nd edn., 1825, revised edn. by John Longmuir, Edinburgh and London, 1877; the foreigner was Professor Thorbrelin of Copenhagen.

11. Ruddiman's edition, with its famous Glossary, was published in 1710; Freeman, *op. cit.*, p. 393.

12. Clerk's *Enquiry* was published in 1790, but was "intended for the Edinburgh Philosophical Society in 1742"; Freeman, *op. cit.*, pp. 393-4.

13. Quoted by Margaret Turner in her rendition into English of *The Gentle Shepherd*, 1790, Introduction.

14. "Surprising effects of Original Genius, exemplified in the Poetical Productions of Robert Burns, an Ayrshire Ploughman", article in *The Lounger*, no. 97, 9<sup>th</sup> December, 1786; quoted in D. Low, *Robert Burns The Critical Heritage*, pp. 67-71. In Mackenzie's *Works*, Edinburgh, 1808, this article is given as "Extraordinary account of Robert Burns the Ayrshire Plowman, with extracts from his poems" (Vol. VI). Mackenzie was called "our Scottish Addison" by Sir Walter Scott, who, in 1814, dedicated *Waverley* to him.

15. See John Dryden, Preface to *Fables, Ancient and Modern*, 1700; *Poems*, ed. James Kinsley, Clarendon Press, 1958, Vol. IV, p. 1457.

16. Crawford, *Society and the Lyric*, p. 82.

17. See pp. 186-90 *infra*.

18. The first quotation is from Dryden's Preface to his *Tróilus*, Vol. VI, p. 246. The others are from *The Gentle Shepherd*, Act IV, ii, 87; IV, ii, 49; and III, iv, 35. The Pastoral was dedicated to the Countess of Eglintoun, and was accompanied by an epistle to the Countess written by William Hamilton of Gilbertfield.

19. *A Collection of Scots Proverbs*, (1736), Glasgow and Edinburgh, 1797, p. 6. Iain Gordon Brown draws attention to this statement in his *Poet and Painter Allan Ramsay Father and Son 1684-1784*, Edinburgh, 1984, p. 48. The other quotation is from one of Burns's songs to the air "Lady Macintosh's Reel"; *Poems and Songs*, Clarendon Press, 1968, ed. James Kinsley, Vol. II, no. 482, line 9.



20. The first quotation is from William Hamilton of Gilbertfield's verse epistle "To The Countess of Eglintoun, with *The Following Pastoral*" (printed with *The Gentle Shepherd*), line 14. The second, alluding to *The Gentle Shepherd* (Act V, scene ii, line 16), is from "The Cotter's Saturday Night" (*Poems and Songs*, no. 72, stanza VII, line 63).

21. The first quotation is from "The Cotter's Saturday Night", stanza XIII, line 109. For the second, see Lindsay Errington, *The Artist and the Kirk*, National Galleries of Scotland, Edinburgh, 1979, p. 18.

22. Quoted (from the MS. *Life in the Laing MSS.*, University of Edinburgh) by Alastair Smart, in *The Life and Art of Allan Ramsay*, London, 1953, p. 3.

23. Burns Martin, *A Bibliography of the Writings of Allan Ramsay*, Nova Scotia, 1931, p. 6. On the evidence of increasing demand for books which is provided by statistics from "the buoyant little industry of paper-making", see T. C. Smout, *A History of the Scottish People 1560-1830*, London, 1969 (2nd Edition 1970) p. 251 (paperback edn., Fontana Press 1972, pp. 233-34).

24. John Galt, *The Entail or The Lairds of Grippy*, 1823, Vol. I, Chapter XXVI (Oxford University Press edition, 1970, ed. Ian A. Gordon, p. 88).

25. *Remarks on local scenery and manners in Scotland during the years 1799 and 1800*, London, 1801, p. 140.

26. The number of editions is given in a footnote by Alexander Campbell, in his *An Introduction to the History of Poetry in Scotland*, Edinburgh, 1798, p. 188 (some copies of this book are entitled *An Introduction to the History of Scotch Poetry*). Editions which have only a portrait of the author are excluded from the present calculation of the number of *illustrated* editions (some of these Frontispieces are shown in Brown, *Poet and Painter*, pp. 16, 18 and 19). Some illustrations appear in a number of editions.

27. Sandby's group of etchings is considered pp. 450-51 *infra*. Rooukin only exhibited two paintings, both in 1785. One was entitled simply "Patie and Peggy". On Forrest, see Robert Brydall, *Art in Scotland its Origin and Progress*, Edinburgh, 1889, p. 88. Forrest abandoned the subjects, which, planned in 1823, would have anticipated Thom's figures from "Tam O'Shanter" by five years, his "Old Mortality" by seven; they may have been influenced by Greenshields' "Jolly Beggars". Cunningham in *The Life of Sir David Wilkie* (London 1843), mentions a painting of the Fortune-Telling scene, and tells how Wilkie — "towards the close of his short and

brilliant career" — had intended to "embellish" an edition of *The Gentle Shepherd* (*op. cit.*, pp. 51 and 55). He painted at least two other scenes from the play, engravings after them appearing in *The Wilkie Gallery, a selection of the best pictures of the late Sir David Wilkie RA . . . with notices biographical and critical*, London and New York [n.d.]. One of these paintings, of Roger, belongs to the National Galleries of Scotland; that of the Fortune-Telling scene is in Kirkcaldy Art Gallery.

28. On Richard Cooper, who also founded the "Winter Academy" in 1735, see Brydall, *op. cit.*, pp. 112-13. Brown, *Poet and Painter*, p. 25, agrees that the shepherd represents Ramsay, but thinks he "confronts Apollo on the slopes of Helicon while Pegasus prances above".

29. On Paul Sandby, see Luke Hermann, "Paul Sandby in Scotland" and "Paul Sandby in Scotland; a sketchbook", *Burlington Magazine*, Vols. CVI (1964), p. 339, and CVII (1965), p. 467; also James Holloway and Lindsay Errington, *The Discovery of Scotland; the Appreciation of Scottish Scenery through Two Centuries of Painting*, National Galleries of Scotland, Edinburgh, 1978, pp. 32-46.

30. Oil, Glasgow Art Gallery and Museum.

31. Burns Martin, *Bibliography of . . . Ramsay*, Nova Scotia, 1931, an edition of 1775 published by J. Donaldson.

32. The only major change was to the shepherds in the first plate, whose heads, at first grotesquely large and doll-like, were replaced with ones more natural in appearance, though crudely worked and oddly articulated. The "cuts" were bound in with editions dated 1758, 1769 and 1775, in two editions of 1776, both originating in Edinburgh, and again in an edition of 1783.

33. This edition, which does not have any other illustrations, offers the play "as it was acted at the Theatre Royal". For part of Patie's speech, see p. 147 *supra*. Robert Fergusson wrote an Epilogue for Mr. Wilson to perform "at the Theatre-Royal, in the Character of an Edinburgh Buck", telling how the Buck and his companions "sleep all day, and riot all the night"; it was several times reprinted (*The Poems of Robert Fergusson*, STS edn., ed. M. R. McDiarmid, Vol. II, 1956, pp. 132-34, and notes, pp. 284-85).

34. For a more detailed account of these illustrations, see G. R. Gordon, "The Walks of Homely Life" *David Allan's Illustrations to "The Gentle Shepherd"*, Dissertation submitted in 1984 to the Department of Fine Art, University of Glasgow, pp. 26-7, and Fig. 6.

35. On Beugo, see Brydall, *op. cit.*, p. 207; cf. also Figure 297, facing page 349 *infra*. An undated edition, illustrated with two small



woodcuts, was probably published around this time in Falkirk, by T. Johnston; one of these cuts also appears in an edition of 1790, published by P. Mair of Perth. Mair was active between 1780 and 1797, while a George Johnston was first recorded as a publisher of chapbooks in 1774, in Perth (Chapbook Index, Special Collections, Glasgow University Library). On chapbooks and their illustrations, see also Chapter VI, p. 251 *infra*.

36. Rev. Gordon, *David Allan of Alloa*, p. 47.

37. I. G. Brown, *Poet and Painter*, p. 48.

38. For his letter of 3rd-22nd March [1794] to Alexander Cunningham, see *The Letters of Robert Burns*, 1931, ed. John De Lancey Ferguson, Vol. II, pp. 236-38 (2nd edn., revised G. Ross Roy, pp. 284-87), no. 620. In the "List of Songs for 3rd Volume of the Scots Musical Museum" which he sent to James Johnson on 24<sup>th</sup> April, 1789, Burns wrote "74. O dear minnie what shall I do - - Mr B. gave the old words, a good set of the tune is in the new guinea edition of *The Gentle Shepherd*—"; *Letters*, Vol. I, p. 325 (2nd edn., pp. 398-99), no. 331 (photographs of the complete text of this list are in J. C. Dick, *The Songs of Robert Burns*, London, 1903. Professor Roy writes that the Foulis edn. of *The Gentle Shepherd* "is probably the most beautiful ever produced"). On the 4<sup>th</sup> of April, 1794, Cunningham inscribed and presented to Burns the copy of *The Gentle Shepherd* now in Edinburgh Central Library. Until then he had only seen Allan's edition "once, & but once" - *Letters*, Vol. II, p. 238 (2nd edn, p. 286), no. 620 - perhaps during a visit to Edinburgh at the end of February 1789; see *Letters*, Vol. I, pp. 308-9 (2nd edn, pp. 378-79), nos. 315 and 316. For Burns's high opinion of Allan, and his own activities as a collector of traditional airs and songs, see Chapter VI *passim*, esp. pp. 237, 240-41, 259, 266, 279, and 289-90 *infra*.

39. The quotation is from Farington's *Diary*, 24<sup>th</sup> July, 1805, recording Fuseli's opinion of contemporary taste; cf. Chapter II, p. 43 and n. 54 *supra*.

40. Barry, *An Inquiry into the Real and Imaginary Obstructions to the Acquisition of the Arts in England* London, 1775; see Pressly, *The Life and Art of James Barry*, New Haven and London, 1981, p. 64. The influence of *climate* had been discussed by the Abbé du Bos, in his *Réflexions critiques sur la poésie et sur la peinture* (1719), by Montesquieu, in his *De l'esprit des lois* (1748), and by Wincklemann, in his *Geschichte der Kunst des Alterthums* of 1764, which Fuseli translated in 1765.

41. Reynolds, *Discourses on Art*, IV, line 20, and IX, 71 ff, esp. 81 and 86.

42. The first quotation is from the *Memoirs*

of 1808, in Brown's edition of *The Gentle Shepherd*, Vol. II, p. 630; the second is from Reynolds, *op. cit.*, V, 397-98.

43. Reynolds, *op. cit.*, I, 47-9.

44. Cf. Chapter I, p. 24 and n. 130 *supra*.

45. Dobson, *William Hogarth*, London, 1891, p. 42. Cf. "The Autobiographical Notes", BM Add. MSS. 27,991, f. 19; in *The Analysis of Beauty*, ed. J. Burke, Clarendon Press, 1955, p. 215.

46. Allan's aquatint of the "Black Stool" ("Presbyterian Penance") is dated 1784; his several versions of this subject are discussed in Chapter VII, p. 334 ff, *infra*.

47. Ramsay wrote "The Lass of Peatty's Mill" in or before 1719, when it was published in his *Scots Songs*, p. 5; for Allan's illustrations, and the song itself, see Chapter VI, p. 287 and Figs. 240, 257 and 258 *infra*. The quotation is from another of the songs illustrated by Allan, "The auld man's best argument, To the Tune of Widow, are ye wawkin?" (*ITM* i 208, Herd, II, p. 111, and also *SMM*, V (1796), p. 444, no. 432; Stenhouse, in his *Illustrations*, attributes the verses to Ramsay). Allan's etching of this song was published in Alexander Campbell's *Introduction to the History of Poetry in Scotland*, Edinburgh, 1798, facing page 48.

48. Cf. Reynolds, *op. cit.*, IV, 127-133, and R. W. Lee, *Ut pictura Poesis: The Humanistic Theory of Painting*, New York, 1967, pp. 14-16.

49. The quotation is from Ramsay's introduction to *The Ever Green*, quoted at greater length on p. 142 *supra*. That the major features of the area around Newhall and Carlops would, despite the addition of some new buildings, a number of drystone dykes, several plantations of trees, and of course a main road, still be little changed in some two centuries might have appeared incredible to David Allan or to Robert Brown, who in 1808 commissioned the prints which make such a comparison possible; see pp. 160, 162 and 166 *infra*.

50. *Letters from Edinburgh*, 1776, XXXIII. Webster's survey (1755; see J. G. Kyd, *Scottish Population Statistics*, 1952) gives a total population of 1,265,380, with 32,741 of these aged more than seventy years (in T. C. Smout, *A History of the Scottish People*, 1969, pp. 258-66, these and later figures are analysed). Sir John Sinclair's *Analysis of the Statistical Account of Scotland*, Part I (1825), has a "List of Aged People" as Appendix III; his informants recorded almost two hundred centenarians known to their parishioners, thirty actually living when the *Account* was being compiled. Perhaps Topham should have visited Luss; Thomas Pennant, thorough as ever, himself compiled a "venerable list" there in 1769 (*Tour*, 3rd edn., Warrington 1774, p. 225).

51. All three songs are Ramsay's; the first



two, at least, were illustrated by Allan. For one account of the inspiration for "The Lass of Peatty's Mill", see a letter from Burns to George Thomson, April 7<sup>th</sup>, 1793; *Letters*, II, pp. 166-57 (2nd edn., p. 205), no. 557.

52. Preface, dated December 1801, to Vol. III of the *SC*, printed by J. Moir, Edinburgh 1802.

53. Ramsay's Preface to the first volume of the *77M*, Edinburgh, 1724. The *Miscellany* was published in four volumes, the others being first issued in 1725, 1727 and 1732, and contained 463 songs in all. The other contributors were identified only by their initials, such as "S.R.", "L.", or "C.". The most ancient songs were designated "Z.", while "Q." signified "old with additions".

54. Crawford, *Society and the Lyric*, p. viii.

55. Topham, *op. cit.*, Letter X; cf. p. 131 *supra*.

56. Preface to the *77M*.

57. Allan's letter to the Earl of Buchan is transcribed in full, Chapter V, p. 204 *infra*.

58. The first two quotations are from Dryden's Dedication to his translation of the *Aeneid* (1697) and from his Preface to *Troilus and Cressida* (1679); only one word, "heroic", has been omitted. The last is from Reynolds, *Discourses*, IV, lines 20-1.

59. The first and last quotations are again from Discourse IV, lines 28 and 31-2. The second is from Robert Heron's "A Memoir of the Life of the Late Robert Burns", article in the *Monthly Magazine*, June, 1797; extract given in *Robert Burns The Critical Heritage*, ed. D. Low, London and Boston, 1974, pp. 117-27 (quotation from first page). The full text is in Hecht, *Robert Burns the man and his work* (Heidelberg 1919), 2nd edn., London, 1936, translated by Jane Lymburn, reprinted Ayr, 1981, pp. 259-82. Cf. Smout, *A History of the Scottish People 1560-1830*, London, 1969, pp. 306-7, and Smollett's *Humphry Clinker*, letter from Matt Bramble to Dr. Lewis, September 15<sup>th</sup>: "these people [the "peasantry of Scotland"], however, are content, and wonderfully sagacious. All of them read the Bible, and are even qualified to dispute upon the articles of their faith ... I am told, that the inhabitants of Aberdeenshire are still more acute" (*Works*, 1899, Vol. IV, p. 154). Cf. also the *SA* itself, virtually *passim*; for example, Vol. II (The Lothians), pp. 110 and 686, and Vol. X (Fife), pp. 48 and 362. The minister of Abercorn wrote of his parishioners; "less addicted to violent disputation concerning the doctrines of Christianity than the people in many parishes of Scotland, they have much more of the practice of it." (II, p. 686).

60. The quotation is from T. C. Gordon, *David Allan of Alloa*, 1951, p. 47. See n. 122 *infra* for these sets of prints, which may also have been intended for reissues of the play.

61. This last point, important evidence of Allan's interpretation and intention, is developed on p. 191 *infra*.

62. Proof, BM 1858-4-17-297. The text is in ink, and in Allan's handwriting. By comparison with the version published, this proof plate lacks some minor touches to the background, and Patie's dog is absent.

63. See Neil Butterworth, *Haydn his life and times*, Tunbridge Wells, 1977, p. 128.

64. William Wordsworth, *Preface to the second edition of several of the foregoing poems published, with an additional volume, under the title of 'Lyrical Ballads.'* (1801); *Poetical Works*, ed. Hutchinson, revised de Selincourt, Oxford, 1936, p. 734.

65. See Chapter VI, *passim*. Addison's critical essays on "Chevy Chase" appeared in the *Spectator*, Nos. 70 and 74, May, 1711, with a third on "the *Two Children in the Wood* ... one of the Darling Songs of the Common People" in No. 85, June 7<sup>th</sup>; *The Spectator*, Everyman edn., ed. G. Gregory Smith, 4 vols., London and New York, 1907, revised 1945 (1957 reprint, Vol. I, pp. 215-19, 228-32 and 264-66).

66. Francis Jeffrey, unsigned critique (prompted by the publication of Cronek's *Reliques*), in the *Edinburgh Review*, XIII, January, 1809; in *Robert Burns The Critical Heritage*, ed. D. Low 1974, pp. 178-95 (quotation made from p. 186).

67. *Memoirs of the late David Allan*, 1808, gives the date of his visit to Newhall as Autumn, 1786; Brown's edition of *The Gentle Shepherd*, Edinburgh, 1808, Vol. II, p. 626.

68. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. xv; but see n. 49 *supra*.

69. Holloway and Errington, *The Discovery of Scotland*, Edinburgh, 1978, p. 83.

70. The first quotation is from Brown's Introduction, *The Gentle Shepherd*, 1808, p. xvi. The Harbour Craig is also known locally as the Pulpit Rock, an allusion to its use during the seventeenth century, at the time of the National Covenant; inscriptions then cut into its surface are still visible (see also *SA*, II "The Lothians", p. 392). Services were held there, during the summer months, well into the present century (information from Mr. N. Bruce of Carlops).

71. R. W. Lee, *Ut Pictura Poesis: the Humanistic Theory of Painting*, New York, 1967, p. 47 ("color" in original). Cf. Reynolds, *Discourses*, XII, 375, and also Burns, letter to George Thomson, November 19<sup>th</sup>, 1794, quoted in part p. 279 *infra*.

72. A. M. Hind, *A History of Engraving and Etching from the fifteenth century to the year 1914*, London, 1923, p. 303.

73. Cummings & Staley, *Romantic Art in Britain*, Philadelphia, 1968, p. 55. Lister, *Catalogue of British Romantic Art*, London, 1973, Appendix II.



74. John Hayes, *Gainsborough as Printmaker*, New Haven, 1971, cited by Pressly, *The Life and Art of James Barry*, New Haven, 1981, p. 123. The story of Greville's having learnt of aquatint from Jean Baptiste le Prince is complicated by a manuscript in the British Museum - acquired with a print after Wright of Derby - which states that he actually learnt the technique from Peter Burdett, an artist from Liverpool who had executed such works as early as 1771; Hind, *loc. cit.*

75. BM 1868-3-25-585 and 589; the second of these two aquatints is entitled "Maid of the Island of PROCITA in the Mediterranean", and inscribed "D. Allan ad. viv. del. 1769 et tinta Fecit". The wording is unfortunately ambiguous; whether he executed the print in the same year as he drew the girl from the life cannot be decided with certainty. Allan's friendship with Sandby might be remembered, although this probably dates from 1779, when the "Roman Carnival" series was sold. In 1777 Sandby exhibited "Two views near Naples", in aquatint, at the Royal Academy; his *Twelve Views in Aquatinta from Drawings taken on the spot in South Wales* had been published two years previously.

76. *The Gentle Shepherd*, Edinburgh, 1808, Introduction, p. xvi.

77. *The Lives of the most Eminent British Painters, Sculptors, and Architects*, London, 1833, Vol. VI, p. 41 (3 vol. edn., 1879, Vol. II, p. 373). For the "Black Stool" ("Presbyterian Penance") 1784, see Chapter VII, p. 334 ff.

78. Hogarth's words are quoted from "The Autobiographical Notes", BM Add. MSS. 27,991; in *The Analysis of Beauty*, ed. Joseph Burke, Clarendon Press, 1955, p. 216. For the Engravers' Copyright Act, see Paulson, *Hogarth, his life, art and times*, Yale, 1971, Vol. I, p. 360.

79. Duncan Macmillan, *Painting in Scotland The Golden Age*, Oxford, 1986, p. 69.

80. The second quotation is from Coleridge's *On Style*, 1818, ed. Carlos Baker, New York, Toronto and London, 1965, p. 228.

81. Macmillan, *loc. cit.*

82. Ramsay's *Scots Proverbs*, Preface.

83. Cf. Chapter II, p. 51 *supra*.

84. The first quotation is from Burns's letter to Thomson, January, 1795, and refers to the song "For a' that & a' that"; *Letters*, Vol. II, p. 284 (2nd edn., p. 336), no. 651. The two lines of verse are from "A Drink Eclogue. Landlady, Brandy and Whisky", sixth line from the end; *The Poems of Robert Fergusson*, STS edn., ed. M. R. McDiarmid, Vol. II, Edinburgh and London, 1956, pp. 210-14 ("FLUNKY" in original).

85. Macmillan, *op. cit.*, p. 68. The Irwins also note Allan's regret; *Scottish Painters at Home and Abroad*, London, 1975, pp. 114 and 119.

86. *Memoirs*, in *The Gentle Shepherd*, Edin-

burgh, 1808, Vol. II, p. 626.

87. *Ibid.*, p. 346.

88. Reynolds, *Discourses*, IV, lines 392-93 and 389-90, contrasting "the practice of Claude Lorrain" in painting landscape with the "local principles which characterize the Dutch school".

89. *Memoirs*, p. 627, quoted *verbatim et literatim*. Some alteration seems to be required towards the end; a word such as "it", "here" or "there" might be inserted after "between", or the comma after 'little lin' might be placed after "between" instead, making some kind of grammatical sense but doing so at the expense of style and clarity.

90. *E.g.* in Plates Four and Five, in a pen sketch in the Cowie Collection, the Mitchell Library, Glasgow (see Figure 181), and in "The Highland Dance". Similar lums appear in an illustration by W. Weir for an edition of *The Gentle Shepherd* published by Stewart and Meikle of Glasgow, and in Wilkie's "Pitlessie Fair", as part of the old, indeed ruinous building at right. Dorothy Wordsworth, near Luss, saw chimneys "like stools with four legs, a hole being left in the roof for the smoke, and over that a slate placed upon four sticks" (August 24<sup>th</sup> 1803; *Recollections of a Tour made in Scotland A.D. 1803*, ed. J. Shairp, Edinburgh, 1974, p. 68). It should be pointed out that she saw the place "under its dullest aspect", with heavy rain the same night.

91. *Lives*, VI, p. 33 (1879 edn., Vol. II, p. 367).

92. *Ibid.*, p. 38 (1879, p. 370); the first quotation is from Reynolds, *op. cit.*, IV, 392.

93. *Memoirs*, in *The Gentle Shepherd*, Edinburgh, 1808, Vol. II, p. 626.

94. Reynolds, *op. cit.*, IV, 413-14. He probably refers to examples of Historical paintings like Gozzoli's "Procession of the Magi" and Botticelli's "Adoration of the Magi", both of which include portraits of members of the Medici family. Raphael included portraits in the Vatican *stanze*. Captain Campbell is named in *Memoirs*, p. 626. The parish of Glencross is "contiguous to that of Pennecuik" (*The Gentle Shepherd*, Edinburgh, 1808, Introduction, p. vii).

95. "Evening Amusements" in Glasgow Art Gallery and Museum (see Figure 13, facing p. 12 *supra*). The possible sources for Patie and Peggy are considered p. 186 ff, *infra*.

96. Cf. p. 153 *supra*. Suggested by Duncan Macmillan, *Painting in Scotland*, p. 67. Iain Brown points out that Allan "ascribed this [portrait] to the painter as an *ad vivum* likeness" (*Poet and Painter*, 1984, p. 19). The portrait was probably a drawing; Allan's inscription reads: "A. Ramsay ad. viv. del." [and] "D. Allan Sc. Edin<sup>r</sup> 1788."

97. Ramsay's Preface to the *TTM*.



98. Sale I, p. 18, part of lot 19. The verse quotation is from Pope's Epistle "To Mr. Addison, occasioned by his Dialogues on Medals", lines 31-4 (*Collected Poems*, Everyman edition, London and New York, 1924, revised 1956, p. 106; the first two lines are quoted by Iain Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 19). For an account of various portraits in this form, see Desmond Shawe-Taylor, *Genial Company*, Nottingham University Art Gallery, 1987, Section VII, pp. 53-74.

99. Reynolds, *Discourses*, V, lines 370-71. Reynolds refers to portraits "painted in the Historical Style". The medallion of Robert Adam is a well known example of Tassie's portraits in the "antique" style.

100. Bauldy has a brief soliloquy before his meeting with Mause. Patie and Roger have a conversation in Act IV, scene ii, but the remainder of this scene is concerned with the more important meeting of Patie and Peggy. Neither of Sir William's soliloquys (Act III, scenes i and iv) is illustrated, nor — more surprisingly — is his discovery to Symon (Act III, scene iv).

101. Copied by Weir in one of his illustrations for the edition published in 1798 by Stewart and Meikle.

102. Burt, *Letters from . . . the North of Scotland*, letter III, p. 45, with an illustration. Cf. John Ray: "their way of washing linnen is to take up their coats, and tread them with their feet in a tub", and also Marjorie Plant, *The Domestic Life of Scotland in the Eighteenth Century*, Edinburgh, 1952, p. 149.

103. Crudely copied in an edition published by Lumsden, Glasgow [n.d.], Frontispiece.

104. Cunningham, *Lives*, 1833, Vol. VI, p. 41 (1879 edn., Vol. II, p. 373). He wrongly identifies the plate as the tenth, and the "old female domestic" is surely Madge. The sleepy shepherd reappears (with bicker and collie) in watercolour drawings of "The Cotter's Saturday Night", one of which is in Glasgow Art Gallery and Museum; see Figure 298, and cf. also Burns's letter of 7 May, 1794, to George Thomson, in *Letters*, Vol. II, p. 243 (2nd edn., p. 294), no. 625.

105. Cunningham, *op. cit.*, p. 38 (1879, p. 370).

106. Reynolds, *Discourses*, IV, 64-7; the word omitted is "should".

107. H. G. Graham, *The Social Life of Scotland in the Eighteenth Century*, London, 1899, (Fourth Edition, illustrated, 1937), p. 6.

108. Similar ventilation slits may be seen in "A Penny Wedding", NGS; Figure 26.

109. It is probably considering too curiously to cite a stage direction in Act V, scene iii, which reads, "Glaud, [with tears of joy happing down his beard]".

110. Richardson, *An Essay on the Theory of*

*Painting*, London, 1725, p. 41; "Of Invention" (first two sentences).

111. *Lives*, 1833, VI, p. 40 (1879, II, p. 372).

112. Published by James Steell, Glasgow, [n.d.] (c. 1810). The title-page vignette is reminiscent of Allan's seventh plate, and is typical of many such crude piracies (The Engravers' Copyright Act notwithstanding); the derivation is obvious but unacknowledged.

113. Cunningham, *op. cit.*, VI, p. 24 (1879, II, p. 360), his version of *Memoirs*, 1808, p. 623-24 (Allan's excuse for his having caricatured John Lamb, the schoolmaster; see the Rev. T. C. Gordon, *David Allan of Alloa*, Alva, 1951, p. 7, and also n. 2 to Chapter I *supra*).

114. Dr. Peter Wright's short "biographical sketch" of Allan states that he designed plate[s] for "the Life of Sir William Wallace" (Appendix VIII). Allan wrote to Buchan in August 1783 suggesting that one "Cooper", probably the son of Richard Cooper, might be allowed to "do Sir William Wallace" (NLS 590 No. 1728; quoted by the Rev. T. C. Gordon, *op. cit.*, p. 37); a print of "GULIELMUS VALLAS DE ELLERSLIE" was published in *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, Volume II, Plate VI, inscribed "N.N. PINXIT . . . D. ALLAN DEL", and is similar to the painting attributed to Jamesone and formerly at Newbattle Abbey (see Duncan Thomson, *The Life and Art of George Jamesone*, Oxford, 1974, pp. 98-9). Finally, Burns in a letter of 6<sup>th</sup> December, 1790, to Mrs. Dunlop mentioned "a fine copy of Blind Harry's history of Wallace . . . with an Engraving of him from a genuine picture in the possession of the Society of Antiquarians"; *Letters*, Vol. II, p. 50 (2nd edn., p. 64), no. 428.

115. And in other places; he included a picture of Justice in his drawing of the Court scene from *The Merchant of Venice*; see Figure 24, facing p. 26 *supra*.

116. Edition of 1784, after Marillier.

117. Letter to Dr. Maty, 1775 (Appendix I).

118. Cf. Sir Thomas Urquhart of Cromarty, quoted by Pennant, *A Tour in Scotland* (1769), Third edn., Warrington, 1774, Appendix III, p. 307. James Crichton of Clunie (1551-83), after having been educated at Perth Grammar School, travelled widely on the Continent, and was renowned for his prowess in languages, philosophy, theology, mathematics, fencing, dancing, singing, and horse-riding, and for his eloquence and prodigious feats of memory. Allan's "Copy Portrait of the admirable Crichton", probably made from a painting in Airth Castle, appeared in Sale I, p. 6, lot 5.

119. Cunningham, *Lives*, 1833, VI, p. 39 (1879, II, p. 372). Allan may have adapted a contemporary practice; cf. Sir Walter Scott, *Redgauntlet*, letter III, in which are mentioned



Notes to pp. 175-180.

walls "adorned with ballads of Fair Rosamond and Cruel Barbara Allan" (Everyman Edition, London and New York, 1906, 1970 reprint, p. 34), and also Joseph Addison, *Spectator* No. 85, where "the old Ballad of the *Two Children in the Wood*" is included among the "printed Papers" which were "usually pasted upon [walls]" (*The Spectator*, June 7<sup>th</sup>, 1711; Everyman Edition, 4 vols., London and New York, 1907, revised 1945, 1957 reprint, I, p. 265).

120. Chapter VI, pp. 267-68 *infra*.

121. The quotation is from his letter of December, 1782, to the Earl and Countess of Hopetoun (transcribed in full, p. 21 *supra*). Sets of printed outlines ("for colouring") of Clackmannan Tower, of Edinburgh Castle and of the High Street, were offered in Sale I, p. 5, lots 113, 115 and probably 114, and also in Sale II, p. 8, lots 63-4, p. 11, lots 48, 50 and 51.

122. Sets of aquatint plates for *The Gentle Shepherd* appeared in Sale I (p. 5, lots 123 and 134, ten sets in all) and in Sale II (p. 4, lots 46-50, four complete sets of thirteen, one of only seven). These may have been intended for a reissue, or for sale in sets or even singly. In Sale I also appeared "Thirty three Outlines of the Gentle Shepherd, for colouring" (p. 5, lot 112) nine more — or nine unsold at first — being offered in Sale II (p. 9, lot 66), Allan presumably intended to "wash them in water Colour" himself rather than selling them thus "plain". Finally, "Ten coloured Prints from the Gentle Shepherd, framed" appeared in Sale I, p. 6, lot 131 (a misprint for "141"); for an example of these coloured outlines, see Plate XII. Some details seen in the published version — the collie, Symon's spurs — are already present in this outline, but Allan has not touched them with colour. Glaud's stick, on the other hand, only appears because Allan painted the divot seat in shadow, and is an afterthought which he subsequently rejected. The major difference is in the addition of another small stack beside the altered farmhouse, a feature noted in a letter of 1807 (or 1817) in the Laing manuscripts, Edinburgh University Library (La. IV, 25).

123. Sale I, p. 2, lot 27; the section is of "Books of Prints, and Single Prints".

124. Allan may have taken the hint from one of "The Five Cuts", 1758; see Figure 104.

125. *Lives*, 1833, VI, p. 32 (1879, II, p. 366). For two versions of the painting (one in the Louvre since 1665, the other in the Museo Capitolini), see Michael Kitson, *Caravaggio*, London, 1969, p. 86; in Sale I appeared "The Gamblers and Fortune Tellers } a pair, after M. Angelo Caravaggio, 2ft by 1 and a half" (p. 7, lots 17 and 18, original spelling). Most of Allan's (known) preparatory drawings for his

edition of *The Gentle Shepherd* are in Glasgow University Library (Special Collections), bound in with a Foulis Press copy of the play (Wylie Collection, 1138-1921, Bh. 14-x.13). Aside from the deplorable fact that some of these drawings have been cut to fit, it is regrettable that the edition should be that of 1796 rather than the original (1788), some of the copperplates having been reworked by a hand less skilled than Allan's.

126. In his illustrations to "Johnie Armstrang" and "Will ye gang to the Eve-buchts, Marion?"; Figures 215, 225 and 229.

127. See for example Chapter V, Figures 171 and 173, and Chapter VI, Figures 223 and 237, comparing these with Figures 123 and 148.

128. This argument, with related points, is developed *infra*, p. 186 ff.

129. Like a sheet which originally held two studies of Patie (Figs. 142-43) that on which Allan planned this scene has certainly been cut in half, to accommodate the bookbinder.

130. *Lives*, 1833, VI, p. 38 (1879, II, p. 371).

131. NGS, Print Room, D 426.

132. *Discourses*, XI, lines 205-07.

133. NGS, Print Room, D 4497, and also in a finished drawing for the Roman Carnival series (Royal Library, Windsor, 13360; published by Sandby, "The Victor Conducted in Triumph Piazza S. Marco", plate dated "1<sup>st</sup> Jan<sup>y</sup> 1781". For a reproduction, see Macmillan, *Painting in Scotland*, plate 46, p. 65). Allan could have seen the gesture in Caravaggio's second version of "St. Matthew and the Angel", in the Contarelli Chapel. Robert Scott's engraving after "J.B." (probably his former pupil John Burnet) appears in at least three editions of *The Gentle Shepherd*. The earliest of these must be in *The Works of Allan Ramsay Oliver's Edition embellished with superb engravings*, Edinburgh, printed by Oliver and Co, Fountain Well, High Street. One plate in this had been reworked by 1804, when *The Gentle Shepherd; a Scots Pastoral* was published by "Oliver and Co., Netherbow". The set of superb engravings wore well, as the third publication in which they appeared was issued by "Oliver and Boyd High Street"; Boyd did not become a partner until 1807 or 1808 (W. Parker, *The House of Oliver and Boyd, a record from 1778-1948*, unpublished typescript, Edinburgh Central Library).

134. "Advertisement" for this edition. William Forrest engraved the designs in outline for A. & C. Black, their editions being published in 1851 and 1856. Burns Martin records an edition of 1891 containing "eight steel engravings by David Allan"; *Bibliography of . . . Ramsay*, Nova Scotia, 1931, pp. 90 and 98.

135. Brydall, *Art in Scotland its Origin and Progress*, 1889, p. 256. Burnet's memoir of Wilkie is in Allan Cunningham's *The Life of Sir*



*David Wilkie*, 3 vols., London, 1843, I, p. 44.

136. Cunningham, *Lives*, Vol. VI, p. 48, the last paragraph on Allan (1879, Vol. II, p. 378).

137. In addition to portraits (with the obvious exceptions of Tassie's profile and his own self-portrait in aquatint), which invariably show him with brush or *porte-crayon* in his right hand, the direction of Allan's shading is that of a right-handed artist.

138. The raised hand of the smaller Patie (Fig. 142) was clipped when the sheet was cut; the fingers may be seen above and to the left of the larger (Fig. 143). The area of shading behind the larger Patie (his shadow on the craigy bield) corresponds to that appearing before the smaller.

139. The posture probably derives from Antique sculpture; e.g. "The Pastoral Apollo", or the "Pothos" figure by Skopas of Paros. Hilliard used it, and no pose had become more common in British portraiture of Allan's time.

140. That is, missing from a group, or sequence of studies, such as that for the scene of Glauk and Symon. None of the studies which Allan must have made for the fight scene (Figure 122) is known to have survived.

141. Chapter VI, pp. 244-45 *infra*.

142. Wylie Collection, Glasgow University Library, 1138-1921 Bh 14-x.13 (eighth drawing).

143. Joseph Ritson, *Scottish Song*, 1794, Vol. I, Preface, pp. i-ii. Ritson thought Allan "ingenious", and, in his "Historical Essay on Scottish Song", described him as an "excellent artist"; *Scottish Song*, Vol. I, footnote to p. cxvii.

144. Chapter VI, pp. 245-46 *infra*.

145. The quotation is from Cunningham, *Lives*, 1833, Vol. VI, p. 39 (1879, II, p. 371). Allan's first print of Peggy (Fig. 116), and this later print (Fig. 119), again clearly derive from a common group of drawings.

146. *Lives*, Vol. VI, p. 40 (1879, II, p. 372).

147. The quotation is from Allan's letter of September, 1789, to the Earl of Buchan, transcribed in full p. 204 *infra*.

148. Chapter VI, pp. 283-84 *infra*.

149. Classical heroes and heroines are seldom restrained in the expression of their woes, but see Reynolds, *Discourses*, VIII, line 568 to the end, on "the celebrated invention of Timanthes in hiding the face of Agamemnon in his mantle", and on the arguments both for and against this *motif*. See also John Barrell, *The Political Theory of Art from Reynolds to Hazlitt 'The Body of the Public'*, Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 1986, pp. 110-12.

150. As is acknowledged on p. 178 *supra*, the composition, considered as a single and isolated picture, would not suffer if the *lasses* changed places.

151. *Lives*, Vol. VI, p. 41 (1879, II, p. 373). A very dark - almost "bituminous" - print by Arnytage after Wilkie's painting appeared in *The Wilkie Gallery*, London and New York [n.d.].

152. While it is true that one figure-type in Antique statuary represents athletes binding fillets to their brows, and that a woman tying up her hair is depicted in the Room of the Mysteries in Pompeii, this action does not really allow much variation, and the immediate effect of Allan's print depends more upon the obvious contrast between the characters than on any such identification of *motifs*.

153. For Allan's work at the Trustees' Academy, see pp. 22-4 *supra*. The three panels which Allan painted for a bookcase at Kinnaird House were commissioned by James Bruce, who had been in Rome at the same time as he; Rev. T. C. Gordon, *David Allan of Alloa*, p. 53.

154. Mario Praz, *On Neoclassicism*, 1940, 1969 reprint, p. 72: "only after 1775 were people permitted to take notes under the eye of a keeper". Wincklemann "had difficulty" in studying the wall-paintings and artefacts (Praz, *loc. cit.*).

155. Outlines; Sale I, p. 15, lot 175 (cf. Figures 4 and 6). Prints; Sale I, p. 1, lot 11. Copies; Sale I, p. 6, lot 1 ["From the original Antique"], p. 7, lot 16 ["The Aldobrandini Marriage, (ancient) 4 one-half ft by 20 in"], and p. 7, lot 30 ("Three Pieces on one Canvas, from the Herculaneum, 2ft 6in by 1 foot").

156. NGS Print Room, H 1425 (Dunimarle Album); a sacrifice. There were among the paintings from Herculaneum two figures of the "Perseus" type, said to be derived from an original by Nikias, and another, representing Argus, of similar appearance. The pose also features on the Meidias Vase, once owned by Sir William Hamilton.

157. Page 175 *supra*. It should be emphasised that the ballad of "Gil Morice", in addition to indicating Patie's gentle birth, also alludes to the circumstances of his upbringing.

158. Anthony A. Cooper, Earl of Shaftesbury, *Characteristicks of Men, Manners, Opinions, Times, &c.*, London, 1713, Vol. I, Section III.

159. Peggy at one point tells her that Roger is "wordy you the best day e'er ye saw", to which Jenny replies:

"I dinna like him, Peggy, there's an end,  
A herd mair sheepish yet I never kend."  
(Act I, sc. ii, lines 26-28).

160. Page 152, Figure 107 and n. 34 *supra*.

161. The first quotation is from Cunningham, *Lives*, Vol. VI, p. 37 (1879, Vol. II, p. 370); the second is from Ramsay's first stage direction.

162. The first quotation is from Allan's Dedication to Gavin Hamilton (Appendix IV). The second is from Reynolds, *Discourses*, I, 50-2.

163. Reynolds, *ibid.*, 53-7. As is implied by



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Reynolds' argument as a whole, this first sight is to be followed by diligent study.

164. The title of Duncan Macmillan's chapter on Allan, *Painting in Scotland The Golden Age*, Oxford, 1986, pp. 63-73.

165. William Fraser Tytler of Woodhouselee, *Dissertation on Scottish Music*, quoted at length in Ritson's *Scottish Song*, 1794, Vol. I, Preface, pp. viii-x.

166. For farmhouses see Marjorie Plant, *The Domestic Life of Scotland in the Eighteenth Century*, Edinburgh, 1952, pp. 24-6 and 48-9. Cf. also n. 119 to p. 175 *supra*.

167. In Samuel Richardson's *Pamela*, (1741), "Virtue [is] Rewarded" when Mr B. offers marriage, seemingly an unusual step at the time and in the circumstances; compare Lovelace's letters to Belford in Richardson's *Clarissa* (1748), *passim*. In Henry Carey's "interlude" of 1739, *Nancy; or the Parting Lovers*, the hero is a common labourer impressed into the Navy, while the heroine is a Commodore's daughter. The conflict between "strict duty and true love" is resolved almost in an instant, as "True Blue" is promoted lieutenant by his future father-in-law.

168. Allan owned a print of "L'accordée de Village, by Flipart after Greuze"; Sale I, p. 3, lot 48, (original spelling). On the stylised plot of *The Gentle Shepherd*, and also on recurring motifs in European folk-tales, see Crawford, *Society and the Lyric*, Scottish Academic Press, Edinburgh, 1979, p. 80, citing A. M. Kinghorn from the STS edition of Ramsay's *Works*, and Vladimir Propp's study *Morphology of the Folktale*, Texas, 1970, pp. 21 ff.

169. Both quotations are from Reynolds' *Discourses*, the first from IV, line 461, the other from VI, line 447.

## Notes to Chapter V

### Painting our own History.

(Title quoted from David Allan's letter of June 15<sup>th</sup>, 1790, Cowie Collection, the Mitchell Library, Glasgow (transcribed in full, p. 205 *infra*).

1. *Ibid.* (original spelling).

2. The quotation is from Allan's letter of September, 1789, to the Earl of Buchan, Laing MSS (in La. IV 26), Edinburgh University Library (Allan's spelling). The day's date is hastily written, and may be 4, 2 or even 21; the letter is transcribed in full, p. 204 *infra*. Allan may never have executed all the "large historical peices" he planned, but the series is extant in that his intentions may be followed from surviving drawings as well as

finished paintings. He had certainly planned a Historical cycle before, as part of the scheme for decorating rooms which dates from his years in Italy (pp. 10 and 38 *supra*). A painting from *Henry IV* and a score of drawings from other plays by Shakespeare appeared in Sale I (p. 9, lot 71; p. 15, lots 172-174); the painting measured 16in by 21in. About a dozen such drawings, mainly from the Comedies, are in the NGS, Print Room.

3. The first quotation is from Allan's letter of December, 1782, to the Earl and Countess of Hopetoun (Allan's spelling); the letter is transcribed in full in Chapter I, p. 21 *supra*. A "Book of Scotch Figures, chiefly the Cries and Employments common in Edinburgh, drawn and coloured from Nature" was lot 182, p. 15, in Sale I. Precedents in the work of artists other than Lauron are noted in Chapter VII, p. 327 *infra*.

4. Letter to Robertson, 12<sup>th</sup> March, 1759; in *The History of Scotland during the reigns of Queen Mary and of King James VI till his accession to the crown of England, with a review of the Scottish history previous to that period, and an appendix containing original papers*, (1759), 2 vols., London, 1827, "Account of . . . Robertson" p. ciii (same pagination in *The Works of William Robertson D.D.*, Vols. I and II, London, 1840). Hume's *History of England* had commenced publication in 1754; the sixth and final volume was published in 1762.

5. Hume's letter of 12<sup>th</sup> March; "Account", in *History of Scotland*, Vol. I, p. xiv. Robertson was educated in Dalkeith and at Edinburgh University.

6. *Ibid.*, p. xvi.

7. On the Galleries of Bowyer, Macklin and Boydell, see T. S. R. Boase, "Illustrations of Shakespeare's Plays in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries", *JWCI*, Vol. X (1947), pp. 83-108, and "Macklin and Bowyer", *JWCI* Vol. XXVI (1963), pp. 148-77. The Boydell Gallery was first mooted towards the end of 1787 (Preface to Boydell's *Collection of Prints*, London, 1805; Arno Press reissue, New York, 1979).

8. NGS (Prints and Drawings) D 4597: "Robertson Vol I. p. 218 Q. Mary arrives at Leith & conducted to Holy rood house"; the page number corresponds to that in the fifth edition, published in Dublin, 1772 (information from Duncan Bull, Assistant Keeper of Prints, NGS). A letter of 1792 from Allan to Robertson is transcribed as Appendix VI.

9. Reynolds, *Discourses*, VII, 31 ff.

10. Preface, 1759, p. 1.

11. The transcript is preserved in the SNP6.

12. On the *verso* of one of Allan's preparatory sketches (NGS D 4612) appears part of a note on the "character" of "Most serene [Majesty] Mary Queen of Scotland", as



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related by "Sir Thomas Craig". The note is not in Allan's hand, and has been trimmed on at least three sides.

13. Both quotations are from a letter sent by Thomas Randolph and the Earl of Bedford to the English Lords of Council, 27<sup>th</sup> March, 1566, included as Appendix No. XV by Robertson; (*History*, Vol. II, p. 348).

14. *History of England*, 1762 (in one volume, 1824, p. 507). Neither Hume nor Robertson mentions the little dog seen in Allan's drawing of the execution, although it features in the earliest accounts of Mary's death (information from Alaister Cherry, NLS).

15. The expression is borrowed from Allan's letter of 1785 to Thomas Graham, transcribed as Appendix V. Allan's research among contemporary portraits is discussed *infra*, pp. 204-07.

16. *History of Scotland*, Vol. I, pp. 99-102. (Book II, year 1547).

17. Allan's holograph list on *verso* of another preparatory sketch (NGS D 4595). Like that mentioned in n. 12 *supra*, this sketch has also been trimmed but (*pace* the Irwins, *Scottish Painters at Home and Abroad*, London, 1975, n. 12 to p. 117, on p. 424) none of the twelve titles is wholly "illegible", although Allan's habit of seldom crossing "t" does make "alle Langside" (*i.e.* "batle" for battle) initially elusive.

18. Seen by Robert Riddell of Glenriddell in Allan's studio, August, 1789 (Glenriddell MSS, Library, National Museum of Antiquities, Edinburgh; quoted *infra*, p. 227). For Allan's exhibits, see Appendix VII.

19. Letter of September, 1789, transcribed in full p. 204 *infra*. For the pictures which Allan definitely completed, see n. 59 *infra*.

20. Discourse IV, from lines 56-67.

21. *Ibid.*, lines 18-23 (original spelling).

22. Laing MSS, Edinburgh University Library (in La. IV 26); transcribed in full as Appendix III (Allan's spelling).

23. Letter dated October 3rd, 1788, and published in *The Gentle Shepherd*; transcribed in full as Appendix IV.

24. See D. and F. Irwin, *op. cit.*, pp. 101-03, and D. Macmillan, *Painting in Scotland The Golden Age*, Oxford, 1986, p. 33 and n. 7 (on p. 188). "Achilles" &c. was exhibited at the Society of Artists in 1765. Cunego engraved five of Hamilton's six Homeric paintings (no engraving of Hector's Farewell to Andromache is known), Allan's set appearing at Sale 1, p. 3, lot 53 ("Five subjects from the Iliad, Cunego after Hamilton"). Allan sketched a portrait of Darnley in Holmrood house; see p. 205 and Figure 160 *infra*.

25. Sir Roy Strong, *And when did you last see your father? The Victorian Painter and British History*, Hampshire, 1978, p. 20.

26. *Ibid.*, p. 14. Maps and genealogical tables were also included.

27. The quotation is from Rigaud's Royal Academy exhibit of 1775: "The entry of Edward, Prince of Wales (commonly called the Black Prince) into London with his Royal Prisoner". The prisoner is identified in West's exhibit of 1794: "Edward the Black Prince receiving John, King of France, prisoner, after the battle of Poitiers. [*sic*] Painted for His Majesty's Audience Chamber in Windsor Castle." Details from Algernon Graves' *Societies* and *Royal Academy* lists; the Appendix in Strong's account is not exhaustive.

28. *British Mercury* I, 7<sup>th</sup> May, 1787, p. 156; quoted Irwin, *op. cit.*, p. 117, n. 8 (on p. 424).

29. The finished version, commissioned by Francis Humberston Mackenzie (later Lord Seaforth), was acquired by the NGS in 1987.

30. "Trenmor and Imbaca", *exh.* RA, 1773.

31. Details throughout this paragraph are again derived from Graves' lists. Westall's "flight of Mary" might also have alluded to the disaster at Langside. His picture of the child queen is apparently a unique representation, although Allan had already thought of the episode and written it on the *verso* of a preparatory sketch (NGS D 4595; cf. pp. 195-96 and n. 17 *supra*). J. F. Rigaud's series began in 1791; a reason for his concentration is suggested at the end of this chapter, p. 229 *infra*. An interesting picture was exhibited, together with other topographical work, by John Carter in 1783: "View of the tomb where Mary Queen of Scots was first buried (restored) in Peterborough Minster."

32. Before this, in 1763, a painting by John Parker of "The assassination of David Rizzio in the presence of Mary, Queen of Scots" had been exhibited at the Free Society, with a reference to *Robinson*.

33. The expression is from Edward Burt's *Letters from a Gentleman in the North of Scotland*, (1754), Vol. II, p. 282, quoted more fully in Chapter III, p. 134 *supra*.

34. Irwin, *op. cit.*, p. 117.

35. *Weekly Magazine*, 16<sup>th</sup> January, 1772, p. 62; Irwin, *op. cit.*, p. 100 and n. 15 (on p. 420), also p. 46; W. T. Whitley, *Artists and their friends in England 1700-1799*, 2 vols., London and Boston, 1928, Vol. I, p. 62. See Robert Brydall, *Art in Scotland Its Origin and Progress*, Edinburgh, 1889, pp. 101-03, esp. p. 103; Alexander signed the indenture of the Academy of St. Luke in Edinburgh, 1729 (in RSA; printed in Brydall, *op. cit.*, pp. 110-11).

36. Letter of July 2nd, 1718; Historic MSS Commission, *Stuart*, VII, p. 4 (reference pointed out by Margaret Stewart, University of Glasgow). A letter of July 16<sup>th</sup> mentions



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the literary sources which Alexander consulted: "Mr Craford's book [*Crawford's Memoirs of the Affairs of Scotland containing a full . . . account of the revolution in that Kingdom begun in 1567*] . . . Floremond Remond in his book *La Naissance et Cadence de l'Heresie* and a compend in Italian taken, I suppose, from Caussin's *Holy Court*" (HMC *Stuart*, VII, p. 50).

37. The contemporary situation is discussed at the end of this chapter, p. 230 ff. *infra*.

38. For Robertson's account of this captivity and these threats, see *History of Scotland*, (1759), in 2 vols, 1827, or *Works*, 1840, Vol. I, pp. 365-66 (Book V, 1567).

39. William Matheson, quoted in F. Collinson, *The Traditional and National Music of Scotland*, London, 1966, p. 38n. It is of incidental interest that Barry, by depicting Ossian (in the series of paintings at the Adelphi) leaning on an Irish harp, claims him as a fellow countryman. Allan, as patriotically but less accurately, sets his own Ossianic scenes in Scotland. For Runciman's work at Penicuik House, see Duncan Macmillan, *Painting in Scotland*, 1986, pp. 54-8. The house was destroyed by fire in 1899.

40. *Memoirs of the Late David Allan*, in Brown's edition of *The Gentle Shepherd*, Edinburgh, 1808, Vol. II, p. 629. Buchan, who probably met Allan at the Foulis Academy (Brydall, *op. cit.*, p. 129), was among the "benefactors" contacted by the artist soon after his return from Italy; the quotation in the previous sentence (p. 203) is from the letter of December 3rd, 1780, transcribed in full as Appendix III. Allan had made a print of a Roman relief for Buchan in 1783; his letter of 9<sup>th</sup> August, 1783 (Watson MSS., NLS 590, No. 1728) is given in the Rev. Gordon, *David Allan of Alloa*, 1951, pp. 37-8. See also n. 46.

41. *Scots Magazine*, December, 1780.

42. See Sir Roy Strong, *And when did you last see your father?*, 1978, pp. 50 and 61.

43. In the Scottish National Portrait Gallery, Reference SPD 1-30.

44. See, for example, Allan's letter to Sir James Grant of Grant, transcribed in full in Chapter III, p. 121 *supra*, and also his notes from sixteenth-century portraits, pp. 205-06 and Figures 160-61 *infra*.

45. *Iconographia Scotica, or Portraits of Illustrious Persons of Scotland, Engraved from the most authentic Paintings etc, with short Biographical Notes*, and *The Scottish Gallery*, London, 1795-1797. Buchan's "Catalogue" is MS. 597, Society of Antiquaries of Scotland (22nd January, 1781).

46. Allan's print of Iona Abbey was published in *Transactions of the Society of Antiquaries*, I, 1792. For the print of a Roman relief which he made for Buchan (n. 40 *supra*), see *Transactions*, III, (1831), p. 287. One "Print,

two Antique Heads in aquatint, by Allan", was part of lot 47 on the second night of Sale II (p. 11); Buchan added to Allan's letter a note stating that this aquatint had been made from casts which Buchan had "caused . . . to be made from the bas-reliefs of Severus and Julia Emilia which were on the Roman Wall in Scotland". At the previous night's sale (p. 8, lot 58) appeared a print of "Two Antique heads, from a bas relief at the Netherbow, Edinburgh", these having been described by Pennant as "two fine profile heads of . . . Severus and Julia", set up "on the front of a house in the Nether Bow." (*Tour*, 1774, p. 53).

47. Laing MSS., Edinburgh University Library, La. IV 26, transcribed *verbatim et literatim*. In D. & F. Irwin, *Scottish Painters*, 1975, p. 117, it is stated that Allan was occupied with the life of Mary Stuart in 1785; an ill-formed final digit in the date of this letter might well be read as a "5", but the date of 1789 is confirmed by the Glenriddell MSS. (p. 227, n105 *infra*), and by the letter which Allan sent to Buchan some months later (n. 48). The month of the present letter, at least, is September, whatever the day's date; as the Rev. Gordon also knew, "Allan's numbers are not always distinct" (*op. cit.*, p. 41n).

48. Cowie Collection, the Mitchell Library, Glasgow. The anecdote to which Allan alludes is in the edition of Pitscottie's *Chronicles* which was published by Baskett, 1719, p. 155. According to the note which Buchan added to this letter, Allan painted a copy of this same portrait, which was "engraved for the Scots Gallery". The note concludes: "David Allan was a real enthusiast in his art and a worthy man void of all guile.— he should have a better Biographical Memoir" (Buchan probably refers to Pilkington's *Dictionary*, 1810).

49. SNP6. When these loose sheets are turned over, parts of a drawing in red crayon can be seen on several, and the drawing itself may be reconstructed when they are rearranged. Some of the copies were probably made from books of engravings, such as the "Collection of the Dresses of different Nations, ancient and modern, particularly old English Dresses, after the designs of Holbein, Vandyke, &c. 1 vol. quar." which was offered at Sale I (p. 1, lot 4). It is, of course, unlikely that Allan would have made such copies from any book actually in his own collection. His later portrayal of a heavily bearded Knox, incidentally, seems to have been based on the familiar engraving by Hondius after Vaensoun; even the Reformer doffed his flat cap in the royal presence.

50. *Tour*, 1774, II, p. 222. This painting, on copper, having been securely fixed to the wall, could not be saved from the fire of 1800.

51. A "Book of Slight Sketches from the History of Queen Mary" appeared in Sale I, p. 14,



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lot 142, and is not otherwise known (it is unlikely that these "Slight Sketches" were the copies in the SNPS or the preparatory sketches in the NGS; some among the latter group were sold as single lots at the same auction, and were described as "pencil'd Sketches", a reference to the application of wash with a paintbrush).

52. Allan probably followed Robertson's account for February, 1587, which states that the queen wore mourning garments; Hume mentions rich apparel of silks and velvet. It is impossible to decide from a monochrome photograph such as Figure 170, facing p. 215 *infra*, the colour of Mary's robes.

53. Horace Walpole's well-known remark was made about Hagley Castle, by Sanderson Miller (quoted in Barbara Jones, *Follies and Grottoes*, Constable, 1953, pp. 72-3).

54. For the High Street as it was c. 1790, see Allan's own prints (Figs. 267 and 270) and also Plate XXIV. Allan's sources would not have been confined to "the decaying and rapidly diminishing masses of ancient masonry" which he could have sketched in the Old Town, those on Castle Hill being traditionally held to have been the residence of Mary of Guise. His earliest training had been in the mediæval College of Glasgow, his home town, Alloa, is within a few hours' walk of Stirling, he had drawn Dunfermline Abbey in 1779, sketched in the coastal village of Culross in 1781, and he may even have recalled the "fine Gothic façades" of Perth from his journey into the Highlands (cf. n. 5 to Chapter III, and see also Robert Chambers, *Traditions of Edinburgh*, 1824, last revised edition 1868, 1967 reprint, "Changes of the Last Hundred Years" and "The Castle-Hill", pp. 1-25; the quotation above is from p. 10). In a manner similar to that in which he had researched "the old Scottish dresses", Allan may also have supplemented actual observation with whatever old views he could find; he certainly knew Slezer's *Theatrum Scotiae*, of later date than Gordon of Rothiemay's panorama of Edinburgh (itself dating from almost a century after Mary's reign) but less taxing on the eyes than that remarkable work (See Appendix VI). The 1719 edn. of *Theatrum Scotiae* has a bird's eye view of Edinburgh by Andrew Johnston, "exactly done from the original of the famous D. Wit".

55. Allan followed Robertson's description of Mary's landing, which differs markedly from the more festive account in Hume's *History of England*, Chapter XXXVIII, "Elizabeth" (twelfth section): "no sooner did the French galleys appear off Leith, than people of all ranks, who had long expected their arrival, flocked towards the shore with an earnest

impatience to behold and receive their young sovereign". South Leith Church is indicated in Greenville Collins' "Great Britain Coastal Pilot" of 1693; cf. Grant's *Old and New Edinburgh*, London, 1882.

56. The Netherbow Port, a fortified gate on the High Street, surmounted by a spire and marking the eastern boundary of the old city walls, and the corresponding western boundary of the Burgh of Canongate, had been demolished in 1764 (see Macmillan, *Painting in Scotland The Golden Age*, Oxford, 1986, p. 46, for John Runciman's etching).

57. *The History of the Reformation in Scotland*, Book IV, for August 1561, glossed as "The Queen's Last Arrival in Scotland" (Edinburgh 1848, ed. D. Laing, Vol. II, p. 269).

58. Robertson, *History of Scotland*, Vol. I, p. 220, with footnote referring to "Brant, [?mel]".

59. The "to [ two ] large historical peices" [*sic*] mentioned by Allan in his letter of September, 1789, to Buchan were presumably those seen by Robert Riddell at this time (p. 227 and n. 105 *infra*), paintings of Mary's abdication in Lochleven Castle and her subsequent escape. Both of these, with "The Assassination of David Rizzio", appeared in Sale I, all three being of similar size (short titles); p. 9, lot 82 (*Rizzio* "unframed 5ft by 4"), lot 83 (*escape* "from Lochleven . . . framed, same size"), and lot 84 (*Resignation of the Crown*, "framed, companion to the preceding"). Of these three works, only the *escape* is still located (47" x 61½", private collection; Plate XIII). A photograph from 1925 (Witt archive; see Figure 170, facing p. 215) probably shows the "unframed" version of the killing of Rizzio, but it *could* be of an otherwise unrecorded smaller version; Allan's scene of the *Resignation* is known only from such a copy, made in 1791 (18" x 24", oil on wood, signed and dated on *verso*, private collection; Figure 172, facing p. 218). Its dimensions match exactly the "2ft. by 1 foot 6in" of lot 77, "Queen Mary's Resignation of the Crown", sold on the same day as the three large paintings. This small *Resignation* was a pendant to "Beale reading to Queen Mary the Warrant for her execution" (lot 76). Since Allan had been "taken up intirely" with his cycle in the months between his letters to Buchan (September 1789 - June 1790), there can be little doubt that this small "Beale reading . . . the Warrant" was also a copy of a larger piece, and it is possible that other Histories were executed then and are now unknown. Allan exhibited three scenes from his series in 1791 (see Appendix VII). Wooden panels would have been more robust, and less expensive to send to London than large canvases, but the evidence on either hand is slight. While economy



night have dictated one course, a sense of artistic fitness urges another.

60. Robertson, *op. cit.*, Book III, 1562 (Vol. I, p. 241). The governor, a son of the Earl of Huntly, was hung from the castle's ramparts. See T. C. Smout, *A History of the Scottish People 1560-1830*, London, 1969, for an interesting detail on the conflicting loyalties of the Clan Mackintosh (p. 45);

61. Robertson, *op. cit.*, Book III, 1563 (p. 251).

62. *History of the Reformation in Scotland*, Book III, 1560 (p. 132).

63. Robertson, *op. cit.*, Book III, 1563 (p. 252).

64. James Boswell, *The Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides with Samuel Johnson, LL.D.*, 1786, 19<sup>th</sup> August (ed. Peter Levi, 1984, p. 189).

65. Knox, *op. cit.*, p. 396. Hume wrote that this assembly was "little short of rebellion" (*History of England*, Chapter XXXIII, twelfth section).

66. Robertson, *op. cit.*, p. 253.

67. Knox, *op. cit.*, p. 409.

68. David Allan after Knox, with some minor differences in spelling, and "gar" changed to "taus" without affecting sense. MS. in SNP6.

69. *Ibid.*

70. In his letter to Sir William Hamilton, given as Appendix II.

71. See notes 3, 24 and 37 to Chapter III. Another coincidental similarity with Allan's practice in Portraiture is the inclusion of numbers to identify the various figures (see for example the large family group painted for Sir John Halkett of Pitfirrane in 1784 (NGS).

72. See Jules David Prown, *John Singleton Copley*, 2 vols., Harvard University Press, 1966, p. 343 ff. A brief account of the commission and progress of this painting is in Sir Roy Strong's *And when did you last see your father?* Hampshire, 1978, p. 28.

73. Knox, *op. cit.*, p. 514.

74. Robertson, *op. cit.*, Book IV, 1566 (Vol. I, p. 294; original spelling).

75. *Ibid.* Book IV, 1566 (Vol. I, p. 297), with a reference to Appendix No. XV, a letter from the Earl of Bedford and Thomas Randolph to the English Lords of Council, 27<sup>th</sup> March, 1566. Boswell (*Tour*, [1786], 16<sup>th</sup> August; ed. Peter Levi, 1984, p. 178) tells how Robertson "fluently harangued to Dr Johnson, upon the spot [the Palace of Holyrood], concerning scenes of his celebrated *History of Scotland*."

76. See *An Historical and Critical Enquiry into the Evidence . . . against Mary Queen of Scots. With an Examination of the Rev. Dr. Robertson's Dissertation, and Mr. Hume's History*, (1771) by William Tytler of Woodhouselee, Vol. I, p. 67 (Introduction), and Vol. II, p. 6 (Part II, Chapter III), where he quotes from one Blackwood, a contemporary of George Buchanan, a description of Rizzio as an "homme assez agé, laid, morne, et mal-

plaisant". Hume, on the other hand, quotes Buchanan to prove that Rizzio was "not past his youth"; but Buchanan had better reason for lying than Blackwood, and was in fact guilty of deliberate falsehood, as Tytler proved (n. 113 *infra*).

77. *Discourses on Art*, V, lines 35-7.

78. *History of Scotland*, Book IV, 1567, (Vol. I, pp. 356-57).

79. Allan's list of subject-titles on verso of NGS D 4595 (cf. n. 17 *supra*). For the Holyrood memorial portrait of Darnley, see Sir James Caw, *Scottish Portraits*, 2 vols., Edinburgh, 1903, Plate X. See also Sir Ellis Waterhouse, *Painting in Britain 1530-1790*, London, 1955, pp. 29-30, on what he calls Scottish "vendetta" portraits, and also Stenhouse, *Illustrations of the Lyric Poetry and Music of Scotland*, p. 173, note to SMM 177, "The Bonnie Erle of Murray".

80. Private collection. See n. 59 *supra* for details of the Histories which Allan painted.

81. *History of Scotland*, Book V, 1567, Vol. I, p. 365.

82. *Ibid.*

83. In addition to several volumes such as "A large Book, containing 192 prints, chiefly Historical, from the Old Masters" (Sale I, p. 5, lot 131). Allan owned prints after Guido Reni, and had copied works by him, by Domenichino and by others (nn. 36 and 44-5 to Chapter I).

84. Strong, *And when did you last see your father?* Hampshire, 1978, p. 130; Helen Smailes and Duncan Thomson, *The Queen's Image*, National Galleries of Scotland, Edinburgh, 1987, p. 107.

85. Reynolds, *Discourses*, IV, lines 36-45.

86. This character was probably intended to represent William Douglas, Keeper of Lochleven Castle.

87. The picture of Mary's escape was one of the two Histories seen by Robert Riddell in Allan's studio at this time (p. 227 *infra*). Allan's edition of *The Gentle Shepherd* had been published at the end of 1788; Tassie's *Descriptive Catalogue* (with fifty-seven plates by Allan) was published in 1791. When the time that he must have spent in researching his Historical project is taken into account, Allan's having told Buchan that he had hardly time to eat or sleep seems to have been but a slight exaggeration.

88. Either Seaton or Lord James Hamilton; see Robertson, *loc. cit.*

89. *Memorandum* published by George Buchanan and quoted by William Tytler, *Historical and Critical Enquiry*, 1771, Vol. I, p. 77.

90. Tytler, quoting in part Crawford's *Memoirs*, points to the various hands which could have forged the Casket Letters, and condemns the whole story of their seizure in the words quoted (*Enquiry*, I, pp. 101 and 130).



Notes to pp. 223-227.

91. Of James V and of "Lodovic 2 duke of Lenox" (letter to Buchan September 1789, transcribed in full p. 204 *supra*). Allan had earlier sketched Dunfermline Abbey and Culross Abbey (n. 54 *supra*); cf. also John Alexander's having painted "the landscape of the lake, castle and adjoining hills... from nature" (Whitley, *Artists and their friends in England 1700-1799*, London, 1928, p. 62, and also pp. 201-02 *supra*).

92. List on verso of NGS D 4595: "alle Langside", "asher boat 20 persons lo Carlile", "Mary Beheaded".

93. Sale I, p. 9, lots 76 and 77. Allan's drawing, and lot 76, were of "Beale reading to Queen Mary the Warrant for her Execution". The title "Mary Beheaded" (n. 92) may well refer to another composition planned, and possibly completed by Allan.

94. Letter from the Earls of Kent and Shrewsbury, quoted as Appendix LI in Robertson, *History of Scotland*, Vol. II, p. 441.

95. The Earls of Kent and Shrewsbury were empowered by Elizabeth's Privy Council to see that the sentence was executed; only Kent replied to the headsman's words, all others "continuing silent and drowned in tears" (Robertson, *op. cit.*, Book VII, 1587; Vol. II, pp. 141-45).

96. Letter from Earls of Kent and Shrewsbury; cf. n. 94. The letter identifies Mary's six attendants as Mrs. Curle, Mrs. Kennedy, "Melvil, her steward", and her physician, surgeon and apothecary.

97. John Knox, *History of the Reformation in Scotland*, II, p. 387.

98. "Book of Slight Sketches", Sale I, p. 14, lot 14; "Queen Mary and her Secretary, rough Sketch", Sale I, p. 12 lot 74 (Allan's list of titles is on verso of NGS D 4595). Its being described as a "rough Sketch" may indicate that the latter picture was drawn in pencil (or crayon *etc.*) alone, and not that it was a hastily scribbled first idea; three other drawings from this series are listed on the same page, and are there described as "pencil'd Sketches" (lot 70, "Escape" and "Resigning her Crown", a pair; lot 74, "forced to Resign the Crown"). Two of these are probably the wash drawings now in the NGS, the other being a lost copy, or lost early version of the *Resignation*. The use of a paintbrush (a "pencil") to apply wash might be the origin of the distinction between the two kinds of "Sketches". Lethington is one of the characters identified in the later version of Knox before the Council; p. 212 *supra* ("auld Lethington" was the poet Sir Richard Maitland of Lethington, Keeper of the Great Seal of Scotland from 1562, a constant supporter of Mary, and also the compiler of

the famous Maitland Folio Manuscript). The subject of Mary and her Secretary would have allowed Allan to paint a scene of royal authority as typical as that of the siege of Inverness Castle, but any suggestion of skilful statecraft on Mary's part would have been sadly inappropriate. It is not likely that the Secretary in Allan's picture was Pierre de Chatelar (see Smailes and Thomson, *The Queen's Image*, Edinburgh, 1987, pp. 77-8).

99. Letter to Buchan, December, 1780, transcribed in full as Appendix III. The opinion that because Allan's "outdoor conversation pieces are bigger than their compositions would dictate", and are sometimes bigger than any of his Histories, then he "must have regarded them as his most important oils" seems to accord too much weight to mere physical size, in a manner taking too little account of contemporary views (Irwin, *Scottish Painters at Home and Abroad, 1700-1900*, London, 1975, p. 70).

100. "Pictures" comprehending drawings as well as paintings. The nine subjects are briefly reintroduced in the following two pages. Three of them are known from Allan's paintings, five — either because the paintings he planned were never made, or, being made, were lost — are known only from his drawings, and one is admitted to the canon on the strength of a "rough Sketch" sold in 1797 (n. 98).

101. The quotation is from Reynolds, *Discourses on Art*, VIII, line 345.

102. Sale I, p. 12, lot 72.

103. The *Caledonian Mercury*, November 15, 1788, gives Allan's address as Dickson's Close, and his edition of *The Gentle Shepherd* was also sold from "Dickson's Closs" [*sic*]. In his letter of September, 1789, to Buchan, however, Allan added the direction "My adress Dicksons Close", suggesting that his flitting from Writers' Court (see Appendix V) had been a fairly recent one.

104. Chambers, in his *Traditions of Edinburgh*, devotes a chapter, "The Town-Guard", to this "characteristic feature of Edinburgh in old times" (pp. 179-82). Many besides Allan left an impression of these veterans from the Highland regiments; Topham described their "terrible" aspect (Letter XLIII), Lord Cockburn recorded the nickname suggested by their "dingy red uniform" (*Memorials of his Time*, Edinburgh, 1856, Chapter VI, p. 339), and Fergusson, who gave the Guard money a fleg in his verses, termed it a "black banditti" in "The Daft-Days" (*The Poems of Robert Fergusson*, STS edn., ed. M. P. McDiarmid, Vol. II, Edinburgh and London, 1956, pp. 32-4 (line 65)).

105. Glenriddell MSS, National Museum of Antiquities (Library), Edinburgh; 1789, f. 232.



106. Peter Wright, MD, "Answer to Query respecting Allan the Painter", in *The Scots Magazine*, Vol. LXVI, December, 1804, pp. 912-13 (transcribed in full as Appendix VIII). Wright suggested that "a very tolerable *biographical sketch* of our departed friend might be made out" (emphases added). The "Five or six scenes of the life of Mary Queen of Scots" noted in his "sketch" seem to have been owned by the merchant John Mair rather than by Dr. Wright himself. See also n. 31 to Chapter VI.

107. See n. 114 to Chapter IV.

108. The first quotation is from Burns's long autobiographical letter to Dr. John Moore; *Letters*, Volume I, pp. 104-116 (2nd edn. pp. 133-47), no. 125 (quotation from p. 106 or p. 136). The second is from Burns's letter of December 6<sup>th</sup> to Mrs. Dunlop, *ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 50 (2nd edn., p. 64), no. 428 (original spelling); his name appears in the subscription list to the edition mentioned (note in 2nd edn., Ferguson's text revised by Roy).

109. Letter to Mrs. Dunlop, *loc. cit.*

110. Information partly from William Tytler of Woodhouselee, *An Historical and Critical Inquiry into the Evidence against Mary Queen of Scots*, Edinburgh, 1771 (Preface; all references are to the enlarged edition of 1790), and partly from Alaister Cherry, National Library of Scotland.

111. Tytler, *Inquiry*, Preface, p. 5.

112. For the "Epistle to Mr. Tytler", see *Burns Poems and Songs*, ed. James Kinsley, p. 266, no. 152; the quotation is of its first line. Burns also discussed Scottish Music with Tytler, who wrote a dissertation on the subject, collected traditional songs, and assisted with the *Scots Musical Museum*; see letter of c. August 1787, *Letters*, I, pp. 116-17, (2nd edn., p. 147), no. 126, a reference to the *SMM* in another, October, 1787, to James Hoy, *Letters*, I, p. 132 (2nd edn., pp. 163-64), no. 145, and two more in letters to George Thomson, 26<sup>th</sup> January, 1793, and the long list of "observations" on songs, c. September 1793, *Letters*, II, pp. 148 and 206 (2nd edn., pp. 181 and 247), nos. 535 and 586. Of particular interest in the context of Allan's song illustrations, which are discussed in the next chapter, is the fact that he owned a print of "William Tytler, Esq; Jones after Raeburn" (Sale I, p. 4, lot 89).

113. See for example *Inquiry*, Volume II, Part II, Chapter III, p. 6 (information about Rizzio); *ibid.*, p. 10 (a lie by George Buchanan, committed to print, concerning the supposed location of earlier testimony); Vol. II, Part II, Chapter IX, p. 309 (a letter in Cecil's hand, discovered by Tytler himself).

114. See in particular *Inquiry*, Vol. I, Part I, Chapter II, p. 215 ff, esp. pp. 221-29.

115. *Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful*, London, 1759 (the second edn., revised and enlarged), Part III, Section IX, p. 204.

116. Correspondence and *Representation of the Execution &c.* in the National Library of Scotland, Acc. 8155 - 1789, and F. 5 a 10; information from Alaister Cherry, NLS. The correspondence is partly concerned with the choice of a suitable engraver, but does not indicate whether or no Rigaud's paintings were commissioned as part of the venture from the start.

117. "Sir, never talk of your independency, who could let your Queen remain twenty years in captivity, &c"; Boswell, *Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides with Samuel Johnson LL.D.*, London, 1786, Monday 16<sup>th</sup> August, fourth paragraph (ed. Levi, Harmondsworth, 1984, p. 176).

118. Cf. *Discourses on Art*, IV, 22-3.

119. The first quotation is from a letter of 6<sup>th</sup> June, 1790, to Mrs. Dunlop, with a copy of "Lament of Mary . . . on the Approach of Spring"; *Letters*, ed. Ferguson 1931, Vol. II, p. 21 (2nd edn., p. 28), no. 399 (the song is in *Burns Poems and Songs*, ed. Kinsley, no. 316). The second quotation is from a letter of 28<sup>th</sup> February, 1791, to Dr. Moore, with the "Lament" and other pieces; *Letters*, Vol. II, p. 58 (2nd edn., p. 73), no. 437. In this letter, Burns commends Moore's "glorious story of Buchanan & Targe" in his *Zeluco*.

120. Reynolds, *Discourses*, IV, 66-7.

121. The letter to Gavin Hamilton, 3rd October, 1788, preface to Allan's edition of *The Gentle Shepherd*, Edinburgh 1788 (Appendix IV).

122. The small copy of the *Resignation* is signed and dated 1791; Robert Riddell saw two paintings in 1789, probably those which Allan mentioned to Buchan in a letter of 27<sup>th</sup> September, 1789 (transcribed in full, p. 204 *supra*). In this letter Allan wrote that he had been occupied with the series "for some time", but the preparation of his edition of *The Gentle Shepherd* must have dominated his attention until the end of the previous year; the prints themselves, at least, had been published by July, 1788.

123. See J. D. Mackie, *A History of Scotland*, Harmondsworth, 1964, pp. 311-13, W. Ferguson, *Scotland 1689 to the Present*, Edinburgh History of Scotland, Vol. 4, 1968, pp. 248-63, and Bruce Lenman, *Integration, Enlightenment, and Industrialisation Scotland 1746-1832*, The New History of Scotland, Vol. 6, 1981, pp. 75-6 and p. 100 ff. For more detail see Kenneth Logue, *Popular Disturbances in Scotland 1780-1815*, Edinburgh, 1979, and Christina Bewley, *Muir of Huntershill*, Oxford University Press, 1981. Edmund Burke's *Reflections on the Revolution in France* was published in 1790; Thomas Paine's



reply to this "unprovoked attack", Part One of *The Rights of Man*, was published in March of the following year (the quotation is from Paine's opening paragraph). Part Two appeared in 1792.

124. Cockburn, *Memorials Of His Time*, Edinburgh, 1856, Chapter I, p. 45.

125. The quotation is from Denis Richards, *An Illustrated History of Modern Europe*, London, 1938, fifth edn., 1950, p. 26. For the events mentioned, see for example Mackie, *op cit.*, pp. 311-12.

126. *Letters*, Vol. II, p. 144 (2nd edn., p. 174), no. 530; to Robert Graham of Fintry, 5<sup>th</sup> January, 1793.

127. The first and last quotations are from the prefatory note to the transcript of his letter to John Francis Erskine of Mar which Burns made for the Glenriddell MS (NLS MS 86); in *Letters*, Vol. II, p. 169 (2nd edn., p. 207), no. 558. The second quotation is from Cockburn's *Memorials*, Chapter II, p. 80.

128. See Sir Roy Strong, *And when did you last see your father?* p. 17 ff., and also Edgar Wind, "The Revolution of History Painting", *Journal of the Warburg Institute*, Vol. II, pp. 124-26.

129. *History of Scotland*, Vol. I, Book IV, (for 1566), p. 291.

130. Nicholas White, Burghley's agent, visiting Mary in Tutbury (1569), saw the sentence embroidered on her canopy of state, and cautiously reported it as "a riddle I understand not"; see Smailes and Thomson, *The Queen's Image*, Edinburgh, 1987, p. 135.

131. The Reverend Robert Blair, referring to the administration during the Interregnum, quoted in Mackie, *A History of Scotland*, p. 227.

132. Letter to the Earl of Oxford, quoted in Ferguson, *Scotland 1689 to the Present*, Edinburgh, 1968, p. 54.

133. *Letters of David Hume*, ed. J. Y. T. Grieg, Oxford, 1932, Vol. 2, p. 230; quoted by D. Daiches, "The Scottish Enlightenment", in *A Hotbed of Genius The Scottish Enlightenment 1730-1790*, Edinburgh, 1986, p. 8.

134. Letter to Buchan, December, 1780, in Laing MSS, Edinburgh University Library (in La. IV 26); transcribed in full, Appendix III.

135. The quotation is from Buchan's *Discourse of 1780*, "7 mo." heading.

136. *Memoirs of the late David Allan*, in Brown's edition of *The Gentle Shepherd*, Edinburgh 1808, Vol. II, p. 629. For the letter to Buchan, June, 1790, see p. 205 *supra*.

137. Cf. Allan's letter of September, 1789, to Buchan, Laing MSS (also La. IV 26); transcribed in full, p. 204 *supra*.

138. SNP6, in SPD 1-30. In 1792 Buchan published *Essays on the Lives and Writings of Fletcher of Saltoun and the Poet Thomson*.

139. Robert Lindesay of Pitscottie, *The Historie and Cronicles of Scotland*, edited by E. J. G. Mackay, Edinburgh 1899, "The XXXIX Chapter", p. 407.

## Notes to Chapter VI

Pastoral scenes and rural manners. (Title quoted from George Thomson's Preface to the "Second Edition" of *A Select Collection of Original Scottish Airs* (Edinburgh, n.d.; Preface dated 1<sup>st</sup> January, 1794), actually a reissue of his first set of twenty-five songs, published in the previous year; "Mr. BURNS . . . has . . . furnished a number of new songs that are excellently adapted to the Airs, and such as cannot fail to delight every one who has any relish for genuine poetry, or for the pastoral scenes and rural manners he so happily delineates."

1. The second letter to Thomson, Oct. 26<sup>th</sup> and 27<sup>th</sup>, 1792; *The Letters of Robert Burns*, 2 vols., Clarendon Press, 1931, ed. John de Lancey Ferguson, Vol. II, p. 126, no. 511; 2nd edn., revised by G. Ross Roy, 1985, Vol. II, p. 153.

2. The chapter in the Rev. T. C. Gordon's *David Allan of Alloa*, Alva, 1951, entitled "The Illustrator of Burns", is very misleading, not least in the fact that only a few of Allan's song illustrations were from Burns (cf. n. 32 *infra*). Cunningham, *Lives of the Most Eminent British Painters, Sculptors and Architects*, 6 vols., London, 1833, Vol. VI, p. 44, states that the scheme originated with Thomson, and most other critics have agreed. A different emphasis is put on these works in each of the most important recent publications: Skinner, *The Indefatigable Mr. Allan*, 1973, p. 13 (Thomson in 1793 "opened up to Allan the possibility of illustrating the poems of Burns and other Scottish songs"); David and Francina Irwin, *Scottish Painters at Home and Abroad*, London, 1975, virtually ignore this activity altogether, allowing it only a brief paragraph and then mentioning only Allan's illustrations to Burns (p. 119); Macmillan's account, in *Painting in Scotland The Golden Age*, Oxford, 1986, pp. 70-1, is the best in any general history, and in addition to pointing out that Thomson, "perhaps guided by Allan . . . seems to have seen the possibility of linking [Scots music and poetry] with painting", he makes the interesting suggestion that Allan may have had some contact with the collector David Herd. Herd's having drawn analogies between comic songs and "striking paintings of low life" is, however, no more than another instance of "ut



Pictura Poesis", discussed in Chapter II *supra*; Allan refers to Herd's 1791 collection as "L & S" (Lawrie and Symington, its publishers). Finally, acknowledgment must be made of *The Scottish Song Illustrations of David Allan*, a dissertation by James C. Brown submitted to the Department of History of Art, University of Edinburgh, 1984, and of its author's continued interest in the progress of the present study.

3. The quotation is from Thomson's first letter to Burns, September, 1792. The correspondence cannot be studied as a whole; Thomson prepared an edited version for Currie's edition of Burns's *Works*, destroying his own letters (returned to him after the poet's death) when this had been done. Fortunately, his editing of Burns's letters was confined to cancelling passages with ink, and the original text can still generally be discerned. A fuller version of the correspondence is in the six-volume edition of Burns's *Works* prepared by William Scott Douglas and published 1877-79, but the text is faulty in some places. When Thomson's words are quoted, reference will be made both to this edition (cited as WSD) and to Currie's, except on one occasion where Douglas accidentally omits some words.

4. Fifty-six letters from Burns to Thomson are included in Ferguson's 1931 text, one more (574 A) in Roy's of 1985. The quotation is from Burns's first letter to Thomson, 16<sup>th</sup> September, 1792; *Letters*, Vol. II, p. 122 (2nd edn., II, p. 148), no. 507. More than one hundred of Burns's songs were printed in the *Select Collection* (cited as SC), but many of these had appeared previously in James Johnson's *The Scots Musical Museum*, (cited as SMM). For the different versions of "Auld Lang Syne", see *Burns Poems and Songs*, 3 vols., ed. Kinsley, Clarendon Press, 1968, Vol. III, pp. 1289-1291, Commentary on no. 240; the variant sent to Thomson is printed in *Letters*, II, pp. 205-06 (2nd edn., II, pp. 246-47), no. 586.

5. *Letters*, II, pp. 126-27 (2nd edn., II, pp. 153-54), no. 511, "Friday night" [26<sup>th</sup> October, 1792]. Burns added a lengthy postscript the following morning.

6. A volume of *The Gentle Shepherd* (Allan's edition) was inscribed by Alexander Cunningham, 4<sup>th</sup> April, 1794, and is now in Edinburgh Central Library, George IV Bridge. For the picture - which Thomson referred to in May 1795 as a "drawing", presumably in watercolours - see Currie, IV, pp. 230-31 and 236 (WSD, VI, pp. 340 and 343-44), and also James C. Hadden, *George Thomson The Friend of Burns*, London, 1898, p. 147; "I got the ingenious artist David Allan to paint for [Burns] *con amore* the interesting scene of family worship

from The Cotter's Saturday Night". Two watercolours of this scene (private collections), and a print by Robert Scott, Allan's pupil, are known, together with two versions of another scene derived from the poem and described by Burns in a letter of c. May, 1794, to Thomson; see n. *infra*. When Dorothy Wordsworth visited Burns's house she saw "over the desk a print from the 'Cotter's Saturday Night,' which Burns mentions in one of his letters having received as a present"; *Recollections of a Tour made in Scotland A.D. 1803*, August 18<sup>th</sup> (1894 edn., ed. J. C. Shairp, reprinted by The Mercat Press, Edinburgh, 1974, p. 7. The letter in question was sent to Thomson, c. May 1795; *Letters*, II, pp. 300-01 (2nd edn., pp. 355-57), no. 670.

7. The quotation is from a letter of 16<sup>th</sup> October, 1789, sent to Robert Riddell of Glenriddell (who had visited Allan's studio earlier that year; p. 227 *supra*); *Letters*, I, pp. 362-63 (2nd edn., II, pp. 443-44), no. 365. See also a letter of August (c. 15<sup>th</sup>) to Thomson, *Letters*, II, pp. 189-90 (2nd edn., pp. 229-30), no. 576; Burns also calls Masterton "honest Allan" in his own note to "Willie brew'd a peck o' naut", *SMM*, III (1790), no. 291 (*Notes on Scottish Song*, ed. J. C. Dick, London, 1908, included in Folklore Associates' reprint of *The Songs of Robert Burns*, Pennsylvania, 1962).

8. Evidence considered pp. 241-45 *infra*.

9. Letter of January 20<sup>th</sup> 1793; Currie, Vol. IV, p. 33; WSD, Vol. VI, p. 232.

10. Currie, *ibid.*, p. 91; WSD, *ibid.*, p. 262. Burns's version of the song had appeared in *SMM* III, p. 269, no. 261. This was Allan's source; a sketch (Cowie Collection, SR 241, No 308864, The Mitchell Library, Glasgow) is inscribed with two lines of verse and the reference "Johns; — p 269" (see Figure 245, facing p. 281 *infra*).

11. Pages 264-67 and Figure 219 *infra*.

12. Letter of March 3rd, 1794, to Alexander Cunningham; *Letters*, II, pp. 236-38 (2nd edn., pp. 284-86), no. 620.

13. Cowie Collection, the Mitchell Library, Glasgow, MS 308888. Thomson's letter is lost. The Rev. T. C. Gordon's biographical account is appropriate here; Allan realised his health was failing and sought to raise money for his family. Another letter in the Cowie Collection reveals that he was "weakly living out of town under the care of a Physician who [visited him] often". Ironically, Thomson's debt was not paid until 1813, to the artist's daughter Barbara (note on the letter's cover).

14. This etching for MacNeill's "The Maid of Castlecary"/"The Vee Thing", signed and dated 1795, is unique among Allan's song illustrations, measuring only some 2½ x 3½



Notes to pp. 238-240.

(inches, the platemark  $3\frac{1}{4} \times 4$ ) and lacking any definite "frame"; etched lines simply fade towards the edges. The volume of poems contains another three designs by Allan, all for *Scotland's Skaith*. These, averaging 4 inches by 5, appear opposite the text, unlike "The Wee Thing" which fills the space below the last line of the song. The frontispiece was engraved by Robert Scott, who studied under Allan at the Trustees' Academy. The other prints are both by Paton Thomson, and were first pulled in 1793 (Sale II, p. 6, lot 101). There are some similarities between them and Gillray's well-known "John Bull's Progress", itself dating from 1793. The "Three original Designs, from Macneil's *Scotland's Skaith*" [drawings] appeared in Sale I, p. 13, lot 133 (original spelling).

15. The title page (NGS) has a list of the contents. It was executed by J. Macdonald.

16. Sale I, p. 16, lot 3 (Seventh Day).

17. Thomson commissioned a number of pictures from Thomas Stothard, among them "Robt Bruce at Bannockburn", specifying that Stirling Castle should be seen in the background; "Allan's Etching will give you a view of the castle" (NLS, MS 685, letters of November 24<sup>th</sup>, 1821 and 8<sup>th</sup> April, 1823). For the publishing history of Allan's twenty-five etchings, see Appendix IX. The tortuous history of Thomson's publications is addressed in "Thomson's Collections of National Song", an article by Cecil Hopkinson and G. B. Oldman in *Edinburgh Bibliographical Society Transactions*, Vol. II, 1938-45 (1946).

18. Burns refers to a "proposed Print for [his] 'Soger's Return'" in a letter of December 9<sup>th</sup>, 1794, to Thomson; *Letters*, II, p. 279 (2nd edn., II, p. 332), no. 648. The song is in *Burns Poems and Songs*, ed. Kinsley, Clarendon Press, 1968, no. 406. Ramsay had written a song, also involving a soldier and a lass, to the same air ("The Mill, Mill-O"), and Allan illustrated this at some time after 1790; his reference "4-89" is to the edition of songs then published by Morison of Perth (water-colour drawing in "Baby Allan her Book Dalmeny June 29 1801", f. 4 *recto*: Cowie Collection, the Mitchell Library, SR 241 308864).

19. NLS, MS 685, letters of 16<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> August, 1815, from Thomson to Stothard, requesting that he retouch Thomson's brother's copy of Allan's original sketch. Little wonder that Basil Skinner comments on how the study of Allan's song illustrations is "bedevilled by second-generation retouching" (*The Indefatigable Mr. Allan*, 1973, p. 13).

20. For one example, see p. 318 *infra*.

21. Letter of 14<sup>th</sup> October 1794 to Burns. (Currie, Vol. IV, p. 170; WSD, Vol. VI, p. 309).

22. Preface to *Scottish Song*, London, 1794,

Vol. I, pp. i-ii. Sir Walter Scott praised Ritson (in print) for his "industry, research and antiquarian learning" ("Introductory Remarks on Popular Poetry" to *The Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*, 1830; *Sir Walter Scott's Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*, ed. T. F. Henderson, Edinburgh, London and New York, 1902, p. 47).

23. "A Historical Essay on Scottish Song", prefixed to *Scottish Song*, 1794, Vol. I, p. lxxv, footnote (69): "Mr Burns, as good a poet as Ramsay, is, it must be regretted, an equally licentious and unfaithful publisher of the performances of others. Many of the original, old, ancient, genuine songs inserted in Johnsons *Scots musical museum* derive not a little of their merit from passing through the hands of this very ingenious critic".

24. *Ibid.*, footnote (120) to p. cxvii.

25. The album in the Cowie Collection - a compilation from at least two sketchbooks, with some miscellaneous items - contains five distinct lists of titles, three of these on one page, and one of the others relating to *vignettes* sent to Ritson. Sixty-six titles are noted in all, but some are repeated; fifty-four different songs may be identified, as well as "Reel" and "Shepherd". Only two titles cannot be related to any known drawing, these being "Dainty Davie" and "My nithers ay glowrin our me". The latter (which figures twice) was also known as "Katy's Answer" to the addresses of "The Young Laird" (see Plate XVIII, Figure 232, and p. 275 *infra*). Intriguingly, a version of "Dainty Davie", the conclusion of which, at least, agrees very well with an *untitled* illustration by Allan (Plate XIX) was collected by Peter Buchan, c. 1820; see Hamish Henderson, "The Ballad, the Folk and the Oral Tradition", in *The People's Past*, ed. Edward J. Cowan, Edinburgh, 1980, pp. 90-2 (on Buchan himself, see David Buchan, *The Ballad and the Folk*, London and Boston, 1972, p. 205 ff). Allan does quote from memory an otherwise unknown version of "The Cogie" (NGS D4494; Fig. 233, between pages 275-76), but he would hardly have passed over the notorious song about "Mess David Williamson" and the Laird of Cherry-trees' daughter; a version is in David Herd's *Ancient and Modern Scottish Songs, Heroic Ballads Etc.*, 2 vols., 1776, Vol. II, p. 215 (cited as "Herd" in subsequent notes).

26. Some examples of such changes are noted *infra*, pp. 253 and 277.

27. Sale I, p. 11, lot 67. Although this lot is described as "Sketch, pair", it is unlikely that this refers to the two wash drawings illustrated; not only does the other side of the leaf contain designs for three ballads, the album of which it forms part was



still owned by "Baby Allan", presumably Allan's daughter Barbara, in 1801 (see n. 18 *supra*). Ritson's volumes include versions of both these pictures.

28. "Gaberlunzie . . . 30 in by 25" Sale I, p. 9, lot 72. "Anderson . . . framed, 2ft 6in by 2ft.", Sale I, p. 9, lot 78. A "Sketch of the Picture from Burns's little ballad of 'John Anderson my jo, John,' 25in by 30" was sold on the previous day (p. 7, lot 39, also a "Painting", *i.e.* in oils rather than water-colours). One of these is all but certainly the "John Anderson and his wife" [*sic*] indistinctly signed and dated . . . 24½ x 29½", in Sotheby's sale at Gleneagles Hotel, 27<sup>th</sup> August, 1985, part of lot 867.

29. Cunningham, a nephew of Principal Robertson, was "a coadjutor with [Thomson] in this business" (the *SC*), and, wrote Burns, "the first & dearest of my friends"; *Letters*, II, p. 127 (2nd edn., p. 154), no. 511. It was probably he who provided Thomson with an introductory letter to Burns (Currie, Vol. IV, p. 3; WSD, VI, p. 216). Burns enclosed three songs - "Une bagatelle de l'Amitié" - to his "very much valued friend" in a letter of 3rd August, 1795, to Thomson; *Letters*, II, pp. 307-08 (2nd edn., pp. 362-64), nos. 676 and 677. Unless a letter from Burns to Thomson is missing from the sequence, then Thomson's statement in a letter of 17<sup>th</sup> April, 1794, that "Allan is much gratified by your good opinion of his talents" implies that both he and the artist knew of the letter of March, 1794 (begun 3rd, sent 22nd), to Cunningham, in which Burns wondered about Allan's patrons, commended his edition of *The Gentle Shepherd* and described him as "a man of very great genius"; *Letters*, II, pp. 236-38 (2nd edn., pp. 284-86), no. 620 (cf. n. 6 *supra*, pp. 266 and 283 *infra*, and see also Chapter I, p. 4 *supra*). Since, in his own letter, Thomson mentions "perusing" the one which Burns had sent to Cunningham in February, 1794, and since Cunningham had recently sent an inscribed copy of *The Gentle Shepherd* to Dumfries, it seems very likely that this was the case. This fact, or strong probability, is of more than anecdotal interest, as is suggested on p. 266 *infra*. For Thomson's letter, see Currie, IV, pp. 148-49; WSD, VI, pp. 295-96.

30. Thomson to Burns, 27<sup>th</sup> October, 1794 (Currie, IV, p. 186; WSD, VI, p. 317).

31. *Letters*, II, p. 243 (2nd edn., pp. 294-95), no. 625, and pp. 300-01 (2nd edn., pp. 355-57), no. 670. One of the drawings mentioned by Burns is in the Print Room, NGS (Box 6, RN 3961); a change he suggested was adopted by Allan for a version in Glasgow Art Gallery (Fig 298, facing p. 350 *infra*). Another pair of illustrations to this poem was with Christie's, 19<sup>th</sup>

June, 1979. See also Francina Irwin, "Early Scottish pictorial Handkerchiefs", *Scotland's Magazine*, LXIII, (1967), p. 40, for a printed cotton handkerchief after the drawings of this subject owned by John Mair, a Glaswegian calico printer mentioned in Wright's "sketch" of Allan (Appendix VIII). The engraving by Robert Scott follows the "interesting scene of family worship" which Thomson commissioned from Allan and sent to Burns in May 1795; *Letters*, II, pp. 300-01 (2nd edn., pp. 355-57), no. 670 (see Figure 296). For more details, see note 6 to page 236 *supra*. Thomson refers to the painting as a "drawing" in his reply, 13<sup>th</sup> May, 1795, implying that it was a watercolour (Currie, IV, p. 236, WSD, VI, p. 344). Scott's engraving is not dated, and Allan's preference for pale tints in his later water-colours may have led Dorothy Wordsworth to mistake his drawing for a print.

32. When his illustrations to Fergusson, Thomson, MacNeill, "Ossian", Ross's *Helanore* and Ramsay's *The Gentle Shepherd* are added to his illustrations of songs, the total of literary pictures prepared by Allan is little short of one hundred and fifty. Only eight "designs" by Allan were definitely for verses which Burns "made" (the allusion is to one of his favourite expressions about the "business of composing"; see for example *Letters*, II, p. 166—2nd edn., p. 204—no. 557). Two designs, with copies and variants being made from each, were from "The Cotter's Saturday Night". Six drawings were certainly for songs written by Burns, as is proved either by inscriptions in Allan's hand or by specific features of the drawings themselves. In addition to those reproduced here (Plate XV, Figures 219, 245-46 and 260) his illustrations to "Ca' the Yowes" and "Lord Gregory" are for the versions made by Burns rather than those he collected. Another five are accompanied by verses composed by Burns but inscribed by a hand other than Allan's. One of these is of a song which Burns reworked ("Let me in this ae night", from *Herd*, II, 167-69; Private Collection). In another two the identification is likely, if not certain: "Lassie wi' the lint-white locks", NLS; "Now Spring has clad the grove in green", RSA (Figure 250, facing p. 283). In two cases the identification not only has no authority, it is contradicted by an early sketch or by Allan's etched proof and list of titles; see p. 242 and n. 42 *infra*. Finally, the words "But warily tent . . ." &c. inscribed below at least one print of "Jockey said to Jenny" (BM 1868-3-28-580) should be ignored.

33. Cf. letters of 25<sup>th</sup> October, 1787, to John Richmond and the Rev. John Skinner, *Letters*, Vol. I, pp. 132-34 (2nd edn., pp. 166-68), nos. 146 and 147, and letter of late November



in the same year to James Candlish; *Letters*, I, p. 179, no. 193, revised edn., p. 177, no. 153 A. (Candlish replied on December 4<sup>th</sup>, hence Ferguson's conjectural [February 1788?]) was corrected). The first volume of the *SMM* was published in 1787. Five more were to follow, in 1788, 1790, 1792, 1796 and 1803. Each — making allowances for *SMM* V, Nos. 403 and 404 — contains one hundred airs, some of these having a choice of words. Burns contributed greatly to the venture, and had a strong hand in the (anonymous) Prefaces to the second, third and fourth volumes.

34. The first quotation (original spelling) is from a letter of September, 1794, to Thomson, the second from the long list sent to him in the previous year; *Letters*, II, pp. 256 and 198-206 (2nd edn., pp. 306 and 239-48), nos. 637 and 586 (see remarks on "No. 69, Todlin Hame", p. 204 or 246). Captain Topham also considered that the words of these songs were "the cause of their longevity"; *Letters from Edinburgh*, 1776, letter XLV.

35. Cf. letter to Dr. Moore, *Letters*, Vol. I, pp. 104-16 (2nd edn., pp. 133-46), no. 125 (esp. pp. 108-09 or 137-39), and also an entry for September, 1785, in the First Commonplace Book (ed. J. C. Ewing and Davidson Cook, 1938).

36. "The stories of Percy and Douglas, on Chevy Chase, in five pictures" formed lot 58 at the sale of Robert Foulis' collection, London, 1776. Four plates by Caldwell after Allan were published in Murray's edition of *The Seasons*, London, 1779. Most of his drawings for an interleaved volume of translations from the Gaelic (Cowie Collection, the Mitchell Library, SR 243 308888) are in sepia wash, but the Frontispiece is a fine watercolour (Plate XI, and Figure 179). Allan's two drawings of "Leith Races" are in the Dunimarle Album, NGS, Prints and Drawings.

37. See Chapter III, p. 118 *supra*, and also p. 260 and Fig 214 *infra*.

38. The quotation is taken from a letter of May, 1795, sent from Burns to Thomson on receipt of Allan's painting of "The Cotter's Saturday Night". Burns had thought of prefixing a *vignette* taken from a miniature (probably the Alexander Reid profile, SNP6 No. 341) to the song "Contented wi' little & cantie wi' mair" in order that "the portrait of my face & the picture of my mind may go down the stream of Time together"; *Letters*, II, pp. 300-01 (2nd edn., pp. 355-57), no. 670, and also *ibid*, pp. 289-90 (2nd edn., pp. 342-43), no. 658 to Maria Riddell.

39. See p. 237 *supra*. On Thomson, and the illustrated edition of Dryden's translation of the *Aeneid* (for subscribers only), see Alexandre Beljame, *Men of Letters and the English Public in the Eighteenth Century 1660-1744*,

*Dryden, Addison, Pope*, first published 1881, revised 1897; English edn., London, 1948 (translated by E. D. Lorimer), p. 114 n. and pp. 356-57.

40. Preface to "Second Edition" of the *SC*, dated 1<sup>st</sup> January, 1794. This was actually a reissue of the first set of twenty-five airs, published in May, 1793. Each Volume of the *SC* consisted of two "Sets", each containing twenty-five airs and fifty songs.

41. Thomson's letter of 5<sup>th</sup> February, 1796 (*Currie*, IV, p. 252; *WSD*, VI, p. 351). The reply is undated; *Letters*, II, p. 317 (2nd edn., p. 376), no. 689. Thomson mentioned "stroke-engravings" in January, 1793 (p. 237 *supra*), but from this letter of *three* years later it appears that he had already told Burns of the proposed octavo edition. No such information is in the correspondence as it survives (Thomson's editorial methods were drastic), but what is clear is that there had been a lengthy gap in the sequence. Burns had last written Thomson in August (Thomson's letter of 5<sup>th</sup> Feb. begins "The pause you have made, my dear Sir, is awful!") and had endured "many weeks of a sick-bed" towards the end of the year; *Letters*, II, p. 315 (2nd edn., pp. 373-74), no. 687, to Robert Cleghorn.

42. The quotation is from Thomson's letter of 28<sup>th</sup> July, 1821, to Stothard, suggesting he make a copy of "the graceful and richly coloured little picture which you call'd highland Mary, but which by the help of a back ground of birch trees on the precipitous banks of a stream would equally well represent the subject of *the birks of Invermay*" (NLS MS 685). Three of Allan's etchings were printed with different titles, or under false identities, at different times: "The Bagrie o't" (Allan's list and proof) became "Contented wi' Little"; "For the love of Jean" or "Jockey said to Jenny" (list and some prints) had lines from "O Whistle, and I'll come to ye, my lad" added; a third design appears as both "The Wawking of the fauld" (list) and "Cowdenknowes". In the first two cases, the change is from a song omitted from the *SC* to one included. One of the drawings later owned by Thomson (RSA album, no. 26) had lines from "Highland Mary" added. Allan's early sketch of the same composition, however, was for Ramsay's "The last time I can o'er the muir" (Cowie Collection, Mitchell Library: SR 241, No 308864, f. 24, *recto*; compare Figures 206 and 230, between pp. 252-53 and facing p. 274 respectively). Finally, a letter Thomson sent to Stothard on August 16<sup>th</sup>, 1815 (NLS MS 685), contains an intriguing reference to an illustration of "Duncan Gray", drawn by Allan, in which a "young woman" — *i.e.* Maggie — is seen holding a handkerchief. The *motif* is, of course, a familiar one, but no such drawing is known.



Unless one has been lost, this is another instance of Thomson's having known best; the most likely object of his learned revision is Allan's drawing for "Thro' the wood, Laddie" (album in Royal Scottish Academy, no. 33).

43. See only Currie, IV, p. 257. The text in WSD, VI, p. 353, is imperfect; the words between "plates" and "for that work" were omitted. Despite Allan's reported views on aquatint, he used the technique in two of his song illustrations ("Maggie Lawder" [sic] and "Bonny Barbara Allan", Figs. 231 and 254, facing p. 274 and between pp. 284-85 respectively).

44. *Letters from Edinburgh*, 1776, Letter XLV, "On the Scotch Music".

45. Maggie Lawder lives in "Anster", but the figure in Allan's illustration surely hails from his "Napolitan Dance" (sic), Figure 12, facing p. 12. Compare also the background figure in "The Highland Dance" with others in "Tullochgorum" and "The Penny Wedding"; Plate I, and Figures 26 and 295, facing pp. 27 and 348.

46. The five pictures of "Chevy Chase" are unlocated. The interleaved volume of translations from the Gaelic (Cowie Collection, the Mitchell Library, SR 243 308888) has ten pictures by Allan, and thirteen very clumsy sketches in sepia wash by "J A" (?James Allan, the artist's half-brother). The volume is partly in manuscript and partly printed, and is entitled; *A Collection of Ancient Poems, Translated from the Gaelic*,— of Ullin, Ossian, Orran &c By John Smith, Minister at Kilbrandon, Argyleshire 1780" (the words after "Galic" [sic] in manuscript).

47. Allan's references on the sheet illustrated — from "Baby Allan I her Book" (Cowie Collection, Mitchell Library: SR 241, No 308864) — are both to Ritson's *Scottish Song*, 1794 (Figure 180, between pp. 243-44).

48. For Allan's letter of June, 1785, to Sir James Grant of Grant, see Chapter III, p. 121 *supra*, where it is transcribed in full from the original (E. Reg. House, 60 248, box 511, b. 2).

49. See Chapter IV, pp. 154-55 and Figure 115, between pp. 168-69 *supra*.

50. Chapter IV, pp. 183-84 *supra*. The page references on this sheet from the album are to Herd's 1776 collection; the printer was John Witherspoon (Burns several times refers to "Witherspoon's Collection of Scots Songs"; see e.g. a letter of June, 1793, to Thomson, *Letters*, II, p. 178 — 2nd edn., p. 217 — no. 566).

51. Allan listed eleven different subjects, cancelled two ("Margarets Ghost" and "Gill Morice") and sent eight: "Shepherd", "Paties Courtship", "Gaberlunzieman", "Reel-", "Killicrankie", "Barbara Allan", "Hardyknote" and "Cruel knight", three for "Headpiece[s]", three for "tail [pieces]", and the last title

"added". The "Shepherd" was not assigned any place, and a "Trophy" tail(piece) was not sent at all (Cowie Coll., SR 241, No. 308864, f. 18, verso).

52. Chapter IV, pp. 183-85 *supra*.

53. *Scottish Song*, London, 1794, Vol. I, p. vii.

54. Thomas Crawford calculates that "three thousand or so songs [were] published in Scottish poetical miscellanies and song-books from 1682 to 1785"; *Love, Labour and Liberty: the eighteenth-century Scottish lyric*, Carcanet Press, Cheshire, 1976, Preface, p. 7, and *Society and the Lyric a study of the Song Culture of eighteenth-century Scotland*, Scottish Academic Press, Edinburgh, 1979, p. 8. A "Select List of Song Books And Miscellanies Published in Scotland (1662-1786)" is given in the latter work, pp. 216-19; the *SMM* commenced publication in 1787, and William Thomson's *Orpheus Caledonius* was published in London. More detailed lists are in J. C. Dick's *The Songs of Robert Burns*, London, 1903, reprinted 1962, and in The Folklore Associates' reprinting of *The Scots Musical Museum*, Pennsylvania, 1962. The two most extensive and important collections of Scottish songs before 1787 (words only), Ramsay's *Tea-Table Miscellany* and Herd's *Ancient and Modern Scottish Songs* (1776 edition), together account for almost seven hundred different songs, although not all of those in the *TTM* are Scottish.

55. Herd's Preface, p. viii.

56. In addition to the examples cited in the following paragraphs, see David Laing's "Additional Illustrations" to Stenhouse's *Illustrations of the lyric poetry and music of Scotland*, Edinburgh 1853, p. 457, on how "Sir Patrick Spence" (sic) had, since its publication in Percy's *Reliques*, "been printed in a hundred different shapes, generally with additional verses or improvements 'fortunately recovered,' &c. but most of which improvements are palpable interpolations".

57. See p. 237 *supra*. Herd included "Auld Robin Gray" among his "Comic and Humorous songs", but Ritson interpreted it properly, as did the editor of *The Charmer* (1782); see pp. 280-81 *infra*.

58. Discussed p. 264 ff *infra*.

59. Burns gives Masterton as the composer in his "Notes on Scottish Song", in the interleaved copy of the *SMM*, in *Songs of Burns*, ed. J. C. Dick, 1908, p. 27.

60. The quotation is from Coleridge's "A Letter to ...", some of which was published as "Dejection, an Ode"; *Coleridge's Verse*, selected and edited by W. Empson and David Pirie, London, 1972, p. 187.

61. For "Dainty Davie" only the title and a



line of verse are extant, in one of Allan's lists (Cowie Collection, the Mitchell Library, SR 241, No 308864, f. 1 *recto*).

62. The first three quotations are from Burns's letters to Thomson: April, 1793, *Letters*, II, pp. 160-63 (2nd edn, pp. 195-99), no. 554 (p. 161 or 196); 19<sup>th</sup> November, 1794, *ibid.*, pp. 275-79 (2nd edn, pp. 327-31), no. 647 (p. 276 or 328); April, 1796, *ibid.*, pp. 319-20, (2nd edn, pp. 378-79), no. 693 (p. 320 or 379; Burns actually wrote "admirable!"). The last quotation is from his letter of 25<sup>th</sup> October, 1787, to the Rev. John Skinner, author of "Tullochgorum"; *Letters*, I, pp. 133-34 (2nd edn, pp. 167-168), no. 147. Skinner's words to this traditional air were printed, with the music, in the *SMM*, III (1790), p. 298, No 289, having first appeared in *The Weekly Magazine*, May 2nd, 1776; see *The Poems of Robert Fergusson*, STS edn, ed. M. P. McDiarmid, Vol. II, Edinburgh and London, 1956, p. 255.

63. Herd's Preface, 1776, p vii.

64. Both phrases are quoted from the Preface to the *TTM*, p. vi.

65. Four of the remaining five are of Historical Ballads, and the last - "Bonny Barbara Allan" - was classed among the "Heroic Ballads". MacNeill's "Maid of Castlecary" is also a Pastoral. Of Thomson's seventeen plates, fourteen were comic.

66. The five pictures of "Chevy Chase" are here excluded from the reckoning, primarily because of their early date and their being unlocated since 1776, although the ballad is in any case of English origin, with reference being made to "our king" Henry (Herd, Vol. I, pp. 54-63). The title in the Foulis catalogue, of course, may have been chosen for a London market, and it is likely that Allan's design for the "Battle of Otterburn" repeats one of these early pictures (Figures 20 and 185, facing p. 20 and between pp. 247-48 respectively). The distribution of songs in Herd's volumes is paralleled by that in a broadside collection of c. 1775 from Aberdeenshire, said by Thomas Crawford to contain a "fairly high proportion of comic songs" (*Society and the Lyric*, Edinburgh, 1979, p. 6).

67. Herd, Preface, 1776, p vii.

68. The *vignette* of "Hardyknute" in Ritson's *Scottish Song*, II, p. 129, is inscribed "Allen del.", "Parker fe". The "Head-" and "Tail-" pieces prepared for Ritson are listed in n. 51 *supra*.

69. The song is initialled "C" in the *TTM*, Vol. I, p. 3; in the Index to *SMM* I, p. iv, it is given to "Mr. Crawford" (the song is No 80, p. 81), whom Stenhouse identifies as William Crawford of Auchinames (*Illustrations*, pp. 36 and 84). Although Crawford's words were printed in virtually every collection of Scot-

tish songs published in the century, the page number in Allan's rough sketch refers to Ritson's *Scottish Song*, 1794.

70. Letter of 30<sup>th</sup> November, 1816; Thomson, in quoting "the words which the Shepherd is supposed to be uttering", identifies the song and thus Allan's sketch (NLS, MS 685). Thomson lent a "Book of Allan's Drawings" to Stothard in 1822 (*ibid.*, 22nd. September, and also 24<sup>th</sup> February, 1823).

71. Letter of 27<sup>th</sup> October, 1794, to Burns (Currie, IV, p. 186; WSD, VI, p. 317), but he disliked the idea; *Letters*, II, p. 287 (2nd edn, p. 340), no. 656.

72. In Otto Van Veen's *Emblemata Amorum*, *vignettes* and verses are designed and arranged in a similarly repetitive manner (Stirling-Maxwell Collection, Glasgow University Library, Special Collections). Allan may have known this or other emblem books; see p. 284 and n. 207 *infra*.

73. Cf. Thomson's letter of October, 1794, to Burns; Currie, IV, p. 168, WSD, VI, p. 308.

74. Beugo's plates were published in 1788; see Chapter IV, p. 152 and Figure 107 *supra*.

75. *A Select Collection of favourite Scottish Ballads*, Perth, 1790, for R. Morison junior. Three of the illustrations are by Beugo after Weir, presumably Walter Weir who also illustrated *The Gentle Shepherd* (n. 101 to Chapter IV, p. 465 *supra*). The fourth plate, also designed by Weir, was engraved by D. B. Pyet, who also worked on Morison's *Poems of Ossian*, 1795; the illustrations after Allan which were printed in this edition were engraved by A. Stevenson. Allan certainly knew the collection of songs from 1790; four of the page references written beside his sketches correspond only to this edition (see for example Figure 228, facing p. 273 *infra*).

76. Caldwell's prints are in the correspondence relating to the Earl of Abingdon's *Representation of the Execution of Mary, Queen of Scots*, NLS, Acc. 8155 (MS); see note 116 to Chapter V. The Robin Hood prints are in the Bodleian Library, Douce F F 71, no. 13; this similarity was first noticed by Jim Brown, and communicated by letter, July, 1985.

77. The first quotation is from Ramsay's Preface to the *TTM*, the second from Crawford, *Society and the Lyric*, p. 6; the contemporary market for song-books is discussed and demonstrated at length in this book. On one significant change in emphasis evident in collections of the end of the eighteenth century and beginning of the nineteenth, see pp. 303-05 *infra*.

78. See *Scottish Tragic Ballads*, 1781, for Pinkerton's note on "Sir Patrick Spens"; for Gay's *Achilles*, 1733, see Stenhouse, *Illustrations*, p. 477, note to *SMM* VI, no. 544. For



Burns's letter (August, 1793, to George Thomson) see *Letters*, II, p. 189-90 (2nd edn., II, p. 229), no. 576. David Herd noted in his manuscript collection - BM *Additional 22*, 311 (MS. I) and 312 (MS. II) - that "The two following songs were got from an Irish harper; the airs are very fine and much after the manner of, Scots": see Hans Hecht, *Songs from David Herd's Manuscripts*, Edinburgh, 1904, p. 334, footnote to CXX and CXXI (pp. 273-74).

79. The same figure - a man riding on a goat - appears in Garlands published in Paisley, Falkirk and Stirling (Wylie Collection, Glasgow University Library, Spec. Coll. Bh. 13 - c. 11, *passim*). In *The Egyptian Wedding &c*, (i.e. "The Gipsy's Wedding") Paisley n.d., it is printed on its side. Other examples of this carefree attitude to illustration are recorded in Leslie Shepard, *The Broadside Ballad A Study in Origins and Meaning*, London, 1962, p. 82 and, a more disconcerting misuse, p. 89. "Garlands" were often larger and more expensive than chapbooks, which were typically of twenty-four or thirty-two pages, and sold for a penny or tuppence. "Garlands" might contain 100 songs. At the same time, single songs might themselves be termed "garlands".

80. The quotation is from a letter which Burns sent to Mrs. Dunlop on 6<sup>th</sup> December, 1790, and refers to a picture from which Allan made an aquatint print; *Letters*, II, p. 50 (2nd edn. p. 64), no. 428, and also Chapter V, p. 228 *supra*. Examples of woodcuts of such subjects may be studied in quantity in the Glasgow Room of the Mitchell Library or in the Special Collections Department of Glasgow University Library, each of which has a Chapbook Index. See also William Harvey, *Scottish Chapbook Literature*, Paisley, 1903, Chapter II, p. 89 ff.

81. Reproduced several times in the compendium *John Cheap the Chapman's Library: the Scottish Chapbook Literature of last century, classified*, Glasgow, 1877, and in *Scottish Chapbook Literature*, p. 95.

82. See G. R. Gordon, *The Walks of Homely Life David Allan's Illustrations to "The Gentle Shepherd"*, 1984, Dissertation submitted to the Department of Fine Art, University of Glasgow, Figures 16a and 16b. Lizars' engraving was made in 1823, after a woodcut of c. 1790. Some woodcuts of the early nineteenth century are reminiscent of Allan's prints, as might be expected; see for example *The Young Squire's Frolic*, J. M. Robertson, 1807, and *The Lawyer and Nell*, Greenock [n.d.].

83. Bunbury's stipple engraving was published in "London Feb'y 10, 1783, by W. Dickinson, No 24 Old Bond Street". This print is one of three by Bunbury (the others, of similar form, from 1784 and 1785) pasted into

an interleaved copy of Alexander Campbell's *An Introduction to the History of Poetry in Scotland*, Edinburgh, 1798, in Edinburgh Central Library (Scottish Room, RBR X PR 8510). This volume also contains proofs of most of the twenty-five etchings which Allan prepared for his first collection, in addition to the eight final versions originally published with it (p. 238 *supra*; for the publishing history of these etchings, see Appendix IX). The importance of this volume was pointed out by Jim Brown, in his study *The Scottish Song Illustrations of David Allan*, University of Edinburgh dissertation, 1984.

84. Lockhart published the anecdote in both his *Life of Burns* and his *Life of Scott*; it is printed in *Robert Burns The Critical Heritage*, ed. D. Low, London, 1974, pp. 261-62. The incident is said to have occurred at "the late venerable Professor Fergusson's" home (original spelling).

85. Sir Ellis Waterhouse, *Painting in Britain 1530-1790*, London, 1955, p. 209; the date given is 1787. Scott's description of the print does not correspond with Wright's painting. He was, however, recalling the event many years later, and the verse may have coloured his memory. Wright also exhibited subjects from Sterne and Beattie.

86. Pinkerton owned a manuscript of 1625-49 with a version of this ballad, but Bishop Percy claimed to have a "fragment" in manuscript written "at least as early, if not before the beginning of the reign of Queen Elizabeth in 1558" (see *Scottish Tragic Ballads*, 1781, p. 113; and Stenhouse's *Illustrations*, p. 124). Child, however, dated it to the early seventeenth century, and claimed to have identified the protagonist (*English and Scottish Ballads*, IV, p. 123.)

87. Not only in song illustrations; see Chapter III, pp. 115-16 *supra*, and Figure 71, the Watson Family group (1782).

88. Cf. p. 238 *supra*. The print was published in June, 1818, inscribed "Design'd by Allan Drawn by Stothard Engrav'd by P. Thomson". Stothard's version may not simply have been an enlarged copy of Allan's; the girl's head is quite different from any picture of the subject made by Allan and extant.

89. Cf. Reynolds, *Discourses on Art*, IV, lines 28-33, and Jonathan Richardson, *An Essay on the Theory of Painting*, 1725, "Of Invention" and "Of Expression" (pp. 41-117).

90. As in Allan's Italian costume studies, a major feature of one picture becomes a background detail in another (cf. Chapter I, p. 14 *supra*). This incident was derived from one of his illustrations to "Tranent Muir", an account of the battle of Prestonpans written by Adam Skirven (father of Archibald



Skirving). Colonel James Gardiner was deserted by the dragoons under his command, and "after maintaining an unequal contest, single-handed, with the enemy for a considerable time, he was at length despatched with the stroke of a Lochaber axe, at a short distance from his own house"; *Illustrations*, p. 107 (see Figure 182, between pages 245-46 *infra*). Allan deliberately excluded from his etching of "Sheriffmuir" all other evidence of fighting (such as is seen in his preparatory sketch, album in Cowie Collection, Mitchell Library, SR 241 No. 308864, f. 5, *verso*) because such realism detracts from the ridicule of the piece.

91. For Vauxhall, see Lawrence Gowing, article in *Burlington Magazine*, XCV, January, 1953. Information in the following paragraph is derived from Algernon Graves, *Royal Academy*, London, 1906, and *Societies*, London, 1907.

92. Sold in London, 1776. They may have been painted as early as the 1760s, when Allan was a student in Glasgow. Bishop Percy wrote to Lord Hailes of ballad illustrations in the Foulis Academy; *The Percy Letters*, ed. A. E. Falconer, 1954 (cited in J. Brown, *op. cit.*).

93. Sale I. p. 9, lot 86.

94. Allan's "agreeable Groupe" (original spelling) is in the Seafield Papers, East Register House, Edinburgh, 6D 248, box 511, b. 2, part of a letter to Sir James Grant of Grant, dated June 13<sup>th</sup>, 1785 (transcribed in full in Chapter III, p. 121 *supra*). The "concert at Hopetoun House" is in a private collection.

95. The quotation is from Campbell's *Introduction to the History of Poetry in Scotland*, Edinburgh, 1798, p. 9.

96. Samuel Johnson, *A Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland*, London, 1775, "The Highlands" and "Anoch" (ed. Peter Levi, Harmondsworth, 1984, pp. 62-3 and 60).

97. The words quoted are from a letter of August, 1787, to William Tytler; *Letters*, I, pp. 116-17 (2nd edn., p. 147), no. 126. For the significance of the initials which Burns used, see his letters of October 23rd and November 13<sup>th</sup>, 1788, both to Mrs Dunlop; *ibid*, pp. 266-67 and 272-73 (2nd edn., pp. 329-31 and 336-37), nos. 280 and 285. In *SNM* IV (1792), songs marked "Z" are stated to be "old verses, with corrections or additions", but, as Burns wrote in the second of these letters, in "a good many of them, little more than the Chorus is ancient" (p. 273 or 337).

98. John De Lancey Ferguson, *Pride and Passion: Robert Burns 1759-1796*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1939 (1964 reprint), p. 261.

99. Burns, in the long list of "observations" sent to Thomson in September, 1793, described "Auld lang syne" as "the old song of the olden times"; *Letters*, II, pp. 198-206

(2nd edn., pp. 239-48), no. 586 (p. 205, p. 246; given as "Song" in 2nd edn.). The word *artists* on p. 256 *supra* is to be understood in its widest sense. Allan, sensibly enough, took note of the airs of these songs as well as their words; see p. 286 ff. *infra*.

100. Burns refers to the Rev. James Crie's *Address* in a letter of 1st October, 1788, sent to Peter Hill; *Letters*, I, pp. 262-65 (2nd edn. pp. 325-27), no. 276. The second quotation is from a letter of 19<sup>th</sup> November, 1794, to Thomson; *ibid*, II, pp. 275-79 (2nd edn., pp. 327-31), no. 647 (p. 276, pp. 327-28).

101. *Ibid*, II, p. 161 (2nd edn., pp. 195-99), no. 554; letter of April, 1793, to Thomson (Burns did not set out the words in separate lines, as they are printed by Ferguson, but simply ran them into his sentence, as they appear in Roy's revised edition). For Allan's illustration of this song, see Figure 228, facing p. 273 *infra*.

102. Cf. Ramsay's Preface to *The Ever Green*, quoted (in part) in Chapter IV, p. 142 *supra*.

103. *Scottish Tragic Ballads*, London, 1781, Dissertation II ("On the Tragic Ballad"), p. xxxv.

104. *Preface to the second edition . . . of 'Lyrical Ballads'*, 1801 (written 1800); *Wordsworth Poetical Works*, ed. Thomas Hutchinson, revised Ernest de Selicourt, Oxford University Press, 1904 (1978 reprint), p. 734 ff.

105. "A Critical Dissertation on the Poems of Ossian Son of Fingal", in *The Poems of Ossian Translated by James Macpherson*, Edinburgh, 1830, p. 94. Macpherson's *Fragments of Ancient poetry collected in the Highlands* was first published in 1760. Derick S. Thomson's *Gaelic Sources of Macpherson's Ossian*, Edinburgh, 1951, confirms that Macpherson made use of some fourteen or fifteen traditional ballads (p. 10).

106. Pinkerton wrote that Poetry was such a language (*Scottish Tragic Ballads*, 1781, Dissertation I, "On the Oral Tradition of Poetry", p. x); the remaining quotations are from Campbell's *Introduction to the History of Poetry in Scotland*, 1798, p. 9.

107. Cf. Herd, Preface, p. v (first sentence). and Thomas Blackwell, *An Inquiry into the Life and Writings of Homer*, London, 1735, Section IV, p. 61. He discusses the subject at greater length on p. 17 ff. The argument is related to that involving climate, mentioned in Chapter IV, p. 153 and n. 40 *supra*.

108. Cf. Sir Walter Scott's Introduction (dated from Edinburgh, 1802), to *The Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*; in *Sir Walter Scott's Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*, ed. T. F. Henderson, Edinburgh and London, 1902, p. 156.

109. *Ibid*, p. 157.

110. Cf. Sir George Mackenzie of Rosehaugh, *Pleadings in some remarkable Cases*, 1673, quoted



Notes to pp. 258-260.

by Maurice Lindsay, *History of Scottish Literature*, London 1977, p. 153; and Wordsworth, *Preface*, p. 735. In this *Preface* also occurs the expression "a plainer" and more emphatic language".

111. Letter of April 26<sup>th</sup>, quoted *verbatim et literatim* from Ross Roy's revision of *Letters*, 1931 (1985), Vol. II, p. 211, no. 559; Ferguson's text omits the word "more". The organist Stephen Clarke arranged many of the airs for the *SMM*, Pleyel was one of a number of composers, including Haydn and Beethoven, engaged by Thomson to work on arrangements for the *SC*, and by him sometimes "guided" in their arrangements. His note on this letter is of interest: "The Poet must have misunderstood the matter. As a Song the Lee-rigg will not be altered in any respect whatever—in the Sonatas M. Pleyel is permitted to vary the Airs as he pleases" (*Letters*, 2nd edn, *loc. cit.*).

112. The first quotation is from a letter of August, 1793, to Thomson; *Letters*, II, p. 194 (2nd edn., p. 235), no. 582. The second is from the Rev. T. C. Gordon, *David Allan of Alloa*, Alva, 1951, p. 57, referring to a passage in a letter of the following month; *Letters*, II, p. 201 (2nd edn. p. 242), no. 586. Burns worked more studiously on his songs than he cared to divulge; see for example p. 289 *infra*.

113. The first quotation is from a letter of September, 1794, while the compliment to Thomson is from a letter of April, 1793; *Letters*, II, p. 256 (2nd edn., p. 307), no. 637, and *ibid*, p. 161 (2nd edn., p. 196), no. 554. On Thomson's musical skills, see Hadden, *George Thomson the friend of Burns*, 1898, p. 16 and p. 92n, and also Chambers, *Traditions of Edinburgh*, 1824, last revised edn. 1868, 1967 reprint, p. 254.

114. Herd, *Preface*, p. vii.

115. Quoted by Ritson in *Scottish Song*, 1794, Vol. I, facing p. 1. Ramsay could also, in different mood, mock Italian music in terms similar to those quoted (from Fergusson) on p. 260 *infra*. See for example his "An Elegy on Patie Birnie". On Bocchi, see David Johnson, *Music and Society in Lowland Scotland in the Eighteenth Century*, London, 1972, p. 191, and Mary Alburger, *Scottish Fiddlers and their Music*, p. 40. The *cantata*, scored for soprano or tenor voice, *continuo*, and violin *obbligato*, was advertised with twelve "Sonatas", also by Bocchi, in the *Caledonian Mercury*, February 22nd, 1726 (David Laing, Introduction to *The Scots Musical Museum*, four volume edn, Edinburgh, 1853, pp. xlv-xlv). It was published as "A Scots Cantata. The Tune after an Italian Manner. Composed by Signior Lorenzo Bocchi", in the first volume of the *TMM*.

116. "The Daft-Days", stanza eight. First published in *The Weekly Magazine or Edinburgh*

Amusement, 2nd January, 1772, an appropriate date (see Glossary). Text from *The Poems of Robert Fergusson*, STS edn., 2 vols., Edinburgh, 1956 (ed. M. P. McDiarmid), Vol. II, p. 34. Punctuation, spelling and the use of italics differ in various editions. A more heavily pointed version of this stanza appears in *The Works of Robert Fergusson. To which is prefixed, a Sketch of the Author's Life*, London, 1807, p. 236:

"Fiddlers! your pins in temper fix,  
And roset weel your fiddlesticks;  
But banish vile Italian tricks.  
Frae out your quorum;  
Nor fortes wi' pianos mix;—  
Gie's Tullochgorum."

In the first edition of Fergusson's *Poems*, (Edinburgh, 1773) "Tulloch Gorum" was glossed, somewhat superfluously, as the "Name of a tune." McDiarmid (*op. cit.*, II, p. 255) points out that the Rev. John Skinner's famous verses to this air are "almost certainly . . . of a later date than the composition of *The Daft-Days*.", the first known printing of Skinner's song having been in 1776, when it was prefaced by the stanza quoted; see also Figure 295, facing p. 348 *infra*. Fergusson became a member of the Cape Club in 1772, one of his seconders being Herd. Other members included Alexander Runciman, Jacob More, Alexander Nasmyth - and Deacon Brodie. See McDiarmid, *op. cit.*, pp. 49-60, and Davis D. McElroy, *The literary clubs and societies of eighteenth century Scotland and their influence on the literary productions of the period from 1700 to 1800*, PhD. thesis submitted to the University of Edinburgh, 1952, with Index by Lucille A. McElroy and D. D. McElroy (1955).

117. In a letter of 1790 to the Earl of Buchan, Allan refers to an anecdote in Pitscottie's *History and Chronicles*; see Chapter V, p. 205 *supra*.

118. See Chapter III, p. 118 *supra*. The account is given in full in the Rev. T. C. Gordon's *David Allan of Alloa*, 1951, pp. 33-5.

119. *Ibid*, p. 33, quoting "Alloaensis", whom the Rev. Gordon identifies as "Mr Robert Bald of Alloa", the source for the subsequent description of the song itself, given *verbatim*. "The Humble Beggar" is in Herd's collection, Vol. II, pp. 28-30, as well as the *SMM*. Barry, in *An Account of a Series of Pictures . . . at the Adelphi*, wrote that music "should necessarily require words for an exponent" (*Works*, London, 1809, Vol. II, p. 334. Cf. also Addison, *Spectator*, no. 18, 1711, and James Beattie, who believed that music "never appears to the best advantage but with



poetry for its interpreter" (quoted by Thomas Crawford in *Society and the Lyric a study of the Song Culture of eighteenth-century Scotland*, Scottish Academic Press, Edinburgh, 1979, Preface, p. vii). Duncan Macmillan suspects that to some extent "life is imitating art" in the story of Allan's *recitativo*, but accepts that "even if all the circumstances are apocryphal, the central point must be true. Given so many other candidates for the task better qualified, there would be no reason arbitrarily to appoint Allan champion of Scottish song" (*Painting in Scotland The Golden Age*, Oxford, 1986, p. 70). Chambers tells a kindred story about one "Singing Janie Balfour", who, in "a company where an Italian vocalist of eminence was present", performed a Scots song with all conceivable "Italian tricks". Balfour's friends' (suppressed) mirth was "doubled by the foreigner saying very simply: 'De music be very fine, but I no understand de words.'"; *Traditions of Edinburgh*, Edinburgh, 1824 (last revised edition 1868, reprinted 1967, p. 142; "Convivialia").

120. *Memoirs of the late David Allan*, in *The Gentle Shepherd*, Edinburgh, 1808, Vol. II, p. 629. Cunningham appropriated this passage (without acknowledgement), and, by substituting "leisure time" for the original "attention", deliberately suggested a less serious purpose in Allan's studies, thus diminishing the importance of the artist's antiquarianism and ignoring, or suppressing, its connection with his work; *Lives*, 1833, Vol. VI, p. 48 (1879 revision, Vol. II, p. 378).

121. Extracts from Snellie's account of Buchan's "Discourse" regarding the foundation of the Scottish Society of Antiquaries were published in the *Scots Magazine*, December, 1780, pp. 621-23. The words quoted are from his "7mo" heading.

122. Cf. Chapter IV, pp. 158-59 *supra*. For the "Origin of Painting" itself, see Chapter I, pp. 18-19, and also Plate IV. Cunningham's description of the myth is quoted from *Lives*, 1833, Vol. VI, p. 27 (1879 edition, Vol. II, p. 362).

123. Edwin Muir, "Complaint of the Dying Peasantry", *Collected Poems*, 1963, p. 262.

124. Snellie's account, *loc. cit.* The meeting in question was held on 8<sup>th</sup> January, 1783.

125. The quotation is from Pope's epistle "To Mr. Addison Occasioned by his dialogues on Medals", line 35; *Alexander Pope's Collected Poems*, ed. Bonamy Dobrée, Everyman edition, New York and London, 1924 (1963 reprint, p. 106).

126. Preface to *Scotish Song*, 1794, p. vi.

127. Letter of 14<sup>th</sup> October, 1794 (Currie, Vol. IV, p. 171; WSD, Vol. VI, pp. 309-10).

128. In the first edition of Volume III of the *SC*, published 1802.

129. Thomson's account of "the concerts of St Cecilia's Hall", with his other musical memoirs, is given in Chambers' *Traditions of Edinburgh*, 1824 (last revised edn. 1868, reprinted 1967, p. 249-54). As Thomson wrote to Chambers in 1838, it was Tenducci who "inoculated [him] for Scottish song"; it was the result of "hearing him and Signora Corri sing a number of our songs so charmingly that [he] conceived the idea of collecting all our best melodies and songs, and of obtaining accompaniments to them worthy of their merit" (J. C. Hadden, *George Thomson the Friend of Burns*, 1898, p. 21).

130. Letter of 26<sup>th</sup> April, 1793 (Currie, Vol. IV, p. 67; WSD, Vol. VI, pp. 249-50, with date 24<sup>th</sup> April).

131. See Chapter V, pp. 204-07 *supra*.

132. The portrait, from Sale I, page 14, lot 140, is now in the SNP6 (1390; SPD 154). It has characteristic notes in Allan's hand: "Viscount Dundee Dark blue Eyes, Eyebrows & hair colour between black & Brown", and on the verso "Slain at Killicrankie". Granger's *History* (4 vols.) was published from 1769-74.

133. Cf. p. 244 and n. 51 *supra*, and also Chapter IV, p. 184. A version of the dance scene on the sheet illustrated was also published in *Scotish Song*, and is probably the "Reel" of Allan's list (Cowie Collection, the Mitchell Library, SR 241, f. 18 verso).

134. *Memoirs of Great Britain and Ireland from the Dissolution of the last Parliament of Charles II until the sea-battle of La Hogue*, 3 vols., fourth edn., Dublin, 1773, Vol. I, Part II, Book II (1689), p. 387 ff.

135. Both quotations are from Mark Napier's *Memorials and Letters Illustrative of the Life and Times of John Graham of Claverhouse, Viscount Dundee*, 3 vols., Edinburgh and London, 1862; Vol. III, p. 655 n., a letter from Gen. Robertson of Lude, dated March 25<sup>th</sup>, 1810, telling of the removal of a seat from the Kirk of Blair and the consequent discovery. Robertson visited Dumfries around the close of 1793, and Burns later urged Alexander Cunningham to make his acquaintance. Since it is very likely that Allan knew Cunningham (see n. 29 *supra*), he may have heard of the helmet in this way; *Letters*, Vol. II, p. 236, no. 620, March 3rd, 1794 (the same letter as that in which Burns commends Allan's edition of *The Gentle Shepherd*. Burns also wrote briefly to Robertson, *ibid*, pp. 220-21 and 233-34, nos. 600 and 617). The helmet &c. were certainly in the collection at Blair Castle by 1798, having entered it some years previously, though not as early as 1780, the date of Allan's only recorded visit (information from Brian Nodes and other members of staff at Blair).



136. A watercolour of "Tranent Muir", virtually duplicating the early sketch in the Cowie Collection, Mitchell Library (illustrated; Fig. 182, between pp. 245-46), but with both the details mentioned added, is in the National Library of Scotland, MS 15953, f. 32. The words inscribed below this picture (not in Allan's hand) are from the song "Colonel Gardener" by "the late Sir Gilbert Elliot" (*SMM* Vol. III, pp. 214-15, no. 206 and attribution in Index, p. vi).

137. See Sir Roy Strong, *And when did you last see your father? The Victorian Painter and British History*, Hampshire, 1978, pp. 55-6. Grose was collecting materials for his *The Antiquities of Scotland* in the summer of 1789 when Burns met him at Friars Carse (*Robert Burns Poems and Songs*, ed. J. Kinsley, 1968, Vol. III, p. 1320). Friars Carse was the home of Robert Riddell, who visited Allan's studio that same year.

138. See Duncan Thomson, *The Life and Art of George Jamesone*, Oxford, 1974, pp. 95-101, esp. p. 99 ff, and plates 67, 69-75. The paintings, "all done by Jamesone", are recorded in the Newbattle Catalogue of c. 1720 (*ibid.*, p. 99). The description of a painting of Wallace recalls the aquatint which Allan made for Buchan in 1783 (Chapter V, p. 228 *supra*; see Thomson's Catalogue, no. 65).

139. *Ibid.*, p. 100, quoting from the diary of Sir John Lauder of Fountainhall, who made the observation in 1685.

140. Tobias Smollett, *The Expedition of Humphry Clinker*, in *Works*, ed. W. E. Henley, 1899, Vol. IV, p. 77 (letter of 8<sup>th</sup> August, from J. Melford to Sir Watkin Phillips).

141. See Allan's letter of September, 1789, to the Earl of Buchan, transcribed in full in Chapter V, p. 204 *supra* (original spelling).

142. See Allan's letter of June, 1790, to Buchan, transcribed in full on p. 205 *supra*. Allan owned at least "4 Scottish Coins, Silver" (Sale I, p. 18, part of lot 19). His collection of coins and medals is of greater moment as an indication of his antiquarian interests than as a possible source in this instance; kings on mediæval coins were typically shown enthroned. For a description of a hoard of coins, including one of "ROBERTVS DEI GRATIA REX SCOTORVM", found in St. Andrew's in 1792, see *SA*, Vol. X (Fife), p. 731.

143. Letter of 15<sup>th</sup> December, 1793, to Mrs. Dunlop; *Letters*, II, pp. 223-25 (2nd edn., pp. 267-70), no. 605 (pp. 224 or 269). The "history of the battle of Bannockburn" which Burns mentions in this letter is presumably that edition of which he had told Mrs. Dunlop on 6<sup>th</sup> December, 1790; *Letters*, II, p. 50, no. 428 (cf. Chapter V, p. 228 and n. 109 *supra*).

144. See both the longlist of "observations"

which Burns sent to Thomson in September, 1793, and the note he wrote for "Hey Tutti Taiti" in the interleaved *SMM*, II (1788), p. 178, N<sup>o</sup> 170; *Letters*, II, pp. 198-206 (2nd edn., pp. 239-48), no. 586, "observation" on "N<sup>o</sup> 37" (pp. 201 or 242), and *Notes*, ed. J. C. Dick, 1908, p. 33 (reprinted 1962). Burns made reference to the same tradition in another letter to Thomson, sent towards the end of August, 1793; *Letters*, Vol. II, pp. 194-96 (2nd edn. 235-36), no. 582 (pp. 195 or 235).

145. Letter of 5<sup>th</sup> September, 1793 (Currie, Vol. IV, p. 113; *WSD*, Vol. VI, p. 283). Thomson suggested that the ideas associated with it had made Burns favour the air; he had "never heard any one speak of it as worthy of notice". Professor De Lancey Ferguson believed that Thomson's treatment of this song (air and verses) represented his "masterpiece of stupid meddling"; *Letters*, II, p. 374.

146. Letter 582 (see n. 144) "independance" was Burns's habitual spelling.

147. *Ibid.*, postscript. Burns met Pietro Urbani in 1793 and "gave him a simple old Scots song" for his *Selection of Scots songs harmonized and improved*. He thought the composer, though he sang "delightfully", a "narrow, contracted creature"; *Letters*, II, pp. 191 and 262 (2nd edn., pp. 231 and 258), nos. 578 and 642; the latter is 593A in Roy's revision, 1985.

148. The first quotation is from Franklin B. Snyder, *Robert Burns: His Personality, his Reputation, his Art*, Toronto, 1936, p. 420. The investigation by the Board of Excise has already been mentioned in Chapter V, p. 231 *supra* (see also *Letters*, II, pp. 139-445—2nd edn., pp. 168-75—nos. 528-30). The "Ode" was published in the *Morning Chronicle* of 8<sup>th</sup> May, 1794 (see *Poems and Songs*, ed. James Kinsley, Vol. III, p. 1440, and *Letters*, Vol. II, p. 240—2nd edn., p. 288—no. 622, renumbered 620 B in Roy's revision). Kinsley points out that "the French Republic was just a year old" when Burns wrote of "struggles . . . not quite so ancient" (*ibid.*, p. 1439; the trials of Muir and Palmer in Edinburgh might also be remembered).

149. Rev. T. C. Gordon, *David Allan of Alloa*, Alva, 1951, pp. 56-7. His account of Thomson's revision is colourful, and ignores the exchange of letters in which several changes were discussed. Allan's anachronisms may have been chosen *precisely* rather than generally; in addition to "Killiecrankie", the climax of Dundee's campaign for King James, he had also illustrated "Hardyknute", a ballad centred around the battle of Largs. In the three figures most anachronistically dressed and equipped (see p. 264), Allan may have united these two ancient struggles against



foreign domination with the events of 1745-46.

150. *Letters*, II, pp. 236-38 (2nd edn., pp. 284-86), no 620, and Thomson's reply of April 17<sup>th</sup>, with the *caveat* in n. 29 *supra* (Currie, Vol. IV, p. 149; WSD, Vol. VI, p. 296).

151. Edinburgh Central Library, inscribed: "To | Mr Robert Burns | To whom his Country | is indebted | For | The best Pastoral and | Lyric Poetry | of the Age | This copy of | The Gentle Shepherd | is presented | By | His enthusiastic admirer | and | sincere Friend | A. Cunningham | N 37 George Street | Edinburgh 4<sup>th</sup> April | 1794"

152. See p. 279 *infra*.

153. Cf. John de Lancey Ferguson, *Pride and Passion*, New York, 1939 (reprinted 1964), p. 272; "Historically the song is an anachronism. The ideas underlying it are those of Rousseau and Thomas Jefferson and not those of the feudal Middle Ages".

154. Archdeacon Barbour, *The Brus*, Book I, line 8, and Book XIII, line 711. The poem was "being compiled in 1375" (Alexander Kinghorn, in *Saltire Society* edn., 1960, p. 8; see also Maurice Lindsay, *History of Scottish Literature*, London, 1977, p. 12). Barbour was born c. 1320, and died 1395.

155. *The Brus*, Book I, line 222; the passage "fredome is a noble thing!" follows, in lines 225 ff. .

156. The allusion is to a letter sent to Thomson in January, 1795; *Letters*, II, pp. 283-84 (2nd edn., pp. 335-37), no. 651.

157. Cited by Joseph Ritson in "A Historical Essay on Scottish Song", *Scottish Song*, 1794, Vol. I, p. xcii. Ritson also cited Barbour's *Brus*, and reflected "that it must remain a moot point, whether Bruce's army were cheered by the sound of even a solitary bagpipe".

158. Letter quoted by William Stenhouse in his *Illustrations of the Lyric Poetry and Music of Scotland*, 1853, p. 193, note to SMM Vol. III (1790), p. 212, no. 203.

159. Both quotations are from Reynolds' *Discourses*, IV, lines 111-12, and 17 ff. The implications of "the natural deficiencies" of painting in treating of narrative subjects have been considered in Chapter II, p. 72 ff.

160. Cf. Rensselaer W. Lee, *Ut Pictura Poesis: The Humanistic Theory of Painting*, New York, 1966, p. 62, paraphrasing Le Brun, as reported in Jouin, *Conférences*.

161. Stenhouse, *Illustrations*, p. 71. Gilderoy was hanged in 1638; Stenhouse dates a "black-letter" copy of the ballad to 1650, but the earliest broadside version known to Thomas Crawford is from 1660 (*Society and the Lyric*, p. 147). The ballad is in Herd, Vol. I, pp. 73-76.

162. Allan's later version is illustrated here,

(RSA album, no. 29); the inscription on the mount is the same - if with slightly different spelling - as that in Allan's original sketch (Cowie Collection, the Mitchell Library, SR 241, f. 6, *recto*).

163. *Sassanach, Sasunnaich, &c.* referred (by the eighteenth century, and among the Gaels) to those who spoke various versions of *Inglis*, rather than only to the English. The name was derived from *Saeson*, a Saxon (Welsh and Irish Celtic; see David Murison, "The Historical Background", in *Languages of Scotland*, Edinburgh 1979, p. 3 (original typography of title)).

164. Captain Burt, *Letters from a Gentleman in the North of Scotland*, 2 vols., London, 1754; letter I.

165. *Ibid.*, Letter XXIII.

166. Vol. II, p. 190. For an examination of corrupt versions of the ballad, and also documents relating to the events described, see Sir Walter Scott's copious notes in *The Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*, ed. T. F. Henderson, Edinburgh, London and New York, 1902, Vol. I, pp. 330-51, and Supplement, pp. 359-62.

167. Robert Lindesay of Pitscottie, *History and Chronicles*, p. 145 (the edition published by Baskett, 1728).

168. Sir Walter Scott, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 340. James was born in 1512, and died, aged less than thirty, in 1542. This expedition was one of several which he undertook.

169. *Ibid.*, p. 351. Armstrong "rode ever with twenty-four able Gentlemen, well horsed" (Pitscottie, *loc. cit.*).

170. Pitscottie, *loc. cit.* Allan refers to an anecdote from the *History and Chronicles* in his letter of June, 1790, to Buchan (transcribed in full, Chapter V, p. 205 *supra*).

171. Pitscottie, *loc. cit.*

172. Robertson, *The History of Scotland during the reigns of Queen Mary and of King James VI till his accession to the throne of England*, 1759 (1827 edn., 2 vols., London), Vol. II, Book VII (Dec., 1586), p. 137.

173. Cf. Reynolds, *Discourses*, IV, 17-33; the quotation is from lines 20-1.

174. For an account of these events, see Stenhouse, *Illustrations*, p. 123, or SA, XI, (South and East Perthshire, Kinross-shire), pp. 452 and 461-62. The two lasses made a "bower" in "a romantic spot, called BURN BREAS [*sic*]" within a mile of Lyndock (or Lednock) House, home of one of Allan's "benefactors", Thomas Graham of Balgowan.

175. The description is quoted from Herd, Preface, p. viii.

176. See Chapter VII, p. 328 *infra*.

177. Cf. his letters of 23rd April, 1787, and 5<sup>th</sup> February, 1789, to Dr. Moore and Mrs. Dunlop respectively; *Letters*, Vol. I, pp. 85



and 301-03 (2nd edn., pp. 107 and 370), nos. 97 and 310. Cf. also the note to *SMM* Vol. IV, (1792), p. 311, no. 301, "Craigieburn Wood": "It is remarkable of this air, that it is the confine of that country where the greatest part of our Lowland music, (so far as from the title, words, &c., we can localize it) has been composed" (*Notes*, p. 53). Currie believed that the "association of the words and the music of these songs, with the more beautiful parts of the scenery of Scotland . . . has given them not merely popularity, but permanence; it has imparted to the works of man some portion of the durability of the works of nature"; "The Life of Robert Burns", pp. 319-20, in *Works*, sixth edn., London, 1809.

178. *SMM* II (1788), p. 173, no. 165; the song is commonly attributed to Burns. An earlier version is in Herd, Vol. II, pp. 144-45, and another in *MMC*, pp. 145-46.

179. There are some slight differences between the etched plate and Allan's water-colour drawing; no "first state" of this design is known. For the series of "Scotch Figures", see Chapter VII, p. 326 ff. *infra*. Robert Fergusson casts a satirical eye on "dandring Cits" in "Auld Reikie", and begins his description of an Edinburgh morning with the sound of servant lasses' "Lies and Clashes"; *Poems*, STS edn., 1956, Vol. II, p. 109 ff. (lines 25-6 and 259).

180. *TTM*, Vol. I, p. 81; Herd, II, p. 117 (entitled "Wat ye wha I met yestreen?"; the song begins "Now wat ye" &c.). The first line of "Katy's Answer", "My Mither's ay glowrin our me", is among the words and titles noted by Allan (Cowie Collection, the Mitchell Library, SR 241, f. 1, *recto*; Allan's spelling), the song itself normally being printed immediately after "The Young Laird": see e.g. *SMM*, II (1788), pp. 179-80, nos. 171 and 172; Ritson, *Scottish Song*, 1794, Vol. I, p. 26 ff. Songs XII and XIII; *The Charmer* (1782), Vol. I, p. 180 (both songs); and Thomson's *SC*, Vol. IV (1805), no. 194 (both songs). Allan's drawing of the Canongate Tolbooth is in the NGS; Castle Hill is described by Chambers in the words quoted (*Traditions of Edinburgh*, 1824, last revised edn. 1868, 1967 reprint, p. 11; "The Castle-Hill").

181. The words written (in Allan's hand) below this sketch are neither in any printed version of the song yet discovered, nor in any version recorded from oral tradition in the School of Scottish Studies, University of Edinburgh. Allan's words — which may contain a reminiscence of "Auld lang syne", sent to Thomson in September, 1793 — are actually easier to sing on the musical phrase to which they are set than "three-girr'd cog" or "weel fill'd stoup", the printed versions which most

nearly correspond to his variant; the *fessiture* of the air — as scored in *SMM* II, p. 170, No. 162, in D — is within the stave, but at this point it rises above it for the duration of one quaver. Allan also made a minor change to the words of "Alloa House" (text and drawing in the Royal Scottish Academy album, no. 47), one which is marginally better suited to the music than the standard text, printed in Herd, I, p. 175, *SMM* III, pp. 246-47, No. 238, Ritson, I, no. 37, Morison, IV, p. 5, and in several other contemporary collections. He was quoting from memory, and wrote the words which he would normally have sung.

182. J. C. Hadden, *George Thomson The Friend of Burns*, 1898, p. 92n. Thomson's description of Muirland Willie, in the following sentence, is quoted from the letter he sent to Stothard on 8<sup>th</sup> April, 1820, with a quotation from the song (NLS, MS 685).

183. Stenhouse, *Illustrations*, p. 343, quoting Cromek's *Select Scottish Songs, Ancient and Modern, with Critical Observations by Robert Burns*, London, 1810.

184. Burns, among many others, noted that the song was "supposed to commemorate an intrigue of James the V<sup>th</sup>"; Cromek's *Reliques of Robert Burns*, 1808, p. 270.

185. In *Othello*, Act II, scene iii, Iago sings that "King Stephen was and a worthy peer". In the version in Herd (1776), Vol. II, pp. 102-4, reference is made to the "days when our King ROBERT rang", perhaps a traditional comparison; cf. the passage from *The Gentle Shepherd* quoted in Chapter IV, p. 143, with a *reprise* on p. 191.

186. Letter of [April 1796]; *Letters*, II, pp. 319-20 (2nd edn., pp. 378-79), no. 693. This letter incidentally confirms that the design here reproduced as Figure 239 (facing p. 278), was indeed for "Jockey said to Jenny" ("For the love of Jean"), not for "Whistle and I'll come to ye, my lad", the identity with which someone — suspicion most strongly falling upon Thomson — provided it once the plates had passed from Allan's keeping.

187. The first quotation is from Thomson's letter of 20<sup>th</sup> January, 1793 (Currie, Vol. IV, p. 33; WSD, Vol. VI, p. 232). In his Octavo edition, Vol. III (1822), no. 1, Thomson described Baillie's version as having been "written for this work in 1822".

188. Reynolds, *Discourses*, XI, 206-07.

189. *Ibid.*, IV, 34-61, esp. 38-53.

190. From a letter of 19<sup>th</sup> November, [1794]; *Letters*, II, pp. 275-79 (2nd edn., pp. 327-31), no. 647 (pp. 278-79 or 330-31). Burns quotes from Ramsay's Second Epistle to William Hamilton of Gilbertfield.

191. Letter of 28<sup>th</sup> November, 1794 (Currie,



Vol. IV, p. 212; WSD, Vol. VI, pp. 330-31).

192. Allan made two designs in illustration of Ross's *Helenore* (both f. 24, verso, album in Cowie Collection, the Mitchell Library, SR 241). The allusion (p. 280) is to the epistle "To W. S\*\*\*\*\*n, Ochiltree"; *Poems and Songs*, ed. James Kinsley, no. 59.

193. For "The Bagrie o't", cf. Herd, Vol. II, pp. 19-20; "Jenny was the lass that mucked the byre / But now she goes in her silken attire". A similar version is in Herd's original MSS; "And Jeny that was wont to muck the bier / Is now clade up in rich attier" (Hans Hecht, *Songs from David Herd's Manuscripts*, Edinburgh, 1904, pp. 236-37, no. CI). For "Woo'd and Married", cf. Herd, II, pp. 115-17; "The Bride came out of the byre"; the full text is given as part of Appendix X, *infra*. Both these songs are in the *SMM* (Vol. I, pp. 10-11 and 34, Nos. 10 and 33), and in Ritson's *Scotish Song*, 1794 (Vol. I, p. 255, and Vol. I, p. 205). The set of "The Bagrie o't" in the *SMM* lacks the verse to which Allan's picture refers. For the other two songs mentioned, see the lines inscribed below Allan's drawing (Figure 255, facing p. 285), and the verse quoted on p. 281.

194. Thomas Campbell, "Florine". On the popularity of "Auld Robin Gray", see Stenhouse, *Illustrations*, pp. 230-35.

195. Cf. Burns's letter of 21<sup>st</sup> August, 1795, to Robert Cleghorn, quoting a version of "Todlin Hame" by "the late Mr McCulloch, of Ardwell-Galloway"; *Letters*, II, pp. 309-10 (2nd edn., pp. 365-66), no. 680.

196. Cf. *MMC*, pp. 142-43, with a note on other versions current in the eighteenth century. Cf. also Robert Burns *Poems and Songs*, ed. J. Kinsley, Vol. III, pp. 1334-35, Commentary on No. 302. Burns's version was published in *SMM* III (1790), p. 269, no. 260.

197. Reynolds mentions "little necessary concomitant circumstances" in his fourth Discourse, line 43.

198. Cf. his letter of September, 1789, to Buchan, transcribed in full p. 204 *supra*.

199. Jonathan Richardson, *An Essay on the Theory of Painting*, London, 1725, p. 74; Aristotle's *Poetics*, 8.4.1. Translated by E. Jowett, in *Philosophy of art and aesthetics*, ed. F. A. Tillman and S. M. Calvin, New York, 1960.

200. Reynolds, *Discourses on Art*, IV, 128-31.

201. Compare Banks's relief "The Death of Germanicus", and cf. A. W. Lawson, *Greek and Roman Sculpture*, London, 1952, Figures 83b and 50b; Haskell and Penny, *Taste and the Antique*, New Haven and London, 1981, no. 74.

202. "The Cruel Knight", which Allan read in Herd, I, pp. 165-66 (page reference in his original sketch, Cowie Collection, The Mitchell Library, SR 241, f. 8 recto; a finished drawing is in the RSA album, no. 27).

His drawings of "Gilderoy" also depend upon this iconography (Figure 223, facing p. 269).

203. "Strathallan's Lament", in Robert Burns *Poems and Songs*, ed. James Kinsley, 1968, no. 168, last four lines; the song was published in the *SMM*, II (1788), p. 138, no. 132.

204. Stenhouse, *Illustrations*, p. 147, with a reference to "Mr. Blackwood's MSS. which were transcribed by Thomas Wode in 1566, from a still more-ancient church-music book". The drawing which Stothard copied is not extant, but Allan's preliminary sketch is in "Baby Allan I her Book I Dalmeny . . . 1801" (Cowie Collection, the Mitchell Library, Glasgow, SR 241, No. 308864, f. 10 recto). For a sketch of the "Captive Province" type, see one of Allan's sketchbooks, NGS (Print Room) D5088, f. 51, recto, and compare Figure 180, between pages 243-44 *supra*.

205. This "Scotch Song—" (*Poems and Songs*, no. 502, with first line, "Now Spring has clad the grove in green") was sent to Alexander Cunningham on 3rd August 1795, enclosed in a letter to Thomson; *Letters*, II, pp. 306-08 (2nd edn., pp. 306-08), nos. 676 and 677. It was included in the *SC*, Vol. II, 2nd Set, (i.e. 4<sup>th</sup> Part), no. 91; this volume was not published until 1799. For Burns's description of (part of) his method of composing, see the long list of "observations" sent to Thomson in September, 1793, notes on "No. 37"; *Letters*, II, pp. 198-206 (2nd edn., pp. 239-48), no. 586.

206. This version of "Bonny Barbara Allan" was probably among the first of his song illustrations to be thus framed (Cowie Collection, the Mitchell Library, Glasgow, SR 241, No. 308864, f. 12 recto).

207. Amsterdam, 1680, pp. 120-21 (Glasgow University Library, Spec. Coll., Stirling Maxwell Collection of Emblem and Fête Books).

208. In the list of subjects sent to Ritson, Allan noted "Head 7 Barbara Allan" (Cowie Collection, the Mitchell Library, Glasgow, SR 241, f. 18 verso). This was among the eight *vignettes* sent for *Scotish Song*, but it was not used.

209. Cf. Allan's letter of 3rd December, 1780, to the Earl of Buchan (Appendix III), his open letter of October, 1788, to Hamilton (Appendix IV), his intention to study his "set of the Gentle Shepherd . . . all from Nature", and also Chapter VII, p. 325 ff. *infra*.

210. See Chapter VII, p. 347 and Figure 26, facing p. 345 *infra* (repeated from facing p. 27 *supra*). For "Sir Patrick Spens", see Figures 211 and 215, facing pp. 254 and 262 *supra*.

211. NGS (Print Room), D 4496.

212. Herd, Preface, p. vii.

213. Ritson, Preface to *Scotish Song*, 1794, p. i, quoting from Tytler's *Dissertation*.

214. Cf. for example *The Charmer*, printed by



J. Sibbald, Edinburgh, 1782. More concerned with performance than any historical or poetic criticism, Sibbald arranged the songs in his collection into four classes - "Elegiac and Pastoral", "Passionate and Descriptive", "Comic and Humorous" and "Anacreontic and Jovial" - and then gave the names of no less than seventy-eight airs, arranged in nineteen groups according to time, stresses &c., so that verses not traditionally connected with any air might be set to one of these; "the nature of the Song will lead to a proper choice of the movement". The fact that, like *The Charmer*, his *Ancient and Modern Scottish Songs, Heroic Ballads, Etc.* did not contain a single bar of music could never be guessed from Herd's Preface, in which he wrote that "of many of the songs in these volumes the chief merit will be found to consist in the musical air, while the poetry may appear much below mediocrity".

215. *The Ever Green*, Vol. II, p. 190. One air to the song is in *SMM* IV (1792), p. 367, N° 356, but see Stenhouse, *Illustrations*, pp. 335-36, for "a similar, but still more simple, set of the tune" than this.

216. Allan knew the setting in *SMM* III (1790, p. 234, N° 226), as is proved by his reference to "Johnston p. 234" beside a scrap of text from the song, in "Baby Allan I her Book" (The Mitchell Library, Glasgow, SR 241 No. 308864, f. 11 verso, presumably cut from a sheet such as Figure 181, between pp. 243-44 *supra*, with its own reference to "Wother", i.e. Herd's collection). The setting in *SMM*, however, entails the repetition of "cadgily", which Allan only writes once. Stenhouse had "often heard it sung; but the singers uniformly used the same air that goes by the name of "Muirland Willie," which is at least as ancient as the ballad, and is, in all probability, the very tune to which it was originally, and still continues to be sung" (*Illustrations*, p. 217).

217. Cf. Figure 214 and p. 260 *supra*. For all that the piece itself would immediately find a place among Herd's "Comic, Humorous and Jovial songs", the air to which "The Humble Beggar" was sung is almost dirge-like, justifying the account of Allan's performance by "Alloaensis": the song "was simply recited with humour, excepting the last syllable of the second and fourth lines, and these only are drawled out with with a sharp air. A little musical, a more grotesque song, if song it may be called, does not exist in Scotland" (Rev. T. C. Gordon, *David Allan of Alloa*, 1951, pp. 33-4).

218. Cf. n. 25 *supra*. Apart from the version of "Dainty Davie" collected by Buchan, and at least two versions of "The Lea Rig" which may

have been known to Allan, a possible candidate for the subject of this illustration (Plate XIX) is "Jocky and Jenny", in Herd, Vol. I, pp. 244-45, a duet not to be confused with "Jocky said to Jenny" ("For the Love of Jean", Herd, Vol. II, pp. 195-96). A version of "The Lea Rig" which Burns believed was "mostly composed by poor Ferguson, in one of his merry humors" appeared in *SMM* I (1787) p. 50, N° 49, and also in Sibbald's *The Charmer* (1782), p. 192, the source of at least one of Allan's song illustrations (Plate XX). For Burns's attribution, see *Notes*, ed. J. C. Dick, p. 17, and for his own words to the air, sent to Thomson on 27<sup>th</sup> October, 1792 - *Letters*, II, pp. 126-28 (2nd edn., pp. 153-55), no. 511 - see *Poems and Songs*, ed. James Kinsley, no. 392. If the song in *SMM* I is Fergusson's, it is curious that Herd, one of his sponsors when he entered the Cape Club in 1772, did not publish it in the *Ancient and Modern Scottish Songs* of 1776, although it does figure in his manuscript collection (Hans Hecht, *Songs from David Herd's Manuscripts*, 1904, pp. 100-01; Fergusson died in 1774).

219. For one account of Ramsay's being inspired to write this song, see a letter from Burns to Thomson, April 7<sup>th</sup>, 1793; *Letters*, II, pp. 166-67 (2nd edn., p. 205) no. 557.

220. Dr. John Gregory, Discourse III, from *A Comparative View of the State and Faculties of Man with those of the Animal World*, Edinburgh, 1765; quoted in David Johnson, *Music and Society in Lowland Scotland in the Eighteenth Century*, London, 1972, pp. 4-5.

221. Cf. Thomson's letter of 27<sup>th</sup> October, 1794 (*Currie*, IV, p. 186; *WSD*, VI, p. 317): "[Maggiel] is dancing with such spirit as to electrify the piper, who seems almost dancing too, while he is playing with the most exquisite glee". For *ceol beag* see Glossary; in an early *Compleat Theory of the Scottish Highland Bagpipe*, "rural pieces" or airs are termed *ceol meadhonach* (article by Hugh Cheape in *The People's Past*, ed. E. J. Cowan, Edinburgh, 1980, p. 160). Burns liked the effect of some songs beginning on their first beat, without any starting note. See a letter of November 19<sup>th</sup>, 1794, to Thomson, *Letters*, II p. 276 (2nd edn., p. 328), no. 647; "In the last case [omitting a "starting-note"], with the true furor of genius, you strike at once into the wild originality of the air; whereas in the first insipid business, it is like the grating screw of the pins before the fiddle is brought in tune".

222. Preface, 1776, p. vii.

223. "Prefatory Remarks on the Character and Condition of the Scottish Peasantry", in *The Works of Robert Burns*, 4 vols., 1800, sixth edn., London, 1809, Vol. I, pp. 13-14. Currie was



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right to remark on "their accurate observance of time", judging by the last verse of "The Country Wedding":

"Weel danc'd DICKIE, stand aside SANDIE;  
Weel danc'd EPPIE and JENNY!  
He that tynes a stot o' the spring,  
Shall pay the piper a pennie."

Herd, II, pp. 88-92. See also Burt, *Letters from . . . the North of Scotland*, Vol. II, p. 150, letter XX.

224. Currie, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

225. *Letters from Edinburgh*, 1775, IX and XLV.

226. Crawford, *Society and the Lyric*, Edinburgh, 1979, p. viii.

227. Topham, *Letters from Edinburgh*, XLV.

228. Letters to Thomson, [September, 1794] and c. 30<sup>th</sup> August, 1793; *Letters*, Vol. II, pp. 256 and 194 (2nd. edn. pp. 307 and 235), nos. 637 and 532. Letter to Johnson, c. 1791; *ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 75, no. 452. Text from 2nd. edn., II, p. 91 (MS unlocated in 1931; now Birthplace Museum, Alloway).

229. Cf. Chapter IV, pp. 157-58 *supra*, and Chapter VII, pp. 336-44 *infra*.

230. Cf. Crawford, *Love, Labour and Liberty: the eighteenth-century Scottish Lyric*, Carcanet Press, 1976, p. 8; "broadside or stall songs . . . [were] the popular art form of the towns, and in their concern with crime and scandal as well as in their sometimes narrow moralism they anticipate the sensationalism and opinionated didacticism of the modern popular press."

231. Heron, *A Memoir of the Life of the Late Robert Burns*, Edinburgh, 1797; reprinted in full as an Appendix to Hecht, *Robert Burns the man and his work*, Heidelberg, 1919, translation by Jane Lyburn first published 1936, reprinted 1971, and by Alloway publishing 1981, pp. 257-82 (p. 262). Extract also given in *Robert Burns The Critical Heritage*, ed. D. Low, London and Boston, 1974, pp. 117-27 (p. 118).

232. Wordsworth, *The Prelude*, (1851), Book Fifth, lines 208-10; *Poetical Works*, ed. Thomas Hutchinson, revised Ernest de Selincourt, 1904, Oxford Standard Authors Series, London 1936, 1978 reprint, p. 523.

233. Wordsworth, Preface to *Lyrical Ballads*, 2nd. ed. 1801, *ibid.*, pp. 734-35. Cf. pp. 257-58 *supra*.

234. Burns wrote of his "flaming Preface" for *SMN* III in a letter to Johnson of 15<sup>th</sup> November, 1788; *Letters*, Vol. I, p. 275 (2nd. edn., p. 339), no. 288. This Preface is dated "Edin: February 2<sup>d</sup> 1790"; the Preface to *SMN* II, quoted on p. 290, is dated "Edin: March 1. 1788"

235. Addison, *Spectator* 70 and 74 (May 21<sup>st</sup> and 25<sup>th</sup>; Everyman edn., 4 vols., London and New York, 1907, 1957 reprint, Vol. I, pp. 215-19 and 228-32. On June 7<sup>th</sup> Addison took up the

subject of "the old ballad of the *Two Children in the Wood*, which is one of the Darling Songs of the common people, and has been the Delight of most *Englishmen* in some Part of their Age."; *ibid.*, pp. 264-66 (No. 85; cf. Edmund Burke, quoted p. 35 *supra*). Several editions of the *Spectator* papers were published during the eighteenth century. For the period in question, *i.e.* 1786-96, the most recent were those of 1793 and 1794, but Allan could also have read Addison and Steele in the 1778 edition, as Burns probably did (see *Letters*, Vol. I, p. 109 - 2nd. edn., p. 138 - no. 125, the autobiographical letter to Dr. Moore). In Edinburgh, these essays were "read, discussed and imitated throughout the century"; Nicholas Phillipson, "Hume as Moralizer: A Social Historian's Perspective", in *Philosophers of the Enlightenment*, Royal Institute of Philosophy Lectures, Vol. 12, Sussex and New Jersey, 1977-78, ed. S. C. Brown, pp. 140-61 (p. 142 quoted). See also *The Works of Allan Ramsay*, STS edn., Vol. IV, Edinburgh and London, 1970, ed. Kinghorn and Law, p. 12; the minutes of the Easy Club for August 8<sup>th</sup>, 1712, show that "it was ordered that one *Spektator* [*sic*] be Read at every meeting till all be Read".

236. The quotation is from *Spectator* 309; see also Albert B. Friedman, *The Ballad Revival Studies in the Influence of Popular on Sophisticated Poetry*, University of Chicago Press, 1961, pp. 97 and 161, and especially Chapter 5, "Ballad Collections before Percy's 'Reliques'", *passim*.

237. The first quotation is from Felton's *A Dissertation on Reading the Classics*, 1713, quoted Friedman, *op. cit.*, p. 169, the second from Blackwell's *An Enquiry into the Life and Writings of Homer*, 1735, p. 56. See also Dryden's "Dedication" to his translation of the *Eneid*.

238. "Homer is allowed to be the eldest Ballad singer on record"; original footnote to "Love and Liberty—A Cantata" line 194; *Poems and Songs*, ed. James Kinsley, Clarendon Press 1968, no. 84. In his *Commentary*, Vol. III, p. 1159, Kinsley cites *A Collection of Old Ballads*, 1723; "the very Prince of Poets, old Homer . . . was nothing more than a blind Ballad-singer". "Love and Liberty" is generally known as "The Jolly Beggars". Cf. also p. 132 *supra*.

239. *Memoirs*, 1808, p. 629.

240. Cf. pp. 183-84, 239 and 244-45 *supra*. The fact that illustrations after Allan appear in *Scottish Song* suggests that he met Ritson before 1794, after which time he certainly knew, and probably owned the work (see for example n. 47 to p. 243 *supra*).

241. Herd, Preface, pp. vi and vii.

242. Pinkerton edited *Scottish Tragic Ballads*, 1781, *Select Scottish Ballads*, 1783,



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*Ancient Scottish Poems*, 1786, Barbour's *The Brus*, 1790, and *Scottish Poems*, 1792, as well as an *Enquiry into the History of Scotland*. In addition to the introductory essay and explanatory notes in the *Reliques*, Percy's works include translations from Spanish, Chinese and "runic" poetry, together with some original poems; Burns thought his song "Fairest of the Fair" (*SMH* I, p. 33, No. 32) "perhaps, the most beautiful Ballad in the English language" (*Letters*, II, p. 126 - 2nd. edn, p. 153 - no. 511, which continues in the words prefixed to this chapter, p. 236 *supra*). B. H. Bronson, *Joseph Ritson, Scholar-at-Arms*, California, 1939, has a bibliography of Ritson's works.

243. Cf. Chapter I, p. 20 and Figure 20 *supra*, pp. 243-45 and 248, with Figure 185 (between pp. 247-48). It may be, of course, that early drawings of Pastorals and Comic songs are lost.

244. The first quotation is from Fuseli, Aphorism 48, in *Life and Writings*, III, p. 78, the second from Reynolds, *Discourses on Art*, IV, line 28. Cf. Chapter III, p. 132, n. 85 *supra*.

245. Pine was awarded the premium in 1760 for his "Surrender of Calais to Edward III"; Percy's *Reliques* was published in 1765. Cf. Chapter II, p. 56, and Chapter V, p. 199 *supra*.

246. *Fingal* was published in 1761, *Temora* in 1763. See Derick S. Thomson, *The Gaelic Sources of Macpherson's Ossian*, London and Edinburgh, 1951, and cf. Chapter V, pp. 202-03 and n. 39 *supra*.

247. The quotation is from Duncan Macmillan, *Painting in Scotland The Golden Age*, Oxford, 1986, p. 54 (account of the Penicuik paintings, pp. 54-9). Runciman exhibited two paintings from *Fingal* in 1774; among a dozen other artists who exhibited scenes from the "Poems of Ossian" around this time were Angelica Kauffmann, Henry Singleton, Mary Flaxman, Maria Cosway and, perhaps, Sir Robert Ker Porter, with "A portrait of Mr H. Johnston in the character of Carrol in Oscar and Malvina" (Graves, *Royal Academy*).

248. See pp. 250-52 and 254-55 *supra*.

249. It is likely that more pictures were drawn from such sources than have survived or been recorded, but inconceivable that their number would have equalled that of those derived from the works of Shakespeare (see Chapter II, pp. 54 and 65-7 *supra*). An astute observation by Thomas Crawford is pertinent in explaining why so few artists drew upon songs for their subject-matter at this time: "in countries with a strong tradition of puritanism there has always been a tendency to look down on sung [*sic*] lyrics because they do not take up much room on the page and their idea-content is often slight" (*Society and the Lyric*, Edinburgh, 1979, p. 1, opening sentence). Among editors, Percy claimed that

he made "these things only the amusements of [his] most idle moments": *Letters from Thomas Percy, John Callander, David Herd, and others to George Paton*, Edinburgh, 1830, p. 48, quoted by Dr. Hans Hecht in *Songs from David Herd's Manuscripts*, Edinburgh, 1904, p. 22.

250. See Chapter IV, pp. 145-46 *supra*.

251. For the first two songs, see *SMH* I, p. 88, No. 87, and III, p. 278, No. 269, by "Mr. Alex. Ross, Author of the Fortunate Shepherdess" (Index); for the third, see n. 218 *supra*. Allan made at least two illustrations from *Helenore, or the Fortunate Shepherdess*, one of which is a variant of Plate XVI; Cowie Collection, Mitchell Library Glasgow, SR 241, No. 308864; f. 24 *verso*. Cf. also Chapter VII, pp. 348-49 *infra*.

252. Pope, Preface to *Iliad* (paragraph 20).

253. The first three quotations are from Hugh Blair, "A Critical Dissertation on the Poems of Ossian", in *The Poems of Ossian Translated by James Macpherson Esq.*, Edinburgh, 1830, pp. 115 and 113; the two single words quoted later are from the same source, p. 94. Burns wrote of "compositions & Fragments" in his First Commonplace Book; entry for September, 1785. The final quotation is from Topham's *Letters from Edinburgh*, 1776, Letter X; the passage from which it is taken is given at greater length in Chapter III, p. 131 *supra*.

254. Cf. pp. 256-59 *supra*. Pinkerton (p. 257, n. 103) wrote on the language of the ballads in terms reminiscent of Blair's critique of "the Poems of Ossian"; Percy, too, saw the *Reliques* "not as labours of art, but as effusions of nature, shewing the first efforts of ancient genius, and exhibiting the customs and opinions of remote ages" (Vol. I, p. vi).

255. Preface to the *TTM*. The passage is given at greater length in Chapter IV, p. 156 *supra*. For a more accurate account of the songs in the *TTM*, see pp. 301-04 *infra*.

256. William Tytler of Woodhouselee, *Dissertation On The Scottish Music*, Edinburgh, 1780. The words were quoted by Ritson in *Scottish Song*, 1794, p. i, in a passage given on p. 286 *supra*. Cf. also Addison's first essay on "Chevy Chase", second paragraph; *Spectator*, No. 70, Everyman Edition, 4 vols., London and New York, 1907, 1957 reprint, I, p. 215.

257. Preface to second edition of *Lyrical Ballads*, 1801; *Poetical Works*, ed. Hutchinson, revised de Selincourt, Oxford Standard Authors series, 1936, 1978 reprint, p. 735. Cf. Wordsworth's own poem on Burns: "Deep in the general heart of men/His power survives", *ibid.* p. 227, lines 47-8. The word "ingenious" in the text (p. 294) is to be understood in its contemporary sense, and does not refer only to Ramsay's group of young gentlemen.



258. Discourse VII, 520-21, 539-40.

259. Preface to *SMH* II, dated from "Edin: March 1, 1788"; the relevant paragraph is given on p. 290 *supra*. Allan's letter of dedication to *The Gentle Shepherd* is also dated from "EDINBURGH, October 3, 1788", and appeared with the edition at the end of the same year (cf. Chapter IV, p. 153 *supra*).

260. John Aikin, *Essays on Song-Writing*, London, 1772, p. 22, quoted by Albert Friedman, *The Ballad Revival*, Chicago, 1961, p. 178. Burns knew of Aikin's work and admired it greatly; letter of [January 1795] to Thomson (*Letters*, II, p. 284 - 2nd edn., p. 336 - no. 651).

261. Addison, *Spectator* No. 85, final words; Everyman edn, 1907, 1957 reprint, I, p. 266.

262. Letters to Alexander Cunningham, March, [1794], *Letters*, II, pp. 236-38 - 2nd edn., pp. 284-86 - no. 620, and to Thomson, May, 1794, November, 1794 and May, 1795; *Letters*, II, pp. 243, 278-79, 300-01 - 2nd edn., pp. 294, 330-31, 355-56 - nos. 625, 647 and 670. Part of the letter to Cunningham is quoted in Chapter I, p. 4 *supra*, and part of that of November, 1794, to Thomson is quoted p. 279 *supra*. Passages from the other two letters to Thomson are given below illustrations in Chapter VII; Figures 296-98, facing pp. 349 and 350 respectively. Burns wrote of "Simplicity" as a necessary quality in Song and as "the very essence of a Ballad" in a letter of [April, 1793] to Thomson; *Letters* II, p. 161 (2nd edn., p. 196), no. 554.

263. Letter to Burns, 17<sup>th</sup> April, 1794; Currie, IV, p. 149, WSD VI, p. 296. Thomson probably uses "sombre" in this letter to mean "subdued" rather than "dark"; cf. Dr. Wright's opinion of Allan's "tints" (Appendix VIII).

264. Sale I, title.

265. Letter of April 7<sup>th</sup>, 1793, to Thomson; *Letters*, II, pp. 166-68 (2nd edn., pp. 204-07), no. 557. At least two songs to the air "I'll never leave thee" were current in the eighteenth century (*Orpheus Caledonius*, II, 1733, No. 13, p. 28; *SMH* I, No. 91, p. 92; see *Illustrations*, pp. 93-4, for older examples). The words written below his drawing - Figure 228, facing p. 273 - show which of the modern songs Allan chose to illustrate; it was the less obviously "artificial" of the two, although its Scots diction should not cause Ramsay's blend of the traditional and the Sentimental to be overlooked. Allan's source, Morison's collection of *Favourite Scottish Ballads*, 1790, gives both texts, as does Herd (I, pp. 232-34). Burns actually thought the other version, by Crawford, "a fine Song", but disliked the incongruity of "these Greek & Roman pastoral appellations"; *Letters*, *loc. cit.*

266. For mining near Dunfermline and Alloa, see *SA*, IX, pp. 679-86, X, pp. 130 and 310-19. The

Earl of Hopetoun owned mines in the parishes of Bathgate and Ormiston, and in 1790 successfully had a new pit sunk in his land at Auldcathy, in the parish of Dalmeny; *SA* II, pp. 688, 539, 731 and 741 (the pit was opened by 1793). In Creech's *Letters, Addressed to Sir John Sinclair, Bart.*, readers are informed, "it is estimated that the consumpt of coals in Edinburgh (on an average) amounts to 500 tons per day"; *SA*, II, p. 33. Cf. T. C. Smout, *A History of the Scottish People 1560-1830*, London, 1969, Chapters VII and XVII.

267. The words quoted are from Burns's "The Holy Fair", stanza VII, line 59; *Poems and Songs*, ed. Kinsley, no. 70. See also Kinsley's note, *Commentary*, Vol. III, p. 1098.

268. The first quotation is from Cockburn's *Memorials of his Time*, Edinburgh, 1856, Chapter I, p. 78, the second from Ramsay of Ochtertyre, *Scotland and Scotsmen in the Eighteenth Century*, Edinburgh, 1888, I, p. 19. On "serfs", cf. Chapter VII, n. 138 to p. 350 *infra*. In 1785, William Burgess exhibited "Portraits in the character of gypsies". His subjects are not identified; neither was the sitter in Charles Bestland's miniature "Portrait in the character of a gipsy fortune-teller". Another of Burgess' paintings, "Summer's evening with haymakers; a view near the Edgware Road", was probably a conventional image of "rude and simple life", of cheerful peasants "robust with labour", and thus, in effect, an ironic contrast to Allan's sombre picture of two years before (Figure 262, facing p. 298; the others from Graves, *Royal Academy*).

269. The first quotation is from the Rev. Dr. James Playfair, Parish of Meigle, Perthshire, *SA*, XI, p. 434, whose words are quoted at greater length by T. C. Smout, *op. cit.*, p. 252 (paperback edn., p. 234). The second is from Ramsay of Ochtertyre, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 384-85, also quoted by Smout, *ibid.*, p. 300 (paperback edn., p. 280).

270. The first quotation is from Boswell, *Tour*, first paragraph; ed. Peter Levi, Harmondsworth, 1984, p. 161. The other two are from Dr. Johnson, *Journey*, near the end of "Coriatachan in Sky"; same edn., p. 73.

271. The first quotation is from Smout, *op. cit.*, p. 309 (paperback edn., p. 289); see Chapters X, XII and XIII *passim*. The second quotation is from the Rev. Kettle, Parish of Leuchars, Fife, *SA*, X, p. 610. Kettle believed that this amalgamation was "unfriendly to population", and many others agreed; see for example *SA*, II, pp. 655 and 746, the latter an interesting note on "this ruinous and prevailing practice" in the account by John Muckarsie of the parish of Kirklistoun, the other from the account of the parish of Whittingham, also in the Lothians; *SA*, III, pp. 467-68, 489 and 707, the parishes of Hounan



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(Roxburghshire), Jedburgh and Selkirk; *SA*, VII, pp. 5-6, 272, 495-96 and 723-24, the parishes of Avendale or Strathaven, Dunsyre, Libberton (Lanarkshire), and the united parishes of Houstoun and Killallan. The Rev. Fraser of Libberton suggested several causes for depopulation, and, like the Rev. Brown of Innerkip in Renfrewshire (*SA*, VII, p. 746) commented upon the numbers of ruined cottages to be seen in his parish; cf. in this connection Scott's letter of 23rd November, 1806, to Lord Dalkeith, "I could name many farms where the old people remember twenty *smoking chimneys* and where there are not now two" (*Letters*, ed. H. Grierson, Vol. I, p. 329). In some cases, occupants would have been forcibly expelled; *SA*, X, p. 485n, parish of Kinghorn, and *SA*, XI, parish of Abernethy in Perthshire. The Rev. Robertson of Dalmeny, however, disputed the connection between amalgamation and depopulation, writing that the fall in numbers in his parish "appears to have been caused solely by one large district having been turned from tillage into pasture", and that "in many instances population has been known to increase, on a great farmer's succeeding to many small ones"; *SA*, II, pp. 727-28. See also P. Berresford Ellis and Seumas Mac A' Ghobhainn, *The Scottish Insurrection of 1820*, London, 1970, new edn. 1989, p. 87: "during the reign of George III no less than 3,200 Enclosure Acts were passed and more than six million acres of land were enclosed. Labourers deprived of their little plots of land and their rights to the use of common ground, now had to rely on scanty wages of daily labour from an employer". A General Enclosure Act was passed in 1801.

272. *SA*, II, p. 126, Rev. Ebenezer Marshall's account of the parish of Cockpen; a comma has been deleted after "affluence". On "adequate rents", see Smout, *op. cit.*, Chapter XIII, p. 309 ff (paperback edn., p. 289 ff), nn. 8 and 9. The Rev. Lyon of Strathmiglo in Fife wrote that, while in his parish "the rents are greatly raised, in some places of the parish doubled, and in one farm almost tripled, the farmers are in appearance richer, and their families dress and live much better"; *SA*, X, p. 777.

273. The first quotation is from the Rev. George Cupples, united parishes of Swinton and Simprin, Berwickshire; *SA* III, p. 295. The second is from Dr. George Keith, in Sinclair's *General Report of the Agricultural State and Political Circumstances of Scotland*, Edinburgh, 1814, Appendix I, p. 300, quoted by Smout, *op. cit.*, p. 312 (paperback edn., p. 291); according to Keith the tenant-farmers of East Lothian, of whom Allan can reasonably be expected to have had some knowledge, were "entitled to rank with those of any other

district in the kingdom", a judgment with which Smout agrees. Their education "in many instances [was] perfected at the university" (Keith, quoted Smout, *loc. cit.*). The Rev. Inglis of Tibbermuir, Perthshire, was glad that the typical farmer in his parish was no longer "obstinately prejudiced in favour of the practice of his fathers"; *SA*, XI, p. 589.

274. The first quotation is from George Robertson, *Rural Recollections*, Irvine, 1829, p. 105, quoted Smout, *op. cit.*, p. 313 (paperback edn., p. 292). On new cottages in the Lothians, see *SA*, II, pp. 323 and 449, the parishes of Inveresk and Athelstaneford; "commodious" is the adjective most frequently employed to describe these new houses, John Muckarsie of Kirklistoun writing that "the farm-houses in this parish are extremely commodious, and even elegant", *ibid.*, p. 747. The Rev. Lawrie of Newburn in Fife wrote that "all ranks, indeed, seem to participate more of the *comforts and conveniences* of life than their fathers—more than many of themselves did in the days that are past"; *SA*, X, pp. 691-92 (emphases added). The Rev. Henry Sangster, minister of Humble, wrote in his account of the parish of Pencaitland that a "rage for finery" there was shared by people "in the neighbouring districts"; *SA*, II, p. 558. The last phrase quoted on p. 299 is from the Rev. Playfair of Meigle, who referred to "improvements" being thus "diffused"; *SA*, XI, p. 434 (cf. n. 269 *supra*).

275. In addition to the reference to Robert Fergusson's "Braid Claith", the quotations are from John Ritchie's account of the parish of Coupar of Angus, *SA*, XI, p. 97, and the Rev. Walter Jardine's account of the parish of Bathgate, *SA*, II, p. 695. Many contributors to the *Statistical Account* commented upon the recent "alteration in dress" (*SA*, II, p. 695, Bathgate), one of the most detailed accounts being that written by the Rev. James Wilson of Mid-Calder, *ibid.*, pp. 97-8. The Rev. William Auld (1709-1791) drew on the experience of a ministry of half a century when he wrote:

"As to dress, about 50 years ago, there were few females who wore scarlet or silks. But now, nothing is more common, than silk caps and silk cloaks; and women, in a middling station, are as fine as ladies of quality were formerly. The like change may be observed in the dress of the male sex, though, perhaps, not in the same degree"; *SA*, VI, p. 450, Parish of Machlin (sic; see n. 353), where Auld had been "placed" in 1742. Similar information was given by the Rev. Michael Macculloch of Bothwell and the Rev. George Mark of Carnwath, both in Lanarkshire (*SA*, VII, pp. 45-6 and 191), and by the Rev. Robert Rennie in his long account of Kilsyth, *SA*, IX, p. 500. The Rev.



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Robert Arnot of Ceres in Fife confirmed that:

"the plaid is now almost wholly laid aside by the women, and the use of the cloak and bonnet has become general. Among the men, the Scotch bonnet has given place to the hat; the servant men are generally clothed with English cloth, and many of them have watches in their pockets" (SA, X, p. 150). The Rev. William Campbell concluded his account of Lillies-Leaf, Roxburghshire, with a similar observation; "thirty-two years ago, there were only 7 hats in the church, but at present there are not as many bonnets" (SA, III, p. 547). See also Smout, *op. cit.*, p. 318 (paperback edn., p. 297), and H. G. Graham, *The Social Life of Scotland in the Eighteenth Century*, London, 1899 (Fourth Edition, illustrated, 1937), p. 215, with details from Robertson's *Agriculture of Midlothian*, Rogers' *Agriculture of Forfarshire*, Cunningham (in Lockhart's *Life of Burns*) and the *Statistical Account* itself.

276. Cf. Smout, *op. cit.*, p. 331 (paperback edn. p. 310); his account of the bothies should, however, also be kept in mind (*ibid.*, pp. 321 or 301). Cf. also Gavin Sprott, "Traditional Music the Material Background" in *The People's Past*, ed. E. J. Cowan, Edinburgh, 1980, p. 67; "in material things, as an octogenarian Highlander remarked, there are no good old days".

277. Alexander Pope, *A Discourse on Pastoral Poetry*, 1709, *Poetical Works*, London [nd], (Chandos), pp. 10-11. Pope actually wrote that "pastoral is an image of what they call the golden age". Cf. Chapter IV, pp. 144-45 *supra*.

278. Letter to Burke, in *The Works of James Barry Esq. Historical Painter*, 2 vols., London, 1809, I, p. 109. The other quotation is from Ferguson's *Essay on the History of Civil Society*, 1767, Part V, Section III, first paragraph; Edinburgh University Press edn., with introduction by Duncan Forbes, p. 249 (cf. also Forbes's introduction, pp. xxxi-xxxiii). For examples drawn from a specifically Scottish context, and for reference to Smith's views, see pp. 307-08 *infra*, nn. 327-30.

279. The quotation is from Wordsworth's Preface to the second edition of *Lyrical Ballads*, 1801; *Poetical Works*, ed. Hutchinson, revised de Selincourt, Oxford Standard Authors series, 1936, 1978 reprint, p. 735. On the effects of "such disruption" &c., see *infra*, p. 305 ff.

280. Burns wrote of "that alacrity & life with which [he] used to woo the rural Muse of Scotia", in a letter of spring, 1796, to James Johnson; *Letters*, II, p. 322 (2nd edn., p. 381), no. 696. Johnson quoted from the letter in the Preface to *SMH* V, and again in the Preface to *SMH* VI, both of which were published after Burns's death. On "gloomy predictions" &c., see *infra*, p. 305 ff.

281. Cf. pp. 261-62 *supra*.

282. The first quotation is from Robert Blair's poem "The Grave", which Burns quoted in his Preface for *SMH* II (and on numerous occasions in his letters); the second is from Percy's *Reliques*, 1765, Preface, p. x.

283. Heron's *Memoir*, quoted p. 290 *supra*.

284. The first quotation is from Stenhouse, *Illustrations*, p. 444 (note to *SMH* No 509), the second from Henry Mackenzie, *The anecdotes and egotisms of Henry Mackenzie, 1745-1831*, ed. Harold W. Thomson, London, 1927, quoted in David Johnson, *Music and Society in Lowland Scotland in the Eighteenth Century*, London, 1972, p. 17. Johnson adds that the accompaniment "may have been from a cittern, which could easily be played sitting at table"; accompaniments in contemporary song-books are often scored for guitar, *violoncello* or harpsichord.

285. Thomson, Preface to *SC*, Vol. III, dated from "York Place, Edinburgh, Dec. 1801", and printed by Moir, 1802. The *TTM* commenced publication in 1723, and was regularly reissued throughout the century. Burns contrasted "new Musical Publications, . . . Gaudy, hunted butterflies of a day," with the *SMH* which, he prophesied, would "outlive the momentary neglects of idle Fashion, & defy the teeth of Time"; letter of November 15<sup>th</sup>, 1788, to James Johnson, *Letters*, I, p. 275 (2nd ed., p. 340), no. 288. On contemporary song-books, cf. n. 54 *supra*.

286. Herd, Preface, p. ix. These two volumes incorporated all but one of the songs printed in Herd's first collection, 1769, "with the addition of nearly an equal number" (*ibid.*). See also Hans Hecht, *Songs from David Herd's Manuscripts*, Edinburgh, 1904, pp. 65-9, cited as *Manuscripts* in subsequent notes. Of the three hundred and sixty-nine songs in Herd's second collection, one hundred and fifty-nine had appeared in the *TTM*, which itself contained four hundred and sixty-three songs, in four volumes; the third, published in 1727, consisted of English songs. Of rather more than six hundred *song-texts* in the *SMH*, more than two hundred had appeared in Ramsay's collection, in Herd's, or in both. Cf. also n. 299 to p. 303 *infra*.

287. Ramsay's apostrophe to the "happy volumes" of the *TTM* is quoted in Chapter IV, p. 156 *supra*. As has been shown (p. 286, n. 214 *supra*), that a song-book had new songs "set" to old airs certainly did not imply that it contained any music at all.

288. Preface to the *TTM*. On the "tea-table habit", see Thomas Crawford, *Society and the Lyric*, Edinburgh, 1979, p. 37, and nn. 9 and 10.

289. From Preface and Dedication to the *TTM*.

290. The words are George Thomson's, from his first letter to Burns, September, 1792 (Currie, IV, p. 2; WSD, VI, p. 216). As David Johnson remarks in *Music and Society*, 1972,



p. 145, the SC was "in many ways a spiritual descendant of Ramsay", though the influence of William Thomson's *Orpheus Caledonius* (2 vols., London, 1725 and 1733) should not be discounted. Johnson's Chapter 7, "National Song", pp. 130-49, gives a good impression of Ramsay's very uneven handling of his material.

291. The first quotation is from Stenhouse, *Illustrations*, p. 463, note to *SMH* N° 524, the second from Burns, note to the song "She rose and loot me in" (*SMH* N° 83), from J. C. Dick, *Notes*, 1908, note 20 (also *Illustrations*, p. 87). The last quotation is from Thomson's first letter to Burns (cf. n. 290). Cf. also Chapter IV, p. 156 *supra*, on the popularity of these songs.

292. The "*repertoire*" is obviously to be interpreted here as the body of Scots song actually in print; it is certain that many folk-songs were as familiar to the "polite", at least in the country and until the end of the century, as they were to their tenants, independently of their being published (see David Johnson, *op. cit.*, esp. Chapter 10, "Nationalism and Xenophobia", p. 187 ff., and Thomas Crawford, *op. cit.*, *passim*).

293. The quotation is from Herd, Preface, p. ix. Most of the previously unpublished songs which he printed were "Comic, Humorous [*sic*], and Jovial", but almost all of these were anonymous. Among about a dozen "Sentimental, Pastoral and Love Songs" which had not previously been in print were Sir Gilbert Elliot's "My sheep I neglected", "For the lack of gold she's left me" by a Dr. Austin of Edinburgh, Richard Hewitt's set of words to "Roslin Castle", and Mrs. Cockburn's version of "The Flowers of the Forest". Some of Herd's printed sources are given in Hecht, *Manuscripts*, 1904, p. 77 ff., and included Yair's *Charmer*, Ross's *Fortunate Shepherdess*, volumes of poetry by Hamilton of Bangour, Dr. Blacklock and other gentlemen, and by Dougal Graham, Skellat Bellman of Glasgow, a "flying stationer" whose chapbooks and broadsheets of racy Scots prose and doggerel verse sold in their hundreds of thousands every year, H. G. Graham, *The Social Life of Scotland in the Eighteenth Century*, London, 1899 (Fourth Edition, illustrated, 1937), p. 189, called him "the Boccaccio of the Byre".

294. The full title of Herd's collection is *Ancient and Modern Scottish Songs, Heroic Ballads, Etc. Collected from Memory, Tradition and Ancient Authors The Second Edition, In Two Volumes* (Edinburgh 1776). The second quotation is from his Preface, p. viii (more fully quoted, p. 245 *supra*). The comparison between the "mending" of incomplete songs and ballads and the restoration of statues was made by Bishop Percy, in a letter of 22nd. August, 1774, to George Paton, given in Hecht,

*Manuscripts*, 1904, pp. 20-22. Paton was one of Herd's many correspondents - see Hecht, *ibid.*, pp. 77, 87 and 329, note to Song CIX - as was one William Bell, who sent him an old Ballad around 1775 or 1776; he "had picked it up in Annandale; it was all in detached scraps of paper, wrote down by himself at different times, as he met with those who remembered any thing of it—part of these he had lost, and some of the remainder were illegible, being chaff'd in his pocket" (letter from Herd to Paton, quoted, from *Letters from Thomas Percy, John Callander, David Herd, and others to George Paton*, Edinburgh, 1830, in Sidney Gilpin's "Memoir" of Herd in the "Page for Page Reprint of the Edition of 1776", Edinburgh, 1870, p. \*ix). Almost seventy songs and fragments preserved in Herd's *ms.*, did not appear in his collections (he continued collecting and receiving such pieces long after 1776); see Hecht, *ibid.*, p. 100 ff.

295. The first quotation is from Herd's Preface, p. viii; the passage is given on p. 245 *supra*. In August, 1787, Burns wrote to William Tytler of Woodhouselee, "I invariably hold it sacrilege to add anything of my own to help out with the shatter'd wrecks" &c.; *Letters*, I, p. 117 (2nd. edn., p. 147), no. 126. Burns changed his mind later; see p. 256, n. 97 *supra*. The editorial methods which Herd mentions may be seen from his *ms.* note to "Rob's Jock or the Country Wedding" (the song published in Herd II, pp. 88-92); "to be added six verses [*sic*] of 8 lines each from a copy of this song in the Collection of Scots poems printed by W. Ruddiman, Jun 1766. These came in at different places of the song and it's to be considered, whether a reformed copy from both copys [*sic*] should not be printed" (Hecht, *Manuscripts*, p. 80). When Percy "looked over" Herd's *ms.* collection — Paton sent it to Alnwick Castle in the summer of 1774 — he found that most of the songs were "fragments too mutilated and imperfect to afford much pleasure to a reader in their present state", and offered to "fill up the breaches of some of them" himself. While both Herd and his publisher Wotherspoon "cheerfully consent[ed] to his making use of [their] *MS.* vol." in this way, they were nevertheless prepared to publish even "imperfect fragments" when Percy returned the *ms.* a year later without having made "the least use of the contents" (Hecht, *ibid.*, pp. 8-29 *passim*, extracts, and cf. also n. 249 *supra*). For the fragments of folk-song which they published, see Herd, II, pp. 201 ff. Of the fifty-two pieces printed there, around half seem to be fragments of longer pieces (one is actually a close variant of the latter part of a song printed earlier in the same volume), while others have a fascinating



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relationship to songs by Ramsay and by Burns.

296. It is a critical commonplace that the exact boundaries of Burns's redaction, in the matter of collecting, composing and "mending" traditional song, cannot be definitely drawn, and that the extent of his contribution to the *SMN* cannot therefore be precisely determined. His work for Thomson's *SC* has been mentioned, pp. 236 and 240-41 *supra*. It should be remembered that not all of the "fine airs" for which Burns "[made] a stanza" were ancient; many were contemporary compositions by Niel Gow, his sons, William Marshall, and a host of lesser-known figures.

297. The first quotation is from Burns's letter of June, 1796, to Johnson; *Letters*, II, pp. 322-23 (2nd edn., pp. 381-82), no. 696, published in part and with minor alterations in *SMN* V, VI (quoted from *Letters*, 2nd edn.). The second is from Herd, Preface, pp. viii-ix.

298. The first quotation is from Johnson's Advertisement of the *SMN*, quoted by David Laing in his Preface to the 1839 reissue by Blackwood (Folklore Associates reprinting, Hatboro, Pennsylvania, Vol. I, p. i). Johnson wrote in *SMN* I:

"It has long been a just and general Complaint, that among all the Music Books of SCOTS SONGS that have been hitherto offered to the Public not one, nor even all of them put together, can be said to have merited the name of what may be called A COMPLETE COLLECTION; having been published only in detached pieces and parcels; amounting however upon the whole, to more than twice the price of this Publication; attended moreover with this further disadvantage, that they have been printed in such large unportable Sizes, that they could by no means answer the purpose of being pocket-companions; which is no small incumbrance, especially to the admirers of social Music".

Burns described the *SMN* as a "handsome pocket volume" in a letter of 20<sup>th</sup> October, 1787, to James Hoy at Castle Gordon; *Letters*, I, p. 132 (2nd edn., p. 164), no. 145.

299. The quotation is from Johnson's preface to *SMN* I. The bass lines, often figured, are by Stephen Clarke and his son William, and are sometimes remarkably similar to those in William Thomson's *Orpheus Caledonius* (1725 and 1733); compare especially "A Cock Laird", *SMN* II, p. 155, No. 148, with Thomson's version, *Orpheus Caledonius*, Vol. I, No. XXVI. Forty-six of the songs in *SMN* I, and twenty-seven of those in *SMN* II, had appeared in *Orpheus Caledonius*; only slightly more in each of these volumes had been published in the *TTN*, while Herd's volumes contributed about twenty texts to *SMN* I and a dozen to *SMN* II in addition to those common to his second collection (1776)

and Ramsay's (for the relationship between *Orpheus Caledonius* and the *TTN*, see David Johnson, *Music and Society*, pp. 140-41). In each of the four later volumes of the *SMN*, about a tenth of the texts had been published in the *TTN*, around a quarter usually coming from Herd; in most cases, the songs concerned had appeared in both collections. James Johnson wrote in *SMN* I that besides the hundred songs promised for each volume "under the Music and Song inserted in the respective titles at the top of the page, the performer will frequently find two or three additional Sets of apposite words to the same tune". There are one hundred and eleven texts in Vol. I and one hundred and thirteen in Vol. II. Vol. III has one hundred and four texts and Vol. VI one hundred and two, but Vols. IV and V have only ninety-nine apiece and really have only ninety-nine airs; see Nos. 402-04 and 338-39. The latter example gives an idea of contemporary performance by Urbani (cf. *Illustrations*, p. 318). Finally, as can be inferred from these examples in conjunction with Figure 259, facing p. 288 *supra*, the *SMN* contained not six hundred airs but five hundred and ninety-seven.

300. For the source of the first quotation, see n. 298; the second is from Herd, Preface, pp. vii-viii. Cf. also n. 214 *supra*; these two collections successfully combined, or held in balance, the demands both of "the Gay and the Chearful [*sic*]" and of "the Speculative and Refined" (Herd, Preface, first sentence).

301. For the source of the first quotation, see n. 298. In a letter of 25<sup>th</sup> October, 1787, to John Richmond, Burns wrote:

"I am busy at present assisting with a Collection of Scotch Songs set to Music by an Engraver in this town,—It is to contain all the Scotch Songs, those that have been already set to music and those that have not, that can be found.—"; *Letters*, I, p. 133 (2nd edn., p. 166), no. 146. This was some five months after the issue of *SMN* I and about four before *SMN* II was published, March, 1788. The quotation from Johnson's address is given *verbatim et literatim*.

302. Burns, Preface to *SMN* II; the quotation from Robert Blair's "The Grave" is given in double " " in the original.

303. See James Hunter, *The Fiddle Music of Scotland*, Edinburgh, 1979, pp. ix-x, and Francis Collinson, *The Traditional and National Music of Scotland*, London, 1966, p. 205.

304. In the sixth stanza of "Peblis to the Play" by King James I, a young man "cleikit up ane hie ruff sang/Thair fure ane man to the holt"; the other quotations in this sentence and the next are from the Preface to the *TTN*. The collection addressed the needs of its time, and Ramsay can hardly be



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condemned directly for the problems which its success has caused collectors and critics of Scottish songs, from at least the end of the eighteenth century (see Leyden's *Preliminary dissertation to the Complaynt of Scotland*, Edinburgh, 1801, quoted D. Johnson, *Music and Society*, London, 1972, p. 134 n.); he never saw himself as a collector of "folk-songs", and, both in the *TTM* and in the *Ever Green*, he "did no more damage to his originals than did any contemporary editor" (*Works*, STS edn., IV, ed. Kinghorn and Law, Edinburgh and London, 1970, Chapter V, "Ramsay the Antiquary", p. 133). On Ramsay and the *TTM*, see also D. Johnson, *op. cit.*, pp. 17, 130 ff., 191-92; Collinson, *op. cit.*, pp. 126-27; Crawford, *Society and the Lyric*, Edinburgh, 1979, *passim*, e.g. pp. 114-16 and esp. pp. 172-73; David Daiches, *Robert Burns*, London, 1950 (revised 1966, 1981 reprint), pp. 24-8. To determine the extent to which the "old Verses" in the *TTM* have been "cleared from the Dross of blundering Transcribers and Printers" is in most cases impossible, and critical decisions are of necessity personal; around a score of songs in the collection might be accepted as relatively authentic "folk-texts", and less than one hundred in all (about a fifth of the total) can be regarded as either having come originally from oral tradition ("old with additions"); or entirely from the pens of "ingenious" poets with a knowledge of that tradition, and an ability to imitate it convincingly.

305. The first quotation is from Herd, Preface, p. ix, the second from Stenhouse, *Illustrations*, p. 127, quoting Cromek's *Reliques of Robert Burns*. Ladies, of course, also took down songs; see D. Johnson, *op. cit.*, p. 198, and see also Chapter 5, "Music in a Stable Society", pp. 87-107.

306. The first quotation is from a letter of February 14<sup>th</sup>, 1822, sent by James Hogg to George Thomson, and is a reminder that collectors' eagerness for old songs was often more apparent than real. Hogg and Cunningham rival with their forgeries anyone of the previous century:

"if you therefore adopt the songs, please publish them simply as *Jacobite* songs, leaving the world to find out whether they are old or new. This has a far better effect than saying 'A *Jacobite* song by such and such an author'. The very idea that perhaps they may be of a former day and written by some sennachie of the clan gives them double interest" (quoted - from J. C. Hadden, *George Thomson the friend of Burns*, 1898, p. 182 - in *Music and Society*, p. 146, by D. Johnson, who comments, "rules for faking up a tradition!"). The second quotation is also from Hogg, referring to "The Whigs of Fife" in *The Jacobite Relics of*

*Scotland*, 2 vols., Edinburgh, 1821, I, p. 130. The other three quotations are from Stenhouse, *Illustrations*, pp. 161, 130 and 488 (notes to *SMN* Nos 168, 139 and 564). Just as he had, perhaps unconsciously, echoed Ramsay in the last of these notes, Stenhouse echoed Herd in his notes to *SMN* Nos 65 and 484 (*op. cit.*, pp. 69 and 426), the verbal parallel "irrecoverably lost" being indicative of a prevailing perception (cf. n. 313).

307. Stenhouse, *op. cit.*, p. 488, *SMN* No 563.

308. Cf. pp. 261-62 *supra*. The five quotations in footnote "t" are all from Thomson's Prefaces to several issues of the *SC*. The first two are from the "Second Set" (1799), the third from the "Second Edition" (1794); cf. a letter of 20<sup>th</sup> January, 1793, to Burns (Currie IV, p. 33, WSD, VI p. 232), and also n. 17 *supra*. The next quotation is from the "Third Set" (1799), original spelling, and the last from the first edition of Vol. III (1802), quoted more fully on p. 261 *supra*. For an example of Urbani's embellishments, see *SMN* Nos 338-39, and *Illustrations*, pp. 318-19; cf. Figure 213, facing p. 257 *supra*.

309. Cf. Chapter V, p. 203 *supra*. On literary antiquarianism, see Patrick O'Flaherty, "John Pinkerton (1758-1826): Champion of the Makars", in *Studies in Scottish Literature*, Vol. XIII, ed. G. Ross Roy, University of South Carolina Press, 1978, pp. 159-95, Albert Friedman, *The Ballad Revival*, Chicago, 1961, or Sir Walter Scott, "Introductory Remarks on Popular Poetry" (1830), in *Sir Walter Scott's Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*, ed. Henderson, Edinburgh and London, 1902, pp. 21-54. An easily accessible view of the situation in Britain is in Sir Roy Strong, *And when did you last see your father? The Victorian Painter and British History*, Hampshire, 1978, esp. pp. 46-76.

310. Advertisement to *Ancient Songs and Ballads from the Reign of King Henry the Second to the Revolution Collected by Joseph Ritson Esq.*, 2 vols., London, 1790, printed 1787, issued 1792.

311. The first quotation is from a letter sent by Percy to George Paton, 1774, given in Hecht, *Manuscripts*, 1904, pp. 20-22; cf. p. 302 and n. 294 *supra*. The second is from Joseph Nollekens, answers to the Parliamentary Committee set up to advise on the purchase of the Parthenon sculptures from the Earl of Elgin; *Report*, London, 1816, p. 69.

312. Stenhouse, *Illustrations*, p. 137, note to *SMN* No 148. In some cases, however, Stenhouse saw that "the refined manners of modern life [would] be a bar, perhaps, to [their] general reception in the fashionable circle of a drawing-room", and he could even commend Ramsay for his having "very properly suppressed the old song, enough of which is still



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but too well known" (*ibid.*, pp. 291 and 441, notes to *SMM* Nos 297 and 504; cf. also p. 127, note to *SMM* No 134). When, in 1805, there was a rumour that Scott intended to re-edit Herd's collection, Ritson's acquaintance George Chalmers wrote, "I hope Mr Scott will not touch the text"; Hecht, *Manuscripts*, p. 68, quoting from *Archibald Constable and his Literary Correspondents*, I, p. 414. See also O'Flaherty, *op. cit.*, pp. 179-84.

313. *Illustrations*, pp. 134 and 111, notes to *SMM* Nos 142 and 110.

314. The quotation is from *Memoirs*, 1808, p. 629. Even without Allan's specific antiquarian interest this question would be of importance, since speculation about the future of traditional song was a significant feature of contemporary Scottish urban and literary life, as is shown in the following half-dozen pages.

315. See, for example, Currie, I, p. 320.

316. In addition to the views quoted in the following pages, see also Hazlitt, *Lectures on the English Poets*, London, 1818, Lecture I, "On Poetry in General" (Everyman edn., London and New York, 1910, 1964 reprint, p. 9): "it is not only the progress of mechanical knowledge, but the necessary advances of civilisation that are unfavourable to the spirit of poetry".

317. "Introductory Remarks on Popular Poetry", in *The Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*, first published in the edn. of 1830; *Sir Walter Scott's Minstrelsy of The Scottish Border*, ed. T. F. Henderson, Edinburgh and London, 1902, pp. 23-4. As has been indicated (p. 290 *supra*), the Heroic Ballads in particular were ancient pieces which were still familiar and often sung; David Johnson writes that "what the collectors were recording in 1800 was a folk-song corpus which had largely been current in 1650" (*Music and Society*, London, 1972, p. 87, but cf. n. 306 *supra*).

318. "Critical Dissertation on the Poems of Ossian" (1763), in *The Poems of Ossian*, Edinburgh, 1830, p. 95.

319. *Ibid.* p. 94.

320. *Ibid.* p. 101. Cf. n. 271 *supra*, and also a letter sent by Dr. Johnson to Mrs. Thrale on September 21<sup>st</sup>, 1773: "You are perhaps imagining that I am withdrawn from the gay and the busy world into regions of peace and pastoral felicity, and am enjoying the reliques of the golden age"; in *Samuel Johnson Selected Writings*, ed. R. T. Davies, London, 1965, p. 299, from Johnson's *Letters*, I, pp. 359-60.

321. "Historical Essay", pp. cx-cxi. Spelling of Scottish, passed, therefor and reliques as in original. Friedman, *The Ballad Revival*, p. 219, having quoted the title *Ancient English Metrical Romances*, notes in parentheses that

"Ritson was a spelling reformer"; he also used Scotch, Scottish and Scots synonymously.

322. William Motherwell, Preface, dated 1832, to *Scottish Proverbs Collected and Arranged by Andrew Henderson*, new edn., with notes and glossary by James Donald, Glasgow, 1881, p. xi.

323. The quotation is from Lockhart's *Life of Sir Walter Scott*, Edinburgh, 1836-38, II, p. 299. Scott's words were spoken *à propos* "certain schemes of innovation . . . set on foot by the Crown officers for Scotland": "little by little, whatever your wishes may be you will destroy and undermine, until nothing of what makes Scotland Scotland shall remain".

324. "Elegy, on the Death of Scots Music"; *Poems*, STS edn., ed. M. P. McDiarmid, 2 vols., Edinburgh and London, 1954-56, II, p. 38.

325. *Waverley*, 1814 (anonymously), Chapter LXXII, "A Postscript, which should have been a Preface", third paragraph; Everyman edn., London and New York, 1906, 1973 reprint, p. 476. Scott's *History of Scotland* (1829-30) is quoted by David Brown in *Walter Scott and the Historical Imagination*, London, 1979, p. 200, with Duncan Forbes; "The rationalism of Sir Walter Scott", *Cambridge Journal*, October, 1953, vii, p. 28, cited as source in n. 21 (on p. 228). On pp. 200-02, Brown gives examples of imaginative expression of historical "determinism".

326. The emphatic words quoted are Ritson's; "Historical Essay on Scottish Song", *Scottish Song*, 1794, n. (69) to p. lxxv, which is quoted more fully in n. 23 *supra*, where the irony is apparent and entirely justified. Cf. Chapter II, p. 58, and Chapter III, pp. 130-32 *supra*.

327. The first two quotations are from the Rev. James Cooper's account of Baldernock, Stirlingshire, *SA*, IX, p. 169. The next is from Wordsworth's Preface to the second edition of *Lyrical Ballads*, 1801, in *Poetical Works*, ed. Hutchinson, revised de Selincourt, Oxford Standard Authors series, 1936, 1978 reprint, p. 735; cf. p. 300 *supra*. It was the Rev. Hugh Meiklejohn of Abercorn who believed that "manufactories . . . [had] had the most fatal influence" *SA*, II, p. 686), and the Rev. William Bennet of Dudingston (*sic*) who wrote of the "corruption . . . generated" and "contagion" spread "in truth, wherever men are collected together in considerable numbers" (*ibid.*, p. 245). The last quotation is from the Rev. Muckersie's account of West-Calder, *ibid.*, p. 110. Both he and Dr. William Nisbet deplored the "vices of the capital" (*ibid.*, p. 207, Parish of Currie), while the Rev. William Cameron of Kirknewton wrote that his parishioners were as yet "happily strangers to the vitious [*sic*] refinement, scepticism and licentiousness, which, from the example of the metropolis, [had] lately much infested the neighbourhood".



(*ibid.*, p. 337). William Creech, in his second letter to Sinclair, addressed the "manners" in Edinburgh, writing: "it seems to be a fact established by the history of mankind, that, as opulence increases, virtue subsides" (*ibid.* p. 46), and in their account of Dunfermline and its inhabitants, the Revs. Maclean and Fernie agreed that "increasing trade, manufactures, and the rapid circulation of money, have had an unhappy influence on their morals" (SA, I, p. 321). Nevertheless, despite these and other expressions of disquiet, writers of the *Account* were generally advocates of "modernisation and change" (I. C. Smout, Introduction to SA, II, p. xv).

328. The first quotation and the last are from Adam Smith, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, 1776, Book V, Chapter I, pp. 204-05 and 182-83 respectively; Glasgow University Edition of the *Works and Correspondence of Adam Smith*, Clarendon Press, 1976, ed. Campbell, Skinner and Todd, Vol. II, 2., pp. 795 and 782. The other quotation is from Adam Ferguson, *An Essay on the History of Civil Society*, 1767, Part Fourth, "Of Consequences that result from the Advancement of Civil and Commercial Arts", Section I, sixth paragraph; ed. Duncan Forbes, Edinburgh University Press, 1966, p. 182. Ferguson's most famous image appears three paragraphs later: "Manufactures, accordingly, prosper most, where the mind is least consulted, and where the workshop may, without any great effort of imagination, be considered as an engine, the parts of which are men".

329. The first quotation is from the Rev. Bennet's account of Dudingston, the second from the Rev. Meiklejohn's account of Abercorn (SA, II, pp. 244 and 686). Cf. Adam Smith, *Wealth of Nations*, Glasgow University Edition, p. 203: "the vices of levity are always ruinous to the common people".

330. The Rev. Andrew Ireland's account of the Parish of Moonzie, Fife; SA, I, p. 682.

331. Sir Hubert Parry, first annual meeting of Folk Song Society, 2nd. February, 1899; *Folk Song Journal*, Vol. I.

332. The first quotation is from William Donaldson, *the Jacobite Song Political Myth and National Identity*, Aberdeen University Press 1988, Preface, p. ix. The second is from the song "Ye Jacobites by Name", *SNM* IV (1792) p. 383, No. 371, and *Burns Poems and Songs*, Clarendon Press, ed. Kinsley, 1968, no. 371. In his *Commentary*, III, p. 1400, Professor Kinsley writes, "it is possible that Burns merely communicated or revised this song (unsigned in *SNM*) for Johnson"; but see Donaldson's *critique* of the song, *op. cit.*, pp. 85-7. As a record of contemporary popular opinion about

the Union of Parliaments, see the account by Lockhart of Carnwath, who described how

"the Nation's Aversion to the Union increased; the Parliament Close, and the outer Parliament House, were crowded every Day when the Parliament was met, with an infinite Number of People, all exclaiming against the Union, and speaking very free Language concerning the Promoters of it"

(quoted David Daiches, *Scotland and the Union*, London, 1977, pp. 142-43). Daiches, *ibid.*, p. 149, lists some of the addresses of protest against the Union from, among other places, Forfar, Stirling, Dumbarton, Dunkeld, Lanark, Roxburgh, Dunblane, Berwick, Aberdeen and Perth; "some ninety in all".

333. Cf. Herd, Preface, p. v (second paragraph). On "national" songs, see Francis Collinson, *The Traditional and National Music of Scotland*, London, 1966, Introduction, pp. 1-3, and D. Johnson, *Music and Society in Lowland Scotland in the Eighteenth Century*, London, 1972, Chapter 7, pp. 130-49. Cf. also pp. 259-60 *supra*.

334. The second quotation is from Herd, Preface, p. vi. The first is from the song "Awa Whigs awa", *SNM* III, p. 272, No. 263, and *Burns Poems and Songs*, ed. Kinsley, 1968, no. 303; cf. n. 381 *infra*. The title is in the Law MS. ("List of Songs for 3<sup>d</sup> Volume of the <sup>scot</sup> Musical Museum"), no. 29, described as "O", [i.e., "Mr Burns's old words"]; see Hecht, *Songs from David Herd's Manuscripts*, Edinburgh, 1904, p. 181, no. LXI, and cf. Burns's letter of 13<sup>th</sup> November, 1788, to Mrs. Dunlop, "in fact, of a good many of them, little more than the Chorus is ancient" (*Letters*, I, p. 273 - 2nd edn., p. 337 - no. 285).

335. On Herder, see Isaiah Berlin "Herder and the Enlightenment", in *Aspects of the eighteenth century*, ed. Earl R. Wasserman, Baltimore, 1965, pp. 47-104, and two books by F. M. Barnard, *Herder's Social and Political Thought from Enlightenment to Nationalism*, Clarendon Press, 1965, and *J. G. Herder on Social and Political Culture*, Cambridge University Press, 1969 (selected texts, translated and with an introduction); on p. 8 of his Introduction to the latter, Barnard writes of Herder's "belief in the gradual transformation from the dynastic 'machine' state into the 'organic' Volk-state."

336. "Introductory Remarks on Popular Poetry", first published in the 1830 edn. of *The Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*; *Minstrelsy*, ed. T. F. Henderson, Edinburgh, 1902, I, pp. 6-7, and Henderson's "Prefatory Note", pp. xi-xii.

337. The German word is Herder's, and is defined by Barnard as "a kind of naturalness and simplicity found in children"; *op. cit.*, 1965, p. 74.

338. *Minstrelsy*, ed. Henderson, I, p. 175. In a



letter of February, 1769, to George Paton, Percy had written that "the old manners, customs, opinions, or idioms of the ancient Scotch nation . . . [were then] wearing out so fast, that, if not preserved in such publications as these, they [would] be utterly unknown to posterity"; quoted by Hecht in *Songs from David Herd's Manuscripts*, Edinburgh, 1904, pp. 12-13; Percy refers to the "subsequent volume" promised in Herd's 1769 collection.

339. Cf. p. 258 *supra*.

340. Part II, "Second Law of Nature", last paragraph, translated by F. M. Barnard in *Herder on Social and Political Culture*, 1969, p. 165. Herder's *Abhandlung über den ursprung der Sprache* was published in 1772; the question set was "En supposant les hommes abandonnés à leurs facultés naturelles, sont-ils en état d'inventer le langage? et par quels moyens parviendront-ils d'eux-mêmes à cette invention?". The text is given substantially in Barnard, *op. cit.*, pp. 117-77; see also n. 25 to p. 94, and Barnard's Introduction, p. 17 ff.

341. Cf. Chapter IV, pp. 145-48 *supra*.

342. Cf. Matthew P. McDiarmid, "A Study of the Poetry of Robert Fergusson", A. The Literary Circumstances 2. The Sympathetic Trends in Contemporary Literature (a) The antiquarian movement, in *The Poems of Robert Fergusson*, STS edn.; Vol. I, Edinburgh and London, 1954, esp. pp. 140-41; David Daiches, *The Paradox of Scottish Culture: the Eighteenth-Century Experience*, London, 1964; F. W. Freeman, "The Vernacular Movement", in *A Companion to Scottish Culture*, ed. Daiches, London, 1981, pp. 393-96.

343. *SA*, II, pp. 722-23. Robertson, in his compact observations, ignores the later French influences on the Scots language, which he terms "the Dano-Saxon". Cf. Chapter IV, p. 146 *supra*.

344. Hugh Blair, *Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres*; the passage is given more fully in Chapter IV, p. 146 *supra*.

345. Cf. McDiarmid, *op. cit.*, *loc. cit.*

346. The first quotation is Hume's view, letter of 1757 to Gilbert Elliot of Minto (cf. n. 10 to Chapter IV). The second is from John Callander's introduction to *Two Ancient Scottish Poems*, Edinburgh, 1782, quoted McDiarmid, *op. cit.*, p. 141. It should be remembered that the "people" referred to here are of the Lowlands, not the Gaelic-speakers of the Highlands and Western Isles.

347. James Boswell's journal of his stay in Holland, for 24<sup>th</sup> February, 1764, quoted from *Boswell in Holland*, ed. F. Pottle, 1952, p. 161, by McDiarmid, *op. cit.*, p. 141. Compare Motherwell's pessimism (p. 306 *supra*), and cf. also Kinghorn and Law, *The Works of Allan Ramsay*, STS edn., Vol. IV, Edinburgh and London, 1970, Chapter V, "Ramsay the Antiquary", p. 136.

348. The second quotation is from Walter

Scott, *Waverley*, 1814 (anonymously), Chapter LXXII ("Postscript"); Everyman edn., London and New York, 1906, 1973 reprint, p. 476. The first, with its ambiguous use of "still", is from the account of Jedburgh "from Materials furnished by the Rev. Dr. Thomas Somerville", *SA*, III, p. 498. Similar phrases are in the accounts of Traquair (*ibid.*, p. 909), New Port-Glasgow (*SA*, VII, p. 692) and Monzie, Perthshire, the last on "the borders of the Highlands" (*SA*, XII, p. 739).

349. References to different models of ploughs and methods of ploughing abound in the *Statistical Account* - as Professor Smout remarks, "it is extraordinary how much they [the writers] knew about farming" (*SA*, II, Introduction, p. xv) - among them that in the account of Lillies-Leaf, Roxburghshire, by the Rev. William Campbell, *SA*, III, pp. 539-40, whose reference to James Small is quoted. His two-horse swing-plough, patented in the 1760s, was "deservedly considered . . . the greatest improvement agriculture [had] received for many years" (*SA*, II, p. 184, Parish of Cranston, Midlothian), and by the turn of the century was favoured by competitors in the ploughing matches which were for so long a feature of rural life (see D. K. Cameron, *The Ballad and the Plough A Portrait of the Life of the Old Scottish Farmtouns*, London, 1978, pp. 176-77, and *The Cornkister Days A Portrait of a Land and its Rituals*, London, 1984, 1986 reprint, Chapter V, p. 63 ff. Small was making between three and five hundred ploughs each year in the 1790s; *SA*, II, p. 72, Parish of Borthwick). Many compilers of the *Account* agreed that the Scots plough was more suitable for "stiff and stony ground" (*SA*, XIV, p. 480, Parish of Cushnie, Aberdeenshire), and ideal "for breaking up moor and bent" (*SA*, III, p. 797, Linton).

350. The first two quotations are from Ramsay's Preface to the *TTM*, and Fergusson's "The Canongate Play-house in Ruins. A Burlesque Poem", *Poems*, STS edn., Vol. II, Edinburgh and London, 1956, p. 61, line 56, respectively. In 1787, James Beattie published *Scoticisms Arranged in Alphabetical Order Designed to Correct Improprieties of Speech and Writing*; in 1794 he published the works of his son, and informed the reader that "his pronunciation was not correct, as may well be supposed; but it was deliberate and significant, free from provincial peculiarities, and such as an Englishman would have understood; and afterwards, when he had passed a few summers in England, it became more elegant than what is commonly heard in North Britain" (emphases added; cf. text, p. 311). This passage is quoted from D. Daiches, *Robert Burns*, 1950, revised 1966, 1981 reprint, p. 32, where it is given at greater length.



351. All the words quoted are Johnson's; his reference to "the great" &c. and his views on Scots' "conversation" are from *A Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland*, 1775, (seventh paragraph from the end). Boswell recorded his observation on languages in *The Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides with Samuel Johnson, LL.D.*, 1786, entry for Saturday, 18<sup>th</sup> September; both works in one volume, ed. Peter Levi, Harmondsworth, 1984, pp. 151 and 293 respectively. Johnson would have been sorry had all *record* of Gaelic (in the latter case) been lost, as is evident from a letter of August 13<sup>th</sup>, 1766, to Mr. William Drummond, in which Johnson, "not very willing that any language should be totally extinguished", wrote that he wished "the continuance of every language . . . till it is repositied in some version of a known book, that it may be always hereafter examined and compared with other languages"; Boswell, *The Life of Samuel Johnson*, ed. Percy Fitzgerald, 2nd. edn., 3 vols., London, 1888, 1924 reprint, Vol. I, pp. 326-28.

352. The passage from Currie's *Life of Robert Burns* is quoted from *The Works of Robert Burns; with an Account of his Life, and a Criticism on his Writings*, 1800, 6<sup>th</sup> edn., 4 vols., London and Edinburgh, 1809, Vol. I, p. 265. He returns to the subject later, *ibid.* p. 328, which should ideally be read in conjunction with the words quoted:

"Great efforts have been made by the inhabitants of Scotland, of the superior ranks, to approximate in their speech to the pure English standard; and this has made it difficult to write in the Scottish dialect, without exciting in them some feelings of disgust, which in England are scarcely felt. . . . A dislike of this kind is, however accidental, not natural." (given *verbatim et literatim*; a comma may have been missed after "however"). Of the five quotations preceding Currie's words all but one are from the *Statistical Account*. The first is from the account of Mid-Calder by the Rev. James Wilson, whose parishioners were "making evident approaches toward a more intimate acquaintance with the English tongue, which is the more desirable, as, since the union of England and Scotland, the language of the court of London has been received as the standard language of the united kingdoms." (*SA*, II, p. 98). The second quotation is from the account of Lanington in Lanarkshire, the third from the account of Denino, Fife, and the fourth from the account of Peterhead; *SA*, VII, p. 426; X, p. 265 ("Scotticisms" as in original); and XV, p. 417. Finally, it was Francis Jeffrey who wrote that "it is an ignorant, as well as an illiberal prejudice, which would seek to confound [Scots] with the barbarous dialects

of Yorkshire or Devon"; from an unsigned review of Cronk's *Reliques of Robert Burns*, the *Edinburgh Review*, January, 1809, in *Robert Burns The Critical Heritage*, ed. Donald A. Low, London and Boston, 1974, pp. 186-87.

353. The long-serving Rev. William Auld (see n. 275 *supra*) figures in "The Kirk of Scotland's Garland—a new Song", also entitled by Burns "The Kirk's Alarm", in a letter of 7<sup>th</sup> August, 1789, to John Logan; *Letters*, I, p. 350 (2nd edn. p. 433), no. 356. For the song itself, see *Poems and Songs*, ed. James Kinsley, Oxford Standard Authors series, no. 264, without music; see also Kinsley's *Commentary*, p. 1307, for an interesting note on its genesis. Auld, of course, also figures in "Holy Willie's Prayer", and — as "great Apostle Auld" — in "The Holy Tulzie", line 57; *Poems and Songs* no. 52. Auld began his account of Mauchline parish by recording that "in old deeds; the name of Machlein, or Machlene is used; but of late it is more commonly spelled Machlin"; for another example of this characteristic Scottish pronunciation, see Chapter VII, p. 335 *infra*. The words quoted in the text, p. 311, are from Auld's account, *SA*, VI, p. 450.

354. The first quotation is from Ritson, "A Historical Essay on Scottish Song", in *Scottish Song*, 1794, I, p. lxxv, n. (69), quoted more fully in n. 23 *supra*, where the irony is obvious. The second is from "A List of all the Scottish Poets; with brief remarks", in *Ancient Scottish Poems, never before in print*, Edinburgh and London, 2 vols., 1786, p. cxlii; see also M. P. McDiarmid, "A Study of the Poetry of Robert Fergusson", in *Poems*, STS edn., Vol. I, pp. 144-49, esp. 146; P. O'Flaherty, "John Pinkerton (1758-1826): Champion of the Makars", in *Studies in Scottish Literature*, ed. G. Ross Roy, University of South Carolina Press, Vol. XIII, 1978, pp. 159-95, esp. p. 172; and Billy Kay, *Scots The Nither Tongue*, Mainstream Publishing, Edinburgh, 1986, p. 106.

355. The first quotation is from Pinkerton, "List . . . with brief remarks", in *Ancient Scottish Poems*, 1786, p. cxlii; "remember this vulgar speech was once the speech of heroes". The second is from Herd, Preface, p. v, and the last from Pinkerton, *loc. cit.*

356. Pinkerton, "On the Oral Tradition of Poetry", in *Scottish Tragic Ballads*, 1781, p. x; cf. p. 258 *supra*.

357. Both quotations are from an unsigned review of Cronk's *Reliques of Robert Burns*, the *Edinburgh Review*, January, 1809, in *Robert Burns The Critical Heritage*, ed. Donald A. Low, London and Boston, 1974, p. 186. For grammatical consistency, the passage (p. 312) should have been rendered into the past tense, but the references to "the present generation" &c. made this impossible without unacceptable



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distortion of Jeffrey's phrasing. In the words first quoted, of course, he ignores Gaelic altogether. His allusion to the concept of association would have remained apposite for some years afterwards; cf. David Johnson, *Music and Society*, London, 1972, pp. 197-98. The "deep impression" made by "those popular verses which are associated with national airs, and which [are] learnt in the years of infancy" had already been noted by Currie in his "Criticism on the Writings of Burns": *Works of Robert Burns; with an Account of his Life, and a Criticism on his Writings*, 4 vols., London, 1809 (sixth edn.), p. 326.

358. The first quotation is from Jeffrey, *loc. cit.*: "this Scotch is not to be considered as a provincial dialect, the vehicle only of rustic vulgarity and rude local humour. It is the language of a whole country" &c. Alexander Geddes, in his "Epistle to . . . the Scottish Society of Antiquaries", wrote that although the Mither-tongue

"Has had the melancholy fate  
To be neglekit by the great,  
She still has fun an open door  
Among the uncurrupit poor . . ."

(*The Oxford Book of Scottish Verse*, ed. John MacQueen and Tom Scott, 1965, p. 343). The last quotation (p. 312) is from William Hamilton of Gilbertfield's first epistle to Ramsay, stanza seven (*Poems of Allan Ramsay*, 2 vols., Glasgow, 1797, I, p. 96). Ramsay's verse is characterised by colloquial feeling rather than archaisms; for the eighteenth-century appreciation of Scots verse, and the manner in which contemporary poets and editors "intentionally blurred the difference" between the aureate diction of the Makaris and the "vulgar speech" of their own day, see: McDiarmid, *op. cit.*, pp. 118-60, esp. 118-44; Kinghorn and Law, *The Works of Allan Ramsay*, STS edn., Vol. IV, pp. 101-02 and 136-38; Freeman, "The Vernacular Movement", in *A Companion to Scottish Culture*, ed. Daiches, London, 1981, pp. 393-96. Echoing McDiarmid (*op. cit.*, p. 138, himself citing William Geddies), Freeman points out the importance of *tradition* to the Scots humanists — Catholics, Jacobites and Episcopalians "almost to a man" — who were at that time particularly active as printers and editors as well as poets. For a recent view of the "great efflorescence of cultural nationalism in Scotland during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries", and of how "this movement has received less attention than it deserves", see William Donaldson, *The Jacobite Song Political Myth and National Identity*, Aberdeen University Press, 1988 (both quotations are from p. 88).

359. John Pinkerton, *Scottish Tragic Ballads*,

London, 1781, quoted more fully p. 257 *supra*, 360. Currie, I, p. 265; cf. p. 311 *supra*.

361. The first quotation is from James Beattie's account of his son's life, 1794, quoted more fully in n. 350, the second from Edwin Muir, "Complaint of the Dying Peasantry", *Collected Poems*, 1963, p. 262. John Jamieson's *Dictionary* was first published in 1808. Of the bothy-ballad, that rural Scots song-type characteristic of the *nineteenth* century, Gavin Greig wrote:

"these ditties of farm life constitute the most genuinely native part of our popular minstrelsy. They may not amount to much as poetry; but there is an air of sincerity and conviction about them that makes for force and vitality. Further, they illustrate local life and language better than any other kind of song or ballad which we have" (quoted, from *Folk-Song of the North-East*, 2 vols., Peterhead, 1909-14, article xcii, on "The Ardlaw Crew", in David Buchan, *The Ballad and the Folk*, London and Boston, 1972, p. 266).

362. Cf. pp. 259-60 and 307 *supra*.

363. The quotation is from Burns's manuscript notes on Scottish songs, Edinburgh University Library, La. III 586, note to "Saw ye my Maggie" (*Burns Chronicle*, 1922, p. 9, an article by J. Davidson Cook, reprinted by Folklore Associates with their edn. of J. C. Dick's *The Songs of Robert Burns*, Hatboro, Pennsylvania, 1962; the note also in Cronk's *Reliques of Robert Burns*, 1808, Fourth edn., London, 1817, p. 200, "every Scottish [*sic*] ear"). On chapbooks &c., see Chapter IV, p. 149 and n. 23 *supra*, and also Thomas Crawford, *Society and the Lyric*, Edinburgh, 1979, pp. 5-7. At the same time as the vigour of this trade should be kept in mind, however, the formidable powers of memory and recitation among traditional singers of all nations should not be forgotten: see David Buchan, *The Ballad and the Folk*, 1972, virtually *passim*.

364. The first quotation is from Jeffrey's review of Cronk's *Reliques*, quoted at greater length on p. 312; the second is from Herd, Preface, p. vi.

365. Article XIX; cf. n. 323 *supra*. Many of the *Literati* had studied Law, and the Scottish legal system may indeed have been "identified with Scottish national feeling, as well as with culture and intellectual progress in the most general sense" (David Daiches, *The Scottish Enlightenment*, Saltire Society, Edinburgh, 1986, p. 9). Furthermore, the General Assembly of the Kirk of Scotland has often been seen by later historians as a form of national parliament. Whatever may be true of the years after the Disruption (1843) the Patronage Act of 1712 meant that the Kirk of Allan's day was no more truly independent



than was the Law; cf. Daiches, *Scotland and the Union*, London, 1977, pp. 172-73, on appeals to the House of Lords &c.

366. *The Poems of Ossian*, Edinburgh, 1830, p. 93. Cf. Captain Burt's words, quoted in Chapter III, p. 134 *supra*.

367. For the first quotation, see p. 269 *supra*. The others are from Blair, *op. cit.*, pp. 92-3. Cf. also Chapter III, pp. 130-35, and pp. 257-58 *supra*.

368. The first quotation is from Topham, *Letters from Edinburgh*, quoted more fully in Chapter III, p. 131 *supra*; the second is from Burns, *Letters*, quoted more fully p. 259 *supra*.

369. The quotation is from Jeffrey's review of Cromek's *Reliques*, *Edinburgh Review*, 1809; quoted more fully on p. 312.

370. Cf. Chapter II, pp. 107-08 *supra*, and also John Barrell, *The Dark Side of the Landscape*, Cambridge, 1980, p. 20, quoted in n. 107 to Chapter II.

371. Cf. William Donaldson, *the Jacobite Song Political Myth and National Identity*, Aberdeen University Press, 1988, esp. Chapters Four, Six and Seven. Some related material may be found in two essays in *The People's Past*, ed. E. J. Cowan, Edinburgh, 1980; Kenneth Logue, "Eighteenth-Century Popular Protest: Aspects of the People's Past", pp. 108-30; and Norman Buchan, "Folk and Protest", pp. 165-90.

372. In his *Essay on the Origin of Language* Herder had written:

"The more a group is threatened, the more it will turn in upon itself and the closer will be the ties of its members. To avert dispersion they will do everything to strengthen their tribal roots. They will extol the deeds of their forefathers in songs, in patriotic appeals, in monuments, and thereby preserve their language and literary traditions for posterity" (translated by F. M. Barnard in *J. G. Herder on Social and Political Culture*, Cambridge University Press, 1969, p. 173).

373. The first quotation is from Barnard, *Herder's Social and Political Thought from Enlightenment to Nationalism*, Clarendon Press, 1965, p. 73, n. 7. In Scotland, in 1793, John Elder and William Stewart were charged with sedition, "their crime being that they had a medallion . . . with the words 'A nation [&c.] . . . and 'liberty and equality'"; P. Berresford Ellis and Seumas Mac A' Ghobhainn, *The Scottish Insurrection of 1820*, 1970, 2nd edn., London, 1989, p. 61, where other details of arrests and trials of the Friends of the People (in Scotland) are given (cf. also Chapter V, pp. 230-31 *supra*).

374. Discussed in Chapter III, pp. 130-38, Chapter IV, pp. 162-63, and also p. 256 *supra*.

375. Cf. Chapter IV, p. 155 *supra*.

376. Gentlemen of this description appear

in six of these illustrations; the "Young Laird", of course, meets Edinburgh Kate in the town itself (p. 275, Figure 232 and Plate XVIII). In two more, "Katherine Ogie" (The Mitchell Library, Glasgow, SR 241 308864, f. 13 verso), and Ramsay's "Bessie Bell and Mary Gray" (Figure 227, facing p. 272), the pictures are characteristically harmonious; in the former there is textual justification for the depiction of a wealthy hero (cf. Herd, Vol. I, p. 246, verse four: "O were I but a shepherd swain!" &c.), and the attitudes of Ramsay's song, to say nothing of the classical allusions, are not entirely typical of those "Sentimental, Pastoral and Love Songs" which are supposedly set in the country. In two more "The Siller Crown" (*SNM* III, p. 249, N° 240), and the famous "Get up and bar the Door" (Herd, Vol. II, pp. 159-60), there is again textual justification for the depiction of gentlemen, and in both cases their appearance is certainly unwelcome. Finally, although the choice of such a protagonist as the "Brisk Young Lad" (Figure 234, between pp. 275-76) was surely made for the opportunity of imagining the braw fellow, and all his finery, being clartit with the glaur of the duck-dub, there is once more the sense of a disruptive influence from outside a defined community. This subtle feature was first suggested by Jim Brown in his dissertation, *The Scottish Song Illustrations of David Allan*, 1984.

377. Cf. Chapter II, p. 57 *supra*. "Pastoral Innocence", together with "Filial Piety", was exhibited by Berckhardt, Royal Academy 1795; it was, incidentally, J. Penny who, in 1788 and also at the RA, exhibited "Rural Innocence", "Cottage felicity", with other pastoral subjects, was exhibited there by C. R. Ryley, in 1792 (Graves, *Royal Academy*).

378. Cf. pp. 264-67, and notes 148-49 *supra*. See also William Donaldson, *the Jacobite Song*, Aberdeen University Press, 1988, p. 87, and cf. Thomas Crawford, *Burns A Study of the Poems and Songs*, Edinburgh and London, 1960, p. 154, on the ambiguity of the seventh stanza of the address "To a Haggis" (*Poems and Songs*, Clarendon Press, 1968, ed. James Kinsley, no. 136 and *Commentary*, III, p. 1221).

379. *SNM* III (1790), Preface, lines 7-9.

380. *TTM*, Preface (1730), original spelling of "Altho'" "Musick" and "our selves". Ramsay wrote in a later sentence, "What further adds to the Esteem we have for them, is, their Antiquity, and their being universally known".

381. *An Account of a Conversation concerning the Right Regulation of Governments for the common good of Mankind*, 1703, in *Fletcher of Saltoun, Selected Writings*, ed. David Daiches, Association for Scottish Literary Studies, 1979; the words were spoken



Notes to pp. 316-321.

in order to rebut the argument advanced by the "Earl of Cr-m-rty", who thought that "infamous ballads sung in every corner of the streets" were "of no great consequence". Cf. Chapter V, pp. 233-34; Buchan had, in 1792, published his *Essays on the Lives and Writings of Fletcher of Saltoun and the Poet Thomson*; he also visited Paris in the early days of the Revolution (P. Berresford Ellis and Seumas Mac A' Ghobhainn, *The Scottish Insurrection of 1820*, 1970, 2nd. edn, London, 1989, p. 54). Herd almost certainly alluded to Andrew Fletcher's statement when he wrote:

"And trivial as his idea of a song may be, the statesman has often felt this paultry [*sic*] engine affecting the machine of government; and those who are versant in history can produce instances of popular songs and ballads having been rendered subservient to great revolutions both in church and state" *Ancient and Modern Scottish Songs*, 1776, Preface, first paragraph (cf. p. 308 *supra*).

382. A title-page for his first twenty-five etchings - the only song-illustrations that Allan ever prepared for publication (cf. p. 238 and nn. 15-16 *supra*) - was executed by "J. Macdonald" (NGS, Prints and Drawings).

383. Cf. Appendix IX, the volume of songs published by Andrew Foulis, Edinburgh, 1799. The suggestion is not to be taken too literally; Allan himself must have intended some quiet humour when he designed an illustration including a book of songs as frontispiece to a collection of song-illustrations, perhaps even a songbook with illustrations.

384. The quotation is from "A Bard's Epitaph", *Burns Poems and Songs*, ed. James Kinsley, Clarendon Press, 1968, no. 104. When Burns wrote to James Smith of his venturing into "guid, black *prent*", he may have been echoing Fergusson's "Answer to Mr J. S.'s Epistle" (*Poems and Songs*, no. 79, line 38, and *Poems*, STS edn, ed. McDiarmid, p. 71, line 3).

385. Cf. Chapter VII, p. 353 *infra*.

386. The argument advanced by David Johnson in *Music and Society in Lowland Scotland in the Eighteenth Century*, London, 1972, p. 143 ff. seems a little ingenious. It is true that some of the "customs" to which songs made reference - often only in passing - had been superseded, the lyrics themselves becoming, "by imperceptible stages, out of date", but it is equally true that other agricultural methods remained unchanged *in essentials*, though perhaps equipment was improved, for another century and more; it was a long time before the pitchfork carried by "The Lass of Patie's Mill", for instance, was abandoned. In any case, few of the songs could ever have been thought "realistic pictures of the

present" although they may certainly be regarded as "nostalgic accounts of the past".

387. Letter of 24<sup>th</sup> November, 1821, from Thomson to Stothard, NLS, MS. 685.

388. The various books of fiddle-music familiarly known as the Gow collections were "nearly all Nathaniel's [editorial] work"; D. Johnson, *Scottish Fiddle Music in the 18th Century A music collection and historical study*, Edinburgh, 1984, pp. 219-21. The first, by "Niel Gow at Dunkeld", was published in 1784; the sixth and last in 1822, fifteen years after Niel's death. Nathaniel was Niel Gow's fourth son. As Johnson has shown, "folk-fiddle playing, as it exists in Scotland today, was almost entirely an eighteenth-century creation", and "many individual tunes were . . . as brand new, in fact, as any cotillon one could name" (*Music and Society*, 1972, p. 111, and *Scottish Fiddle Music*, 1984, p. 213, in which Johnson refers to "Tam O'Shanter", lines 116-17; *Burns Poems and Songs*, ed. Kinsley, 1968, no. 321).

389. Herd, Preface, p. viii (original spelling)

390. The quotation is from Thomas Hardy's poem "In Time of 'The Breaking of Nations'", *Collected Poems*, Macmillan, Fourth edn. 1930, p. 477. The disquieting note suggested by the "Frontispiece" is taken up in Chapter VII, p. 354 *infra*, following a discussion of Allan's other scenes of Scottish life dating from these years.

## Notes to Chapter VII.

The just representation of ordinary Life. (Title quoted from David Allan's letter of 3rd. October, 1788, to Gavin Hamilton, published with *The Gentle Shepherd*, Foulis Press, Glasgow, 1788; transcribed in full as Appendix IV).

1. *Ibid*.

2. Allan made at least three prints before going to Italy, two of the Foulis Academy and a Masonic summons form of 1764. Another nine prints are of Italian subjects, only one of which is dated (cf. n. 75 to Chapter IV): "Calabrian Shepherds"; "Hermit . . . Appian way"; "Innocence betrayed"; "Maid of . . . Procita"; "Napolitan Dance"; "Napolitan Painter"; "Neapolitan Girl"; "Pilgrims"; "Preaching in the Colloseo" (Short titles, Allan's spelling). Seven prints cannot reasonably be assigned to any period: "Eumulus Ulysses's herd keeper" (*sic* for Eumaeus, Ulysses and "keeper"); "Poor Hautboy"; "Five Landscapes by Allan". The first two are aquatints. A drawing of the second subject ("Man playing on Hautboy") was sold



in 1797 (Sale I, p. 13, lot 96). The landscapes appeared at the same sale, but are now lost (p. 5, lot 110). So too are three more prints, recorded in sale catalogues, and probably of Scottish subjects: "Girl at School"; "Beggar Boy"; "Funeral Procession" (probably Highland; cf. Chapter III, p. 126, n. 58). The first two were part of lot 133, Sale I, p. 5; the last was sold in 1798 (Sale II, p. 9, part of lot 65). Two undated Scottish prints are extant or recorded, one of Edinburgh Castle, the other of a porter; prints of two other Edinburgh Characters ("Charity" and "Oyster Girl") are from 1783 and 1784 respectively, and the porter may be of the same period. While not specifically Scottish in any feature, the "Shaving Machine" probably dates from late in Allan's career (cf. n. 15 *infra*). The earliest dated prints of Scottish scenes, of Blackness Castle and Clackmannan Tower, are from 1782. In the following year Allan made prints of The General Assembly, "The Highland Dance", "Charity", Mrs. Catherine Bruce, Septimus Severus, Julia Emilia, and William Wallace. In 1784 "Black Stool", "Deserter" and a diploma for the Honourable Company of Golfers joined "Oyster Girl". A second version of the General Assembly print is dated 1787. Thirteen plates for *The Gentle Shepherd* were published in 1788, a print of "The Good Shepherd" apparently being of the same date (sold 1972). In 1789 Allan made prints of the Lord High Commissioner's procession and the laying of the foundation stone of the New College, Edinburgh University. He made a print of Alloa dry dock in 1791, others of Alloa Tower and the High Street of Edinburgh in 1793, with the "Edinburgh Volunteers" following in 1794. His twenty-five oval illustrations of Scottish songs, with the small "Maid of Castle Cary", belong to 1795 and 1796. Standing apart are Allan's fifty-seven plates (each containing a number of cameos &c.) for Tassie's *Catalogue* (1791), and his own two plates "Elements of Drawing for Scholars", probably connected with his Mastership of the Trustees' Academy. Finally, his self-portrait in etching and aquatint may be dated to the mid-1780s.

3. Maurice Lindsay, *History of Scottish Literature*, London, 1977, p. 226. Cf. *SA*, II, p. 703, where the Rev. Robert Rennie, in his account of the Parish of Borrowstownness (*sic*), laments that "here, as in many other places specified in the Statistical Account of Scotland, tippling houses are too numerous" and quotes a quatrain (the twenty-seventh of Part II, repeated as the thirty-fourth and last) from "Scotland's Skaith, a little poem of real merit" (footnote, *SA*, *loc. cit.*).

4. The three prints were published in 1795, although "first impressions" had been pulled

by 1793 (Sale II, p. 6, lot 101). Allan's pupil Scott engraved the Frontispiece. Scott's son, William Bell Scott, seems to have drawn his "New Year's Day Morning I vide, The Two Dogs. Vol. I page 6" with Allan's "The Cotter's Saturday Night" (engraved by R. Scott) in mind, and he certainly based his own moral prints "The Home of the Temperate" and "The Home of the Intemperate", inscribed to the Newcastle Temperance Society, upon Allan's other designs for *Scotland's Skaith*, those engraved by Paton Thomson (W. B. Scott was Master of the Government School of Design there from 1843; Irwin, *Scottish Painters at Home and Abroad*, London, 1975, p. 278). Stothard had already followed one of Allan's designs for the poem in his own set of illustrations to *The Poetical Works of Hector MacNeill, Esq.*, 2 vols., London and Edinburgh, 1801, facing p. 9, cf. also the illustration facing p. 18. As closely based upon Allan's work were the illustrations that W. B. Scott made of "The Auld Cloak" (*i.e.* "Tak your auld cloak about ye", Figure 256, facing p. 285) and of a dancing scene ("Maggie Lauder" in mediæval costume). Allan's print (etching and aquatint) of "Maggie Lauder" seems to have been particularly useful to William Bonnar and Alexander Johnston when each was seeking a composition for his own picture of the song. One may, of course, have copied the other, but the ultimate source is Allan; see *The Wilkie Tradition*, Mainhill Gallery and Bourne Fine Art, 1983, nos. 13 and 22, and compare Figure 231, facing p. 274 *supra*.

5. Letter of 6<sup>th</sup> November, 1780; given as Appendix II, p. 388 *infra*, from Rev. T. C. Gordon, *David Allan of Alloa*, Alva, 1951, pp. 31-2.

6. Chapter I, p. 4, pp. 6-8, Figures 1 and 2.

7. In addition to R. Scott and Paton Thomson, mentioned in n. 4, prints were made after Allan by Cunego and Salvatore Tresca ("Origin of Painting"), by Volpato ("Origin of Painting" and "The Confession"), by Caldwell (*The Seasons*, Murray's edition, 1779), by Parker (Ritson's *Scottish Song*, 1794), by Ransom (Thomson's *Select Collection*) and by Stevenson (Morison's *Ossian*, 1795), as well as the unscrupulous, and generally anonymous engravers who plagiarised Allan's plates in *The Gentle Shepherd* for a number of early nineteenth-century editions of the play.

8. "Clackmannan Tower" (1782), 14½ x 10½, "Black Stool" (1784), 11½ x 13½; Figure 290, facing p. 334. The largest of Allan's prints is that showing the laying of the foundation stone of the New College of Edinburgh University (1789), 11½ x 18, Figure 289, facing p. 330.

9. Letter of 9<sup>th</sup> August, 1783, to the Earl of Buchan (Watson MSS, NLS, 590 No. 1728).

10. Cf Chapter I, nn. 36, 37, 59, 99, 100 and 127,



for prints by or after Correggio, Guido Reni and Raphael, Piranesi, Orsini, Le Clerc, Mengs and Volpato, and for volumes of prints. "Pergolesi's Ornamental Designs" appeared in Sale I, p. 1, lot 5; lot 17 on the same day was "Manuale di vari ornamenti per uso di Pittori Architetti, &c. da Carlo Antonini, Roma"; lot 19 was "The Gentleman and Cabinet-maker's Director 1 vol. fol", presumably that published by Chippendale in 1754. Allan owned a "Complete Treatise on Perspective by Thomas Malton, the plates bound up separately 2 vols fol" "The Artist's Assistant, in Drawing, &c, London 1786", "Bowles's Art of Drawing, without a master [London 1786]" and "Anatomy improved . . . re-engraved from the work of Dom de Rossi, 1 vol fol"; Sale I, p. 2, lot 20, Sale II, p. 6, lots 87-8, and Sale I, p. 1, lot 3. For Allan's collection of pictures by Sandby, see n. 44 *infra*. He owned "Eight Characters of Horses, by Gilpin", and the "First number of Gilpin and Garrard's Prints of Horses" (Sale I, pp. 2 and 5, lots 38 and 108). Two works by Bogle were in Allan's collection; a portrait of James Byres, and a picture of a "Night Watchman, London" (Sale I, pp. 6 and 4, lots 144 and 95). In addition to Hamilton's *Schola*, Allan owned "Pair, Hebe and Juno", "Death of Lucretia", "Pair, Allegro and Penseroso", "Innocence", all by Cunego after Hamilton, as well as the set of prints from the *Iliad*: Sale I, p. 3, lot 57; p. 5, lots 127-28; p. 3, lots 45, 46 and 53. Reynolds was also represented by a number of prints: "Portraits of two Ladies"; "Lady Smith, by Bartalozzi [*sic*], after Sir Joshua, *coloured*"; "Lady C. P. Clinton, Smith after Sir Joshua"; "Mr. Bunbury after Sir Joshua"; and "Duke of Devonshire, *proof* after Sir Joshua" (Sale I; p. 4, lots 68, 81, 88, 91 and 94). Charles Cordiner had been a student at the Foulis Academy; Allan's copy of his *Antiquities*, London, 1780, was lot 33 on the first day of Sale I (see Irwin, *Scottish Painters at Home and Abroad*, London, 1975, p. 86). Gori's *Museo* and the book of prints from Herculaneum were lots 6 and 11 on the same day.

11. Sale I, p. 3, lots 56 (Cunego) and 58 (Volpato). Tresca's mezzotint was made in Paris, at the Hôtel de Cluny.

12. Sale I, p. 2, lot 32; p. 4, lot 86 (called "Bartholomew Fair, by Hogarth").

13. For Allan's *prints* of Edinburgh Characters, see n. 2 *supra*; the series as a whole is considered on pp. 326-27 *infra*. The quotation is from Sale I, p. 16, lot 198, where it refers to Allan's *lost drawing* of the scene. Allan decided the General Assembly would "make a good print" as early as 1780; see his letter to Sir William Hamilton (given as Appendix II, p. 388 *infra*; cf. also n. 16).

14. "Edinburgh Volunteers; 1794", inscribed (bottom left) "D. Allan fecit". Ten copies were sold in 1797 (Sale I, p. 6, lot 139). "Tax" &c, Sale I, p. 5, lot 118. John Nixon made a print of the same subject in 1782. In 1795 Burns wrote a song for the Dumfries Volunteers beginning "Does Haughty Gaul invasion threat?" (*Poems and Songs*, ed. Kinsley, 1968, no. 484; *SMN* Vol. VI, 1803, p. 565, No. 546). Cockburn's description of Edinburgh's "corps" is quoted from *Memorials of his Time*, Edinburgh, 1856, Chapter I, p. 71.

15. Sale I, p. 5, lot 135. None of these copies was offered at the auction of 1798.

16. For a list of prints (etchings, engravings and aquatints) executed wholly by Allan, with dates as far as these may be determined, see n. 2 *supra*. The second version of "The General Assembly" (1787) was never published by Allan; nine copies of the first were sold in 1797 (Sale I, p. 4, lot 70), with the plate of an unpublished version following about a week later (p. 16 "Copperplates, Casts &c", lot 2). This version was published by Robert Scott, Allan's pupil.

17. Cf. n. 2 *supra*; the "Five views of Edinburgh Castle" sold in 1797 (Sale I, p. 5, lot 114, prints) were presumably all different, since groups of duplicates are invariably described as e.g. "Thirty copies . . . Clackmannan Castle" or "Twelve copies . . . High Street" (lots 113 and 115, same day). These "Five views" may date from as early as 1782. If the "Funeral Procession" is, like the "Dance" with which it was sold in 1798, also a Highland subject (cf. Chapter III, p. 126, n. 58), it may date from 1780. In addition to the print of a porter, "Girl at School" and "Beggar Boy" (both lost) might also be placed with the prints "Oyster Girl" and "Charity" (an Edinburgh beggar; cf. Fig. 273, between pp. 326-27), from the early 1780s.

18. Cf. Sale I, pp. 17 and 18, "Miscellaneous Articles", lot 9 ("A Drawing Machine") and lot 17 (also "A Drawing Machine").

19. The letter is transcribed in full from the original, Chapter I, p. 21 *supra*.

20. The "Evening Amusements" were lots 5 and 6 on the fifth day of Sale I, p. 10. Of the *folios* of sketches, comprising more than five hundred "pieces" in all, which were sold at this auction (principally on the sixth day; pp. 14-16, *passim*), most contained "Figures and Groupes". Some fifty sketches were of landscapes or topographical features, and almost seventy (p. 15, lots 151 and 154-56) were of "Historical Compositions". Seven books "of original Sketches and Studies, after Nature, by Allan" were sold in the following year; all were of Italian or Neapolitan subjects (Sale II, p. 5, lots 57-63).

21. The Italian scene — private collection



(D.B) — measures 13½ x 20¼, and is inscribed "P. Saunby et D. Allan del 1793". The Italian revellers are clearly members of Allan's cast of characters (though none is a direct copy from any other picture), and the background of Italian townscape and countryside is as close to Sandby's work as the figures are to Allan's. This is also true of a Scottish scene (watercolours, with the NGS, August, 1989) which may be that listed in Sale I (p. 15, lot 188) as "Highland Dance, — Do, the Landscape part by Paul Sandby"; as often in Moir's catalogues, a "Do," is ambiguous, and may indicate "finished", "24 by 18 inches" or "glazed", from the description of the previous lot.

22. Sale I, p. 6, lot 138. Paintings of the same two subjects were sold two days later: "Highland Dance, unframed, 3ft 6in by 2ft 9in" and "Italian Dance, Naples and Vesuvius in the back ground, unframed, 4 ft by 3" (Sale I p. 9, lots 79 and 80). Cf. Allan's letter of 1780 to Sir William Hamilton: "I have painted at Athole for myself a Highland Dance as a companion to the Neapolitan" (Appendix II).

23. Sketchbook D5088, NGS. Two different views of the figure in question are on ff. 15 and 16; cf. also Figure 277, facing p. 327. Allan wrote an Italian proverb (or riddle) on the inside cover, signing his name and "Naples, 1770" below this. Sketches from the book (f. 8 verso, f. 60) were used in both "Evening Amusements" watercolours, dated 1769 and 1779 (Glasgow Art Gallery and Museum; Figure 13, facing p. 12), but another sketch ("O, che Oliva", f. 55, recto) is inscribed "Cry of Rome 1776".

24. The title-page of Allan's edn. of *The Gentle Shepherd*, published by the Foulis Press in December, 1788, gives "Dickson's Closs" as his address; that Allan's letter of September, 1789, to the Earl of Buchan gives the direction "My adress I Dicksons Close" suggests that his flitting from Writers' Court had been fairly recent (see Chapter V, p. 204 *supra*, where the letter to Buchan is transcribed in full from the original, and also Appendix V); Cf. also the Rev. T. C. Gordon, *David Allan of Alloa*, Alva, 1951, p. 43.

25. Cf. Fergusson's "Auld Reikie" and "Leith Races", and also Burns's "The Holy Fair". For "blue-gown", see Glossary.

26. John Stoddart, *Remarks on local Scenery and manners in Scotland during the Years 1799 and 1800*, London, 1801, Vol. II, p. 213. The "Gav W" of the sign in Allan's print can be identified with some confidence: in 1788 was published *A Collection of Masonic Songs, And Entertaining Anecdotes . . . By Gavin Wilson Poet Laureat to the Lodge of St David, Edinburgh*. The frontispiece portrait identifies the author more prosaically as "Gavin Wilson

Edin. Leg Arm and Boot Maker Inventor of Hard'ned & Polished Leather."

27. Sale I, p. 15, lot 182: "Book of Scotch Figures, chiefly the Cries and Employments common in Edinburgh, drawn and coloured from Nature". The character shown in one of these designs, a "blue gown" and his children (Figure 273, between pp. 326-27) was the subject of the print "Charity", 1783; another, a fireman, is inscribed 1788. The date of 1793 seen in Plate VIII is spurious; the writing is not Allan's, and refers to his print of the High Street (Figure 270, facing p. 325) in which the water cadie features.

28. The passenger is not seen, but cf. Chambers, *Traditions*; "In former times, when Edinburgh was so much more limited than now, and rather an assemblage of alleys than of streets, sedans were in comparatively great request. They were especially in requisition among the ladies—indeed, almost exclusively so. From time immemorial the sons of the Gael have monopolised this branch of service; and as far as the business of a sedan-carrier can yet be said to exist amongst us, it is in the possession of Highlanders" (p. 176, "The Cross-Caddies"). The last point is confirmed by Fergusson's "Mutual Complaint of Plain-stanes and Causey, in their Mother-tongue", where Causey remarks:

"Like thee, do I not bide the brunt  
Of Highland chairman's heavy dunt?"

(*The Poems of Robert Fergusson*, STS edn., Vol. II, Edinburgh and London, 1956, ed. M. P. McDiarmid, p. 124, lines 59-60). H. G. Graham, in *The Social Life of Scotland in the Eighteenth Century*, (1899, fourth edition 1937, p. 90), imagines these chairmen "spluttering Gaelic execrations on those who impeded their progress", but sneezing might be more appropriate, since the Highlanders' fondness for snuff was legendary: see Kirkwood / Lhuyd, *A collection of Highland Rites and Customs*, Folklore Society, 1975, p. 45 — "Snuff is useful amongst them to make acquaintance" — and also James Boswell, *Tour*, September 24<sup>th</sup>; "The people consume a vast deal of snuff and tobacco, for which they must pay ready money" (ed. Peter Levi, Harmondsworth, 1984, p. 312).

29. Allan's prints are listed in n.2 *supra*. To his prints (etching and aquatint) of "Charity", "Oyster Girl" (Figure 276, between pp. 326-27), and the porter, the lost "Beggar Boy" and "Girl at School" might be added. Duplicate drawings of Edinburgh Characters exist in several collections, those in the Dunimarle Album (on loan to NGS, Prints and Drawings) being prefaced with the pencilled note "Portraits Taken from Life"; the initial outlines might have been copied by Alexander Carse, apparently employed by Allan for this



purpose (see Irwin, *Scottish Painters at Home and Abroad*, London, 1975, p. 190, referring to "Kenneth Sanderson's MS. Notebook, National Gallery of Scotland". Carse's drawing style is certainly very similar to Allan's, as are his subjects, but there is no other evidence to support this opinion.

30. *A Series of Original Portraits and Caricature Etchings By the late Mr. John Kay Miniature Painter Edinburgh with Biographical sketches and Illustrative Anecdotes*, Edinburgh, 1877, Vol. II, p. 155, no. 224.

31. The quotation is from Basil Skinner, *The Indefatigable Mr. Allan*, exhibition catalogue (Scottish Arts Council, 1973), p. 19, no. 59, where the words refer specifically to Allan's use of the Highland officer in his print of the Lord High Commissioner's Procession.

32. The first quotation is from Smollett's *The Expedition of Humphry Clinker*, letter of July 18<sup>th</sup>, from Matt Bramble to Dr. Lewis, in *Works*, Vol. IV, p. 66. Pennant's view is quoted from *A Tour in Scotland; 1769*, 3rd. edn., 1774, p. 52. The guard-house opposite Bell's Wynd (to which Pennant also referred) had been demolished in 1785, and the Luckenbooths were to follow in 1829. Allan's *outline etching* is inscribed "D. Allan f. 1793".

33. Sale I, pp. 17-18, "Miscellaneous Articles", lots 5, 6 and 16, the last "A small Camera Obscura for the pocket".

34. On "Rutherglen Fair" (Dunimarle Album, on loan to NGS), see Chapter I, p. 13, n. 69 *supra*. A "View of Dumbarton Castle, 22in by 14 framed" was sold in 1797 (Sale I, p. 15, lot 192; a drawing). Basil Skinner, in *The Indefatigable Mr. Allan*, 1973, p. 4, mentions "the vanished *Views of Glasgow* last recorded in 1808". Allan was in Glasgow in 1792, but seems to have been too busy on that occasion to make more than one drawing, which was sent to Principal Robertson (see Appendix VI).

35. See Chapter III, p. 118, n. 32 *supra*. An "East View of the Bass" was sold in 1797 (Sale I, p. 11, lot 47; a drawing).

36. Sale I, p. 12, lot 88, "Craig Miller Castle" (drawing); p. 14, lot 139, "Dunfermline Abbey" (drawing); Sale I, p. 5, lot 114, "Five views of Edinburgh Castle", prints, probably all different (see n. 17 *supra*); and Sale II, p. 8, lot 63, "Two Outlines, Clackmannan Tower and Edinburgh Castle" (Prints; cf. Sale I, p. 5, lot 113, "Thirty copies Outlines of Clackmannan Castle [*sic*]"). A drawing of the Canongate Tolbooth is in the NGS; Allan used the building to give some appropriate local colour to a song illustration (Plate XVIII as well as Figure 232; the "Salt Wife" Margaret Suttie may be seen in the background of the etching). A drawing of the Camp at Niddry is in the Scottish United Services Museum.

37. See Chapter III, p. 118 *supra*. Lady Hope's letter was sent to Sir James Hunter Blair, Lord Provost of Edinburgh, on 30<sup>th</sup> October, 1785, in support of Allan's application for the Mastership of the Trustees' Academy, and also commends his skill in portraiture and "patern drawing" (Hunter Blair MSS; cf. Chapter I, pp. 22-4, and also Appendix V).

38. The views of the Forth at Alloa are in a private collection (M. & K). A "Landscape by Allan, in watercolours, view of Stirling from Alloa" was sold in 1798, as was "Ditto, Tulliallen Castle" (Sale II, p. 4, lots 36-7). The latter is noted by Cunningham in his *The Lives of the most Eminent British Painters*, London, 1833, Vol. VI, p. 4, but like the view of Castle Campbell also mentioned, and sold in the same auction (p. 4, lot 32), it is lost. Allan's drawing of Culross Abbey (NGS) dates from 1781.

39. A drawing of Rosyth Castle is in the Dunimarle Album (NGS). The quotation is from Allan's letter of September, 1789, to the Earl of Buchan (cf. Chapter V, pp. 204-05 *supra*).

40. Both of Allan's drawings of the well at Moffat are signed and dated 1795 (Dunimarle Album, NGS). In a letter of 1<sup>st</sup> June, 1796, Allan wrote of "tasting the healthy air of Moffat end of this summer"; he died that August (Cowie Collection, the Mitchell Library, Glasgow; reproduced in the Rev. T. C. Gordon, *David Allan of Alloa*, Alva, 1951, facing p. 80; cf. also Appendix VI).

41. Sale I, p. 13, lots 111 and 112 ("Moffat Mineral Well, a pair," and "Moffat Village", all three in Dunimarle Album, NGS), and p. 11, lot 37, "Moffat Church".

42. Cf. Chapter III, p. 111 and n. 7 *supra*. Dr. Cheyne's *The Natural Method of Cureing the Diseases of the Body and the Disorders of the Mind depending on the Body* was published in 1742. Burt wrote how "an English Lady, who found herself something decaying in her health . . . was advised to go among the Hills, and drink Goat's milk or Whey" (*Letters from a Gentleman in the North of Scotland*, 1754, Letter XI). The cure is also mentioned in *Humphry Clinker* as being recommended by "Dr. Gregory, an eminent physician of an amiable character" (Letter of 8<sup>th</sup> August, from Matt. Bramble to Dr. Lewis); cf. also Graham, *Social Life of Scotland*, p. 483, where the Highland borders are again specifically noted.

43. Sale I, p. 11, lot 41 (lost); Sale I, p. 10, lot 1, "Farmer's Family, Anandale, A" (original spelling; lost).

44. Sale I, p. 3, lot 43, "Pair of Landscapes, by Hackert" (Prints); p. 4, lot 84 "Vue de Fonte Bello by Dunker after Hackert"; Sale I, p. 11, lot 39, "Landscape copied from



Barret", and p. 15, lots 193-94; "Pair of Landscapes, one of them an original by Barret, the other a copy by Allan, 12in. by 9, framed" and "Landscape by Barret, with cattle by Gilpin, framed, 17 in by 11." Allan owned "Gilpin's Essays on Picturesque Beauty, London 1792" (Sale II, p. 6, lot 92). One painting by "Smyth", presumably "Warwick" Smith, was offered in Sale I (p. 16, lot 205), and two more in the following year (Sale II, p. 4, lots 56 and 57; "Landscape in water colours, by J. Smith, very capital, being a view of Terracina a seaport in Italy, 28 inches by 20, cost 15 guineas without framing"; and "The Companion, by the same artist, being a view of the ancient Villa Mecenas and the Cascatelli, &c at Tivoli, both the landscapes highly and beautifully finished, and esteemed chef d'oeuvres of the master". On the villa at Tivoli, cf. n. 35 to Chapter I. Allan's high regard for Sandby is evident both in a letter to the Earl of Hopetoun (transcribed in full from the original, Chapter I, p. 21 *supra*) and in the Preface to *The Gentle Shepherd* (Appendix IV), and his collection of works by Sandby, all landscapes or "views", is impressive. Eight were prints; Sale I, p. 3, lot 61 ("Pair of views"); p. 5, lot 117 (six views). Allan owned at least three copies after Sandby, having probably made them himself; Sale I, p. 11, lot 40, "[Landscape]"; Sale II, p. 4, lot 29, two "outlines of views after Sanby [*sic*]". He owned at least four originals; Sale I, p. 11, lot 42 "Landscape" (a drawing); Sale I, p. 14, lots 163-5, three "Landscapes" (drawings), as well as the collaborations mentioned in n. 21 *supra*. A drawing listed as "Great Tree and View in Wales" may also have been copied from Sandby, although no such indication is given (Sale I, p. 11, lot 38). Some twenty landscapes and topographical views made by Allan himself are extant. Most of the forty or so listed in Moir's catalogues being so poorly identified, it is seldom possible even to recognise which were unsold at the first auction and offered again in 1798, far less decide which of those still known remained in Allan's studio. Finally, several of the sketchbooks offered at these sales surely contained landscape studies; one was listed as "Small book of Sketches chiefly Groupes and Views" (Sale I, p. 16, lot 203).

45. Allan's topographical work in Italy is noted briefly in Chapter I, p. 8. In 1775 he made a drawing in watercolours of Virgil's tomb at Pozzuoli (NGS, Prints and Drawings). It may be a sketch for, or a repetition of, "The Tomb of Virgil at Mantua, 30in by 20", an oil painting which was sold in 1797; Sale I, p. 9, lot 70 (Pozzuoli is near Naples; Mantua was Virgil's birthplace). At least six

drawings of Hadrian's Villa were contained on the "6 leaves, in black lead" sold in the same year, shortly after "Mecena's Villa at Tivoli" (cf. n. 35 to Chapter I); Sale I, p. 14, lot 147, and p. 13, lot 126. Allan's letter of December, 1780, to Buchan is transcribed in full from the original, Appendix III.

46. Cf. Sale I, p. 15, lot 177; "Book, containing original Drawings of the sacrament of the Church of Rome, and prints of the Gentle Shepherd"; the Sacraments are probably to be identified with those in the Dunimarle collection and dated 1774 (see Lindsay Errington, *David Allan's Seven Sacraments*, 1982, NGS). An oil painting of "Confession" is in a private collection (A); a print of this subject was made by Volpato (cf. Appendix VIII).

47. He mentions "a drawing of the General Assembly of the Kirk of Scotland with many portraits" in his letter of November, 1780, to Sir William Hamilton (see p. 322 *supra*; the letter is given as Appendix II, from Gordon, *David Allan of Alloa*, 1951, pp. 31-2). Allan's drawing "Prize of the Silver Golf" (1787) is Figure 90, facing p. 124 *supra*.

48. Pennant, *Tour*, 3rd. edn., 1774, p. 56; Boswell, *Tour to the Hebrides*, entry for Monday, 16<sup>th</sup> August. The "epithet" was *ha miseria nostra*; but Johnson was "much pleased with the library" (ed. P. Levi, Harmondsworth, 1984, p. 177).

49. Edinburgh College Minutes (1789), p. 405.

50. *Scots Magazine*, November, 1789, p. 527. Only one version of Allan's print exists (in several copies); the statement in Dr. Peter Wright's "biographical sketch" that he owned "Two different Views of laying the foundation stone of the College of Edinburgh" is probably a compositor's error; the confusion having been caused by the first few words of the next sentence (see Appendix VIII).

51. *Scots Magazine*, November, 1789, p. 527, and College Minutes, *loc. cit.* A print of this elevation was published in 1791. Allan owned three prints of "Ornaments, from Dioclesian's Baths", and five ceiling designs by Adam (Sale II, pp. 5 and 6, lots 68 and 86; see Chapter I, p. 23 *supra*).

52. Quoted in A. J. Youngson, *The Making of Classical Edinburgh*, Edinburgh, 1966, pp. 3-7. The *Proposals &c.* was written by Sir Gilbert Elliot, probably much encouraged by Lord Provost George Drummond.

53. The quotation is from Smollett, *Humphry Clinker*, letter of 3rd. September, from J. Melford to Sir Watkin Phillips (*Works*, 1899, Vol. IV, p. 99). Defoe thought Glasgow "the cleanest and beautifulest, and best built city in Britain, London excepted", describing the "four principal streets" as "the fairest for breadth, and the finest built that [he had] ever seen in one city together"; *A Tour*



through the Whole Island of Great Britain, (1724-26), Letter XII (Everyman Edition, London and New York 1962, 1966 reprint, p. 334). Pennant described Glasgow as "the best built of any modern second-rate city I ever saw"; *Tour*, third edition (1774), p. 230. Boswell, in his account of Johnson's respectful reception in Glasgow, relates "that one day in London, when Dr. Adam Smith was boasting of it ["this beautiful city"], he turned to him and said, 'Pray, sir, have you ever seen Brentford?'" ; *Tour to the Hebrides*, Friday, 29<sup>th</sup> October (ed. Levi, 1984, p. 389).

54. "Auld Reikie", lines 325-328. This optimistic thought formed the conclusion of Canto I, as published in 1773; see *The Poems of Robert Fergusson*, STS edn., ed. M. P. McDiarmid, Vol. II, Edinburgh, 1956, p. 276 (text, pp. 109-20).

55. Cockburn, *Memorials of his Time*, Edinburgh, 1856, Chapter I, p. 7. On Johann Georg Christoff Schetky (1737-1824), see D. Johnson, *Music and Society in Lowland Scotland in the Eighteenth Century*, 1972, pp. 56-7. He also led the band of the Edinburgh Volunteers.

56. Webster's *census* of 1755 put the total population of the Ancient Royalty at 31,000, of the city, including Leith, at 57,000. The poll-tax returns of 1694 indicate a figure of around 27,000; the stent roll of about half a century prior to this suggests some 20,000, twice the estimated population for 1560 (Walter Makey, City Archivist, based on research by Dr. Michael Lynch, University of Edinburgh). The population of Edinburgh at the time of the Bruce Charter, 1329, has been put at 2,000 (Oliver and Boyd, *The City of Edinburgh 1329-1929*, Edinburgh 1929, p. 375); see R. Robinson, "Tenements: A Pre-Industrial Urban Tradition", in *Review of Scottish Culture*, (ROSC), No. 1, Edinburgh, 1984, where it is estimated that as many as 66,000 may have lived in the city as a whole at the time of Webster's *census*.

57. *Giving alms no charity*, 1704 (in *A collection of pamphlets concerning the poor*, ed. T. Gilbert, 1787; p. 71).

58. *Journey*, last paragraph of "Banff" (*sic*); ed. Levi, Harmondsworth, 1984, p. 48.

59. Chambers, *Traditions of Edinburgh*, Edinburgh, 1824 (last revised edition, 1868; reprinted 1967), "The Changes of the last hundred years", pp. 8-10; also H. G. Graham, *The Social Life of Scotland in the Eighteenth Century*, 1899, 1937 reprint, pp. 125-26. Creech's *Letters Addressed to Sir John Sinclair, Bart.*, are an indispensable guide to the transformation of the capital in the late eighteenth century, as the comprehensive title indicates (see Bibliography I).

60. Graham, *op. cit.*, p. 433, perhaps too optimistically; T. C. Smout, *A History of the*

*Scottish People 1560-1830*, London, 1969, p. 290, gives a more likely account. See also Marjorie Plant, *The Domestic Life of Scotland in the Eighteenth Century*, Edinburgh, 1952, pp. 7-8.

61. Cf. James Barry, Introduction to *An Account of a Series of Pictures, in the Great Room of the Society of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce, at the Adelphi*, London, 1783, in *Works*, ed. Fryer, London, 1809, Vol. II, p. 318.

62. See the *Vestminster Confession*, 1643, esp. iii, xi, xvi-xviii. The expression "Reprobate race" in the previous sentence, however, is from a song by Burns, included in a letter to Provost Robert Maxwell of Lochmaben, 20<sup>th</sup> December, 1789 (*Letters*, Vol. I, pp. 377-78 - 2nd. edn., pp. 461-63 - no. 378); see *Poems and Songs*, ed. James Kinsley, Clarendon Press, 1968, no. 277; *MMC*, ed. Smith, Barke and Ferguson, 1959, pp. 47-9.

63. Clerk's poem is mentioned by Cunningham in his *Lives of the most Eminent British Painters, Sculptors and Architects*, 6 vols., London, 1833, Vol. VI, pp. 42-3 (3 vol. edn., 1879, Vol. II, p. 374). The "cutty-stool" is the term in Fergusson's "The Farmer's Ingle" (stanza six) and in several contemporary songs. Allan's print (etching and aquatint) of 1784 is entitled "Black Stool". Burns wrote of "the Creepie-chair" in the song "The rantin dog the Daddie o't" ; *SMH*, Vol. III (1790), p. 286, N<sup>o</sup> 277 (wrong air), and *Poems and Songs*, ed. Kinsley, 1968, no. 80. In Kinsley's *Commentary* is quoted the last description (*Poems and Songs*, Vol. III, p. 1038).

64. R. H. Cromek, *Remains of Nithsdale and Galloway Song*, 1810, Appendix D.

65. Variations on this pattern range from the "Hair cloth" mentioned in Burt's *Letters from . . . the North of Scotland*, London, 1754, (Letter IX), to a white sheet in an illustration of Fergusson's "The Farmer's Ingle" by Bewick or a follower. Dougal Graham, in his famous chapbook *The whole proceedings of Jocky and Maggie*, Glasgow, 1779, wrote of designs upon the cloth.

66. "Tune, Jenny dang the weaver," in Herd, Vol II, p. 181; first line "As I came in by Fisherraw" (cf. also Hans Hecht, *Songs from David Herd's Manuscripts*, Edinburgh, 1904, XVII, p. 114). The singer in this version is a man; that in *TTM* ("O Mither dear, I 'gin to fear"), where the singer is female, is one of Ramsay's better sets of "new Words to known good Tunes", probably because, instead of his usual practice of entirely "suppressing the ancient songs, and substituting his own inferior productions in their stead", he incorporated much of the material later collected by Herd (Stenhouse, *Illustrations*, p. 137, note to *SMH* II (1788), p. 155, N<sup>o</sup> 148). The *TTM* version, its air entitled "Jenny beguil'd the



Wabster", also appears in *Orpheus Caledonius*, II, XXXVII, p. 83, and in *SMH* II, p. 133, No 127.

67. The author of *Letters from . . . the North of Scotland* is generally identified as Captain Edward Burt; in addition to the account in Letter IX (cf. n. 65 *supra*), he describes how a child was refused baptism in one instance (Letter VI). The Belles Lettres Society's debate "Whether the repentance stool should be taken away" took place on February 26<sup>th</sup>, 1761; D. D. McElroy, *Clubs and Societies*, Edinburgh University Thesis, 1952, p. 603 (cf. *ibid*, p. 595, for the Select Society's almost identical debate). The final quotation is from H. G. Graham, *The Social Life of Scotland in the Eighteenth Century*, 1899, reprinted 1937, p. 322.

68. Cf. Burns, "Epistle to J. R\*\*\*\*\*, Enclosing some Poems", stanza eight (*Poems and Songs*, 1968, ed. Kinsley, no. 47).

69. *The Whole Proceedings of Jocky and Maggie*, Glasgow, 1779, p. 17.

70. See Creech's *Letters to Sir John Sinclair, Bart.*, in *SA*, II, p. 51 - "and have since greatly increased".

71. Sale I, p. 6, lot 140; "Presbyterian Penance, framed and glazed" (a print).

72. Sale I, p. 5, lots 112, 113 and 115; "Thirty three Outlines of the Gentle Shepherd for colouring"; "Thirty copies Outlines of Clackmannan Castle"; "Twelve copies of views of the High Street of Edinburgh". Two drawings of the subject - "Presbyterian Church Penance" and "Presbyterian penance, finished, 24 by 18 inches, glazed" - were sold in 1797 (Sale I, pp. 10 and 15, lots 3 and 187). Three watercolour drawings are extant, one in the Dunimarle collection (NGS), another belonging to the NGS itself, and a third in a private collection.

73. Outline etching in BM (1868-8-8-5404), inscribed - in a hand close to Allan's, but with one uncharacteristic form - "D. Allan, the only impression before the plate was Aquatinted". Sketch in a private collection. Even though the "mother" figure in this sketch is of the form seen in the later drawings rather than that in the print, it is most likely that the sketch is an early experiment; it would not be the only time Allan rejected a revision for an earlier thought (cf. Chapter IV, p. 179 *supra*), and some other details in this sketch are in any case closer to the 1784 print than to the later watercolour drawings.

74. The outline proof, BM (1868-8-8-5404), has been trimmed close to the edges of the image, but with a clear border all round. The image measures 11¼ x 13¼ (inches). The image in the printed version measures 11¼ x 13¾, with a platemark of 13 x 14¼. That is, the length

of the published image is less than that of the proof although their heights are identical, which would seem to rule out any variation in quality of paper or the relative dampness of particular sheets having caused the difference. The final version has not simply been pruned at the edges; peripheral details occupy exactly the same positions relative to the sides of the image. Many internal measurements are slightly different, and are invariably slightly less in the aquatint than in the proof (e.g. from the centre of the boy's left hand to the centre of the minister's right; from the left heel of the hatless officer to the right toe-tip of the lassie; from the edge of the fautor's left to the upright central support of the hourglass). As is pointed out in the text, p. 334, Allan also altered the orthogonals.

75. W. Edgar, *Old Church Life in Scotland*, Paisley, 1886, Vol. II, p. 402n. Quoted by F. B. Snyder in *Robert Burns: His Personality, his Reputation, his Art*, Toronto, 1936, p. 126.

76. *The whole proceedings of Jocky and Maggie*, Glasgow, 1779, p. 33.

77. Cf. David Laing's note, quoted in the Rev. T. C. Gordon's *David Allan of Alloa*, 1951, p. 40: "The very first impression, I have been told, went to the old woman, sitting in the foreground, who lifts up her hand". *Se non è vero, è molto ben trovato*.

78. Cf. Chapter VI, p. 282 *supra*.

79. Rev. T. C. Gordon, *op. cit.*, pp. 39-40.

80. *Ibid*, p. 26; Irwin, *Scottish Painters at Home and Abroad*, London, 1975, p. 121; Macmillan, *Painting in Scotland The Golden Age*, Oxford, 1986, p. 66.

81. Rev. T. C. Gordon, *op. cit.*, pp. 39-40.

82. *Ibid*, p. 39.

83. NGS, Department of Prints and Drawings.

84. See p. 335, n. 75 *supra*. Cf. also Pope, *Essay on Man*, "Epistle II", lines 1-18, and *The Spectator*, 408, on the "War of Passions [and] . . . Man's kindred to the Brutes". The Biblical instance was surely often called upon; Bunyan used it in *Grace Abounding*.

85. See Ramsay's "Elegy on John Cowper, Kirk-Treasurer's Man—anno 1714"; in one of Ramsay's footnotes Cowper is compared to "a scent dog". Burns referred to "the holy beagles" in a letter of [April 1785] to John Arnot of Dalquhatswood; *Letters*, I, pp. 26-30, (2nd. edn, pp. 33-7), no. 29 (p. 30 or p. 37).

86. Sale I, p. 10, lots 3 and 4 ("Presbyterian Church Penance" and "Presbyterian Church Catechising") and p. 14, lot 137 ("Scots Presbyterian Catechising").

87. The Rev. T. C. Gordon, *David Allan of Alloa*, Alva, 1951, p. 40. One version of "Catechising" is dated 1784, the year in which Allan painted the Halkett family group at Pitfirrane House, near Dunfermline.



88. *Letters from Edinburgh*, 1776, letter XXIX. Robert Fergusson describes how

"On Sunday here, an alter'd Scene

O' Men and Manners meets our Ein"

("Auld Reikie", *Poems*, STS edn., ed. McDiarmid, Vol. II, p. 116, lines 231-32; the quotation in the text is of lines 241-42). Cf. Burns, "The Holy Fair", stanza X, "a Chosen swatch / Wi' screw'd-up, grace-proud faces"; and elsewhere; "To the Rev. John McMath", stanza four, and the "Answer" to an Epistle from a Tailor, stanza seven (*Poems and Songs*, ed. Kinsley, Clarendon Press, 1968, nos. 70, 68 and 119B).

89. *Principles of Moral and Political Science; Being chiefly a Retrospect of Lectures delivered in the College of Edinburgh*, 2 vols., Edinburgh, 1792, Vol. I, p. 5, "Introduction"; reprinted in *facsimile* by AMS Press, New York, 1973, with a preface by L. V. Castiglione.

90. *Ibid*, Vol. I, Part I, Chapter I, Section V, "Of Man's Distinction among the Animals", p. 54.

91. The first quotation is from Adam Ferguson, *An Essay on the History of Civil Society*, 1767, Part First, "Of the General Characteristics of Human Nature", Section I, "Of the question relating to the State of Nature", paragraph eight; ed. Forbes, Edinburgh, University Press, 1966, p. 4. The second is from Hume's Introduction to *A Treatise of Human Nature*, 1739, (ed. L. A. Selby-Bigge, Clarendon Press, 1888, reprinted 1967, p. xix).

92. *The Theory of Moral Sentiments*, (1759), sixth edn., 1790, Part III, IV, paragraphs 7 and 8, Glasgow University Edition of the *Works and Correspondence of Adam Smith*, Clarendon Press, 1976, ed. D. D. Raphael and A. L. MacFie, Vol. I, p. 159; "Our" in original.

93. *Discourses on Art*, IX, lines 67-70.

94. *Treatise*, Book III, Part II, Section IX, (p. 553), but see Section IX *passim*, esp. pp. 551-53.

95. *Principles of Moral and Political Science*, 1792, Vol. II, Part II, Chapter II, Sections III and IV, pp. 137, 145 and 134 (but see Chapter II, "Of the Fundamental Law of Morality, its Immediate Applications and Sanctions", in full, pp. 107-77 *passim*); cf. *Essay on the History of Civil Society*, Part First, Section VI, "Of Moral Sentiment", *passim* (ed. Forbes, 1966, p. 31 ff.), and *Institutes of Moral Philosophy for the Use of Students in the College of Edinburgh*, Edinburgh, 1769, pp. 184-85. Though forms are many, to have an "Idea of perfection" is, like the "distinction of right and wrong... coeval with human nature" (*Principles*, Vol. I, Part I, Chapter III, Section XIII, p. 300).

96. *Principles*, 1792, II, p. 115.

97. Topham, *Letters from Edinburgh*, 1776, Letter XXIX. Cf. Burt, *Letters from . . . the North of Scotland*, 1754, letter IX: "Constantly attending Ordinances, as they phrase it, is a

Means with them of softening vices into mere frailties; but a Person who neglects the Kirk, will find but little Quarter."

98. Fergusson, "Auld Reikie", lines 237-240.

99. "The Cotter's Saturday Night", st. XVII.

100. Ramsay's "Elegy on John Cowper" refers to Six pounds Scots for "the poor". Allan's letter of 9<sup>th</sup> August, 1783, to the Earl of Buchan was sent from Writers' Court, and he was still there in November, 1785, when he wrote to Thomas Graham of Balgovan; see Appendix V, and the Rev. T. C. Gordon, *David Allan of Alloa*, Alva, 1951, pp. 37-8, quoting from NLS MS 590, no. 1728. In two of Allan's pictures of "Presbyterian Penance", dropped papers inform the viewer that the couple had contracted a marriage *de presentii* — valid in Scots Law but of little avail in Kirk — or had agreed to "compound" under pressure from the Kirk Session.

101. The quotation is from "Tam O' Shanter", line 132. Topham (*Letters*, XXXVIII) mentions such civil marriages.

102. Hugo Arnot, *History of Edinburgh*, Edinburgh, 1780, p. 193; William Maitland, *History of Edinburgh*, Edinburgh, 1753, p. 282.

103. T. C. Smout, in *A History of the Scottish People*, London, 1969, p. 236 (paperback edn., Fontana, 1972, p. 219), traces "a sharp decline in the practice of public rebuke", with examples from Alyth (near Dundee) and Carlisle, and refers to the various dissenting groups formed during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries (pp. 234-239, or 217-22). Lindsay Errington, in *Artist and the Kirk*, NGS, Edinburgh, 1979, p. 17, states that there is "evidence of various kinds to show that this puritanical system of discipline was breaking up", but does not give any sources. In the Parish of Carlisle, it appears from the Rev. Scott's return in the *Statistical Account* that the "discipline of the church [had] been always exercised with mildness", but the Rev. Lapslie from the Parish of Campsie — where two days' public penance and a fine were exacted of each offender — was made of much sterner stuff. He noted that there had "been an opinion entertained, that this public penance [had] been productive of very bad effects in society . . . that, for this reason, some writers [had] pretended to say, that so long as doing public penance was permitted, no person should be put to death for child murder", and continued; "I am inclined to believe, that it would be much more the interest of the community, in a political light, that the laws of discipline should be more rigidly adhered to; for if once the vulgar of any country, consider incontinency as a venial fault, they are almost ready for the



Notes to pp. 342-345.

commission of any crime; and as I can easily see, that the shame of doing penance operates to deter others; in this point of view, it is to be considered as answering the ends of edification". More moderate was the Rev. Gray of Broughton; who suggested the replacement of the stool of repentance ("which is, no doubt, a relic of Popery") by a fine fixed "in proportion to circumstances and situations, wherever the scandal was not removed by marriage": Carluke, *SA*, VII, p. 145; Campsie, *SA*, IX, p. 259; Broughton, *SA*, III, p. 740.

104. Letter of 7<sup>th</sup> July, 1818; *Letters of John Keats*, ed. Hyder E. Rollins, 2 vols, London, 1958, I, 36.

105. "An Address of Thanks from the Society of Rakes", stanza eighteen.

106. Thomas Crawford, *Society and the Lyric a study of the Song Culture of eighteenth-century Scotland*, Scottish Academic Press, Edinburgh, 1979, p. 29.

107. See Chapter VI, p. 285 *supra*. The song, "My Jo Janet", was published in the following major collections: *TTH*, Vol. I (1723), p. 74; *Orpheus Caledonius*, II (1733), No. XXXVI, p. 80; *SMM*, Vol. II (1788), p. 114, No. 111 (without the last stanza); and Allan's main source, Herd's *Ancient and Modern Scottish Songs, Heroic Ballads, Etc.*, Vol. II (1776), p. 67, which is quoted. In *SMM*, a hypermetrical "then" is added at the end of the second line, another at the end of the fourth, to fit the air.

108. Allan Cunningham, *The Lives of the most Eminent British Painters, Sculptors and Architects*, 6 vols., London, 1833, pp. 42-3 (1879 revision, Vol. II, p. 374).

109. John Tonge, *The Arts of Scotland*, London 1938, p. 45. Tonge calls the picture "Rantin Robin".

110. Three panels which Allan painted for this chapel in 1791 - "Faith", "Hope" and "Charity" - are in the possession of Edinburgh District Council, City Museums Department. A fourth, of "Innocence", is unlocated (cf. T. C. Gordon, *op. cit.*, p. 53, citing Laing). Four pictures related to the large "Tribute Money" which he painted for the same chapel were sold in 1797: Sale I, pp. 10 and 13, lots 15 and 135 ("Sketch for the Painting in St. Peter's Church, Edinburgh - The Tribute Money", and "Tribute Money, sketch", both drawings); Sale I, pp. 6 and 8, lots 12 and 62 ("The Tribute Money, from the original, 4 feet by 3"; and "The Tribute Money, being the original Sketch of the Large Picture painted by Mr. Allan for St. Peter's chapel, Edinburgh, 18in by 13", both paintings). The largest of these pictures is listed immediately after "Two Heads after Raphael, 18in by 14" (private collection), and *might* have been a copy from

one of the Hampton Court cartoons.

111. Nobody else wanted it; cf. Sale I, p. 2, lot 28, and Sale II, p. 6, lot 102. To find some tenuous link between this possession and the coolly deliberate Jacobite emphasis in Allan's illustration of "Robert Bruce's March" (Figure 219, facing p. 264) is surely to consider too curiously, even when his treatment of Scottish themes is seen in relation to the importance of tradition to the Scottish humanists, "almost to a man" Catholics, Jacobites and Episcopalians (cf. n. 358 to Chapter VI); but, nevertheless, in this connection, his attitude towards the Roman Catholic Church - remarkably tolerant by contemporary British standards - should not be overlooked; cf. n. 78 to Chapter I, and the passage from the "Roman Carnival" series given below Figure 18, facing p. 15 *supra*.

112. Quoted from "A Midnight modern Conversation"; two lines of four.

113. Allan's open letter to Gavin Hamilton, October 3rd, 1788, prefixed to *The Gentle Shepherd*, Foulis Press, Glasgow, 1788; transcribed in full as Appendix IV. The first phrase is often given as "capable of both pleasing and instructing", but, though grammatically correct, this is not what Allan wrote and published.

114. *Letters from Edinburgh*, London, 1776, letter XXIX.

115. The comparison, or characterisation, is from a letter which Burns sent to John Arnot, c. April, 1786; *Letters*, I, p. 26 (2nd edn., p. 37), no. 29. The quotation in the next sentence alludes to Burns's autobiographical letter to Dr. Moore, September, 1787. "Holy Willie's Prayer" apparently "alarmed the kirk-Session so much" that they inspected their holy artillery, to see "if any of it was pointed against profane Rhymers"; *ibid.*, I, pp. 104-116 (2nd edn., pp. 133-46), no. 125 (p. 114; 2nd edn., p. 144).

116. Burt, *Letters from . . . the North of Scotland*, 1754, letter IX.

117. W. Edgar, *Old Church Life in Scotland*, Paisley, 1886, Vol. II, p. 37; quoted, with a reference to Cramond's *Church of Cruden*, p. 139, in Henry Grey Graham, *The Social Life of Scotland in the Eighteenth Century*, 1899, Fourth edn., illustrated, 1937, p. 243.

118. Graham, *op. cit.*, p. 327.

119. Ross, "The Bridal o't". Cf. Ramsay's *Collection of Scots Proverbs*, Chapter XLV: "Ye wad be a good piper's bitch for smelling out bridals" (1797 edn., Archibald Constable, Edinburgh, and Stewart & Meikle, Glasgow, p. 100). Allan made drawings of "Rock and wee Pickle Tow" (Herd, II, pp. 92-3), and he may have planned an illustrated edition of Ross's



*Helenore*, first published in 1768; two drawings are in the album "Baby Allan I Her Book", with Allan's note "Helenore or The Fortunate shepherdess a Scottish Poem by Alex: Ross Aberdeen shire" (Cowie Collection, the Mitchell Library, Glasgow, SR 241, No 308864, f. 24 verso).

120. Graham, *op. cit.*, p. 243.

121. One version of "Presbyterian Penance", admittedly a copy of an earlier design, is also dated 1795. Another picture from the autumn of this year is in Perth Art Gallery; see n. 152 to Chapter I.

122. Rev. T. C. Gordon, *David Allan of Alloa*, Alva, 1951, p. 70.

123. John Stoddart, Remarks on local scenery and manners in Scotland during the years 1799 and 1800, London, 1801, II, p. 134. See also *Chambers Scots Dictionary*, compiled by A. Warrack, Edinburgh, 1911, reprinted 1982, Shait-reel and Shame-reel. Allan, it is true, generally limits the number of dancers in such scenes to two couples.

124. Letter of October 25<sup>th</sup>, 1787, to the Rev. John Skinner, "claiming" his assistance for the *Scots Musical Museum; Letters*, Vol. I, p. 133 (2nd. edn., p. 167), no. 147.

125. The quotation is from one of Burns's songs to John Bruce's air "Whistle ower the lave o't"; *Poems and Songs*, ed. Kinsley, 1968, no. 84, line 146. For Ramsay's "The Life and Acts of, or, An Elegy on Patie Birnie", mentioned in the next sentence, see *The Works of Allan Ramsay*, STS edn., I, pp. 186-91.

126. *Lives of the most Eminent British Painters, Sculptors and Architects*, 6 vols., London, 1833, Vol. VI, p. 44 (revised edn, 1879, Vol. II, p. 375).

127. Letter of 18<sup>th</sup> August, NLS MS 685; the picture to which Thomson refers is "The Bush aboon Traquair" (Figure 188, facing p. 249, and also Figure 251, facing p. 284, with a detail facing p. 238).

128. Graham, *op. cit.*, p. 95.

129. Stoddart, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 134. Cf. David and Francina Irwin, *Scottish Painters at Home and Abroad*, London, 1975, p. 175. The Kirk's banning of the custom was, apparently, "regretted by many, including ministers of the Church of Scotland", although other "douce black bannets" had railed against Penny Weddings for generations (see for example Thomas Crawford, *Society and the Lyric*, Edinburgh, 1979, pp. 19-22, quoting *inter alia* from the *Statistical Account*, 1791-99). The practice of delivering a "reproof from the pulpit" for "attendance on penny weddings" was, however, "falling into disuse" among some congregations, not quickly enough for at least one minister; the Rev. Andrew Murray, in

his account of the Parish of Auchterderran in Fife, wrote that

"among the infinite advantages of the Reformation, this seems to have been one disadvantage attending it, that, owing to the gloomy rigour of some of the leading actors, mirth, sport, and cheerfulness, were decried among a people already by nature rather phlegmatic. Since that, mirth and vice have, in their apprehension, been confounded together"; *SA*, X, p. 50. The Rev. MacCulloch of Bothwell, on the other hand, wrote with equanimity of "such diversions among his own parishioners: 'their weddings are celebrated with a decent cheerfulness. After partaking of a plentiful entertainment, the evening is spent in festive mirth and the social dance'" (*SA*, VII, p. 46).

130. Stanley Cursiter, *Scottish Art to the close of the nineteenth century*, London, 1949, p. 50. He refers to Wilkie's *Genre* scenes in general rather than to "The Penny Wedding" in particular. While the fiddler in that painting is manifestly taken from Raeburn's portrait of Niel Gow (Figure 96, facing p. 127), Wilkie derived the figure of Donald Gow from one of Allan's "Highland Dance" pictures.

131. See *ITM*, Vol. I, no. 8, initialled "Z", i.e. "done Time out of Mind". The Rev. John Skinner died in 1807, aged eighty-six.

132. Alexander Pope, *Essay on Man*, Epistle I, quoted by Burns in the long autobiographical letter to Dr. John Moore, sent on 23rd. September, 1787; *Letters*, Vol. I, pp. 104-16 (2nd edn., pp. 133-46), no. 125 (p. 115, p. 145).

133. Cf. Chapter IV, p. 149 *supra*.

134. Cf. Chapter VI, pp. 296-97 *supra*.

135. Fergusson, "Hame Content. A Satire. To all whom it may concern", lines 24-6; *Poems*, STS edn., II, 1956, p. 157.

136. The words quoted are from a letter of April 7<sup>th</sup>, 1793, to George Thomson; *Letters*, II, p. 168 (2nd. edn, p. 206), no. 557. When returning two, or more, of Allan's preparatory drawings of "The Cotter's Saturday Night", Burns wrote to Thomson (who had, of course, made a suggestion or two of his own): "I would humbly propose that in N° I<sup>st</sup> instead of the Younger knitting stockings, I would, in preference to your "Trump", to put a Stock & horn among his hands, as if he were screwing and adjusting it"; *Letters*, Vol. II, p. 243 (2nd. edn, p. 294, quoted; see the passage below Figure 298, facing p. 350), no. 625. Thomson had obviously thought of a "Jew's Harp", although he deleted this suggestion from the version of his letter which he prepared for publication. Allan made at least five distinct "designs" from the poem, including a version which incorporated the alteration which Burns had



proposed (Glasgow Art Gallery, reproduced as Figure 298; compare that in the NGS, Print Room, RN 3961). Both the watercolour drawing with which Burns was presented in the spring of 1795 and the engraving by Robert Scott (Figure 296) were, to judge from Burns's description, derived from the same sketch, possibly that which was sold in 1797; Sale I, p. 12, lot 82 (cf. Chapter I, pp. 25-6, n. 142, and Chapter VI, pp. 236 and 240, nn. 6 and 31).

137. In addition to pictures of the Earl of Hopetoun's leadworks and his colliers (Plate XIV - one of four oils - and Figures 75, 76 and 77), cf. Sale I, p. 10, lot 1, "Farmer's Family, Anandale, A" (original spelling); p. 11, lots 49, 53 and 54, "Sketch of a Lothian Farmer, in a good and a bad season", "Weaving", and "Coal waggon at Alloa, and Colliers return from Work, pair"; p. 13, lot 103, "Taylors at Work" (original spelling - Figure 299), and also Sale I, p. 11, lot 55 ("Water Engines near Alloa, pair"), p. 13, lot 110 (View of Lint Mills).

138. The Rev. Robert Moodie's account of the Parish of Clackmannan (1791); *SA*, IX, p. 710. Cf. also the Rev. T. C. Gordon, *David Allan of Alloa*, 1951, Chapter I, *passim*, esp. pp. 2-6.

139. The account of the Parish of Alloa, by the Rev. James Frame and John Francis Erskine of Marr (*sic*); *SA*, IX, p. 660.

140. Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 681-82 and footnotes for a description of the waggon-way (1768, renewed in 1785). The route, which may still be seen, followed a gentle "declivity" for about three miles from the Collyland and Alloa Pits, with horses usually drawing three linked waggons; Allan's engraving - which shows only one waggon - is reproduced in Gordon, *op. cit.*, facing p. 4. On "carrier tenants", see Smout, *A History of the Scottish People 1560-1830*, London, 1969, p. 129 (paperback edn., p. 121).

141. Sale I, p. 11, lot 54. On colliers, cf. Lord Cockburn, *Memorials of his Time*, Edinburgh, 1856, pp. 77-9, and Smout, *op. cit.*, Chapters VII (4) and XVII (2).

142. Sale I, p. 16, lot 204 ("Extensive Drawing . . . pasted on Canvas", and p. 13, lot 94, "Sketch of the Harbour of Leith"; Matt. Bramble. (in Smollett's *Humphry Clinker*) wrote that Leith was "a flourishing town, about a mile from the city [of Edinburgh], in the harbour of which I have seen above one hundred ships lying all together" (letter to Dr. Lewis, 8<sup>th</sup> August; *Works*, ed. W. E. Henley, London and New York, 1899, Vol. IV, p. 94). Dr. Wright's "biographical sketch" (*Scots Magazine*, December, 1804), is Appendix VIII; he refers specifically to five oil paintings.

143. Cf. the account of the City of Glasgow ("from the Communications of several respectable Inhabitants of that City"), *SA*, VII, pp. 291-300 *passim*, and also Topham, *Letters*

*from Edinburgh*, 1776, Letter XXI ("The different Manufactures of Scotland"). Glasgow derived advantage not only from its location but (after 1707) from the Navigation Acts, passed by an English Parliament in the 1660s:

"As a British port, Glasgow . . . was entitled to the direct reception of American products, while its manufactured or purchased trade goods [then] ranked with those British goods which the American colonists were obliged to import"; Andrew Gibb, *Glasgow The Making of a City*, London, 1983, p. 57.

144. Sale I, p. 11, lot 53. In 1793 there were five hundred and fifty-six looms in the Gorbals and, by the following year, more than three thousand in the Barony of Glasgow (*SA*, VII, pp. 336 and 341). In 1795, the Rev. John Pollock counted two hundred and seventy-nine weavers in his parish of Govan (*ibid.*, p. 370). The Rev. Dr. Snodgrass included a historical survey of "Trade and Manufactures" in his account of the Town of Paisley, emphasising that business there had "always chiefly been in the weaving branch" (*ibid.*, pp. 825-28). Allan made a number of sketches in and around Dunfermline, perhaps in 1784, when he painted the Halkett family group, or in 1789, when he found a portrait of James V "according to order" at Pitfirrane House (letter to Lord Buchan, transcribed in full, p. 204 *supra*). In 1788 there were about nine hundred looms in Dunfermline; four years later there were "no less than 1200" (account of the Parish of Dunfermline, *SA*, X, p. 273). The manufactures of Alloa are noted in *SA* IX, pp. 686-89; p. 688 is quoted.

145. The quotation is from William Gilpin, *Three Essays*, (1792), 3rd. edn., London, 1808, p. 44. Allan owned a copy of the first edn.; Sale II, p. 6, lot 92, listed as "Gilpin's Essays on Picturesque Beauty, London 1792". The essays were entitled respectively "On Picturesque Beauty", "On Picturesque Travel" (quoted) and "On Sketching Landscapes". Cf. Gainsborough's view, quoted in n. 71 to Chapter II.

146. Sale I, pp. 10 and 11, lots 1 and 49 (original spelling). References to the crop failure of 1782 abound in the *Statistical Account*; those quoted are from "Additional Communications from the Rev. John Fraser" of Libberton, Lanarkshire (*SA*, VII, p. 509), the Rev. Ford's account of Lauder, Berwickshire (*SA*, III, p. 234; "In 1782, and 1783, the situation of the inhabitants was truly deplorable"), and the Rev. Rennie's account of Kilsyth (*SA*, IX, p. 496 footnote). The Rev. Little of Covington, Lanarkshire, wrote that "three-fourths of the crop were destroyed by the frost" in 1782 (*SA*, VII, p. 200), and the Rev. Robertson of Gargunnock, Stirlingshire, described one "expedient" adopted to prevent famine there (*SA*, IX, p. 373); more detailed information may be found in the



accounts of Kilsyth, *loc. cit.*, Walston, Lanarkshire, SA, VII, p. 607, and Holywood, Dumfriesshire, SA, IV, pp. 223-24.

147. Sale I, p. 13, lot 103 (original spelling).

148. Sale I, p. 10, lot 7; p. 14, lot 137; and p. 15, lot 178, "Sketch of a Tent Preaching". Wilkie's drawing of a "Tent preaching at Kilmartin Aug 24<sup>th</sup>" (1817) is reproduced in Macmillan, *Painting in Scotland The Golden Age*, Oxford, 1986, p. 177. James Howe's ugly caricature of such a scene is reproduced in L. Errington, *The Artist and the Kirk*, Edinburgh, 1979, p. 19; Howe, like Wilkie, was a son of the manse. Several motifs in an illustration by Carse of Burns's "Holy Fair" were obviously derived from Allan's "Black Stool"; NGS, Print Room, D 4711, an album of prints and drawings by Robert Scott, f. 47. Carse's painting of the subject is reproduced in Cursiter, *Scottish Art to the close of the nineteenth century*, 1949, facing p. 107.

149. In addition to Wilkie's "Pitlessie Fair" and Carse's "Oldhamstocks Fair" (both NGS), there are pictures by James Howe, Alexander Fraser, John Phillip, Walter Geikie and John Faed. Sandby's drawing of a "Horsefair on Bruntsfield Links" (private collection) is reproduced in Holloway and Errington, *The Discovery of Scotland*, Edinburgh, 1978, p. 36.

150. Allan's print of "Allan's Dry Dock at Alloa" is inscribed 1791. The two quotations are from the account of Alloa, SA, IX, pp. 689 and 669 (note) respectively; these ploughing matches - the first was held in 1784 - were proposed by Hugh Reoch, an "intelligent East Lothian farmer" and were soon adopted in "many places, in different parts of the country". See also David Kerr Cameron, *The Ballad and the Plough A Portrait of the Life of the Old Scottish Farmtouns*, 1978, pp. 176-77, and also Chapter XXIV. For the idiom "that [£ 1,600] never placed" &c., see Glossary, "never".

151. Sketchbook, NGS D 5088, f. 61, ink over pencil; cf. Figure 16, facing p. 14 *supra*. The "old Scots plough" required as many as twelve oxen, hence, perhaps, Allan's surprise.

152. Cf. pp. 299-300, 307-08 and 314 *supra*.

153. The quotation is from the Rev. Adamson's account of the Parish of Abernethy, Perthshire; SA, XI, p. 19. Depopulation, like expulsion, was general, but in this case was caused not by the amalgamation but by "the diminution and separation of farms" in unusual circumstances; he also mentions "inclosing and turning into grass" as a cause of depopulation (*ibid.*, p. 20).

154. The first quotation is from the Rev. Thomas Robertson's account of the Parish of Selkirk, the second from the Rev. John Scott's account of the Parish of Auchtertool, Fife; SA, III, p. 707 and X, p. 67. Scott's discussion of the effects of luxury both on people and on

nations may reflect a reading of Ferguson's *Essay on the History of Civil Society*, 1767; cf. Part Fifth, esp. Sections III - V.

155. Cf. Allan's letter to Thomas Graham of Balgowan, November 6<sup>th</sup>, 1785, transcribed in full as Appendix V. The Erskine family connection was no doubt the reason for Allan's wishing Lady Charlotte to recommend him to Buchan in the terms quoted. Henry Dundas, the Treasurer of the Navy to whom Allan also referred in this letter, was one of the "principal heritors" in the adjacent parish of Clackmannan, owning the estate of Clackmannan itself; cf. SA IX, p. 718, and also Chapter I, p. 22 *supra*.

156. Cf. SA, IX, pp. 681-82.

157. Sale I, pp. 13 and 11, lots 110 and 55.

158. Cf. SA, IX, pp. 661, 667-68, 681-82 (Alloa); and *ibid.*, pp. 712, 717, 729-31 (Clackmannan, p. 730 quoted). Building of the Devon works (named after the River Devon, forming the northern boundary of Clackmannan Parish, as the famous iron-works near Falkirk had been named after the River Carron) began in 1792. Like the lint mills, mills to process snuff, wood and "dye stuffs", and another "fine set of mills in the town of Alloa, for grinding wheat, oats, and malt, and making pearl barley", were all powered by the water supply from the Gartmorn Dam before the flow reached the Alloa Pits and their engines. One of these was constructed to draw up the coals, the other to pump water from the lowest seams, a resourceful use of water power to combat flooding matched only in ingenuity by the final use made of the flow as it entered the harbour. There, its "prodigious velocity" was used to prevent the harbour's silting up with the soil carried by the Forth from the Carse of Stirling. Evidence of these early phases of industrialisation may still readily be seen in and around Alloa.

159. Allan wrote to William Robertson from Glasgow in September, 1792; letter in Laing MSS., Edinburgh University Library, transcribed in full as Appendix VI. On various aspects of change throughout the country at this time, including "rural-urban migration", see, in addition to Smout, *op. cit.*, Chapter XI, material in two recent collections of essays. In *People and Society in Scotland (1760-1830)*, edd. Devine and Mitchison, Edinburgh, 1988; R. A. Houston, "The Demographic Regime", pp. 9-26; T. M. Devine, "Urbanisation", pp. 27-52; Malcolm Gray, "The Social Impact of Agrarian Change in the Rural Lowlands", pp. 53-69; and A. I. MacInnes, "Scottish Gaelic The First Phase of Clearance", pp. 70-90. In *Scottish Society 1500-1800*, edd. Houston and Whyte, Cambridge University Press, 1988; T. M. Devine, "Social Responses to Agrarian 'Improvement': the Highland and Lowland clearances in Scotland", pp. 148-68; and I. D. Whyte "Population mobility in early modern Scotland",



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pp. 37-58. By "the end of the eighteenth century, Scotland was one of the most urbanised societies in Europe", p. 44; cf. Devine, "Urbanisation", pp. 28-9, in *People and Society*.

160. Cf. n. 271 to Chapter VI. From the 1760s, enclosing "went briskly on" in Alloa; one of the best descriptions of the methods and materials used is that in the account of this parish sent to Sinclair in 1791; *SA*, IX, pp. 669 and 677. Cf. also the account of Abercorn, West Lothian (*SA*, II, p. 675).

161. Cf. Chapter VI, pp. 303-07 *supra*.

162. *Idler* 103, Saturday, April 5<sup>th</sup>, 1760.

163. Caw, *Scottish Painting*, 1908, p. 52.

164. Cf. n. 75 to Chapter IV. The figure is similar to *f.* 12 ("Spinner of Procida") in "A Collection of Dresses . . . 1776", Aberdeen Art Gallery; an oil painting of the same girl is reproduced in Macmillan, *Painting in Scotland*, 1986, p. 66, and two sketches of this subject are in one of the Italian sketchbooks (NGS, D 5088, *ff.* 10V and 11R). Allan may well have drawn women spinning with roke and reel in Scotland before he left for Italy, but the drawing of a girl holding a distaff and standing with a child and two goats which is attributed to him in the NGS has no similarity to his work other than the subject itself; the goats, at least, are reminiscent of an early picture by G. Chalmers (Aberdeen Art Gallery; reproduced in L. Errington *MasterClass: Robert Scott Lauder and his pupils*, Edinburgh, 1983, p. 31). One John Rising exhibited "The rock, or Norfolk spinner" and also "The reel", RA, 1791.

165. Henderson, *Annals of Dunfermline*, quoted in Graham, *The Social Life of Scotland in the Eighteenth Century*, 4<sup>th</sup> edn., London, 1937, p. 186, n. 2; and Mrs. Grant of Laggan's *Superstitions of the Highlanders*, I, p. 125. A useful survey of "The Scottish Linen Industry", from the seventeenth century to the end of the eighteenth, is in N. Vaszek, *Man's Social Nature A Topic of the Scottish Enlightenment in its Historical Setting*, Frankfurt, 1986, pp. 181-214. Cf. M. Plant, *The Domestic Life of Scotland in the Eighteenth Century*, Edinburgh, 1952, pp. 41 and 153-157.

166. *A Tour in Scotland MDXXLXIX*, 1771, 3rd edn., 1773, p. 129. Cf. Boswell, *Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides*, 1785, 27<sup>th</sup> August (ed. Levi, 1984, p. 222): "Over the room where we sat, a girl was spinning wool with a great wheel, and singing an Erse song: 'I'll warrant you,' said Dr Johnson, 'one of the songs of Ossian.'" A "muckle wheel" of this kind, together with the more familiar small spinning wheel, is seen in each of Allan's drawings of a cottage "Near Moffat Agust 28 1795" (Perth Museum and Art Gallery, Glasgow Museum and Art Gallery, original spelling. The date of 1790 on the latter is spurious; cf. n. 152 to Chapter I).

167. Pennant, *loc. cit.*

168. *Letters from . . . the North of Scotland*, 2 vols., London, 1754, Letters II and V.

169. Robert Fergusson, "The Farmer's Ingle", stanza IX; *Poems*, STS edn., ed. M. P. McDiarmid, Edinburgh and London, 1956, Vol. II, p. 139.

170. The quotation is from "Duncan Davison" (*SMM* II, 1788, N° 149, p. 156, and also *Burns Poems and Songs*, ed. James Kinsley, Clarendon Press, 1968, no. 202).

171. Cf. the song "Sae merry as we [twa]l hae been", where the allusion is to a rocking:

"At eve, when the rest of the folk

Were merrily seated to spin,

I set myself under an oak,

And heavily sighed for him."

(Herd, I, pp. 286-87, and *SMM*, I, 1787, N° 59, p. 60. Cf. Allan's illustrations, Figure 180, between pp. 243-44, and Plate XVII; the song begins,

"A Lass that was laden'd with care

Sat heavily under yon thorn" &c.

The other allusions in the text (p. 354) are to Burns's "Epistle to J. L\*\*\*\*k, An Old Scotch Bard" (the first epistle to Lapraik):

"On Fasteneen we had a rockin,

To ca' the crack and weave our stockin;

And there was muckle fun and jokin,

Ye need na doubt;

At length we had a hearty yokin,

At sang about."

(*Poems and Songs*, ed. Kinsley, 1968, p. 66).

172. In Chapter VI, p. 317-18 *supra*.

173. "Epistle. To the President, Vice Presidents, and Members of the Scottish Society of Antiquaries On being chosen a Correspondent Member", in *Transactions of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, I (1792), pp. 400-68: extract in *The Oxford Book of Scottish Verse*, ed. MacQueen and Scott, 1965, pp. 343-45. On Allan's association with Buchan and the Society of Antiquaries, see n. 46 to Chapter V, and also n. 114 to Chapter IV.

174. William Hamilton of Gilbertfield, "To the Countess of Eglintoun, with *The Following Pastoral*", prefixed to *The Gentle Shepherd*.

"In ancient garb the home-bred muse appears,

The garb our muses wore in former years:

As in a glass reflected, here behold

How smiling goodness look'd in days of old"

(*The Poems of Allan Ramsay*, 2 vols., Stewart and Meikle's edn., Glasgow, 1797, II, p. 132; cf. also Figure 200, between pp. 250-51).

175. Austin Dobson, *William Hogarth*, London, 1891, p. 42; cf. the "Autobiographical Notes" in *The Analysis of Beauty*, ed. J. Burke, Clarendon Press, 1955, pp. 215 and 216, and also Chapter II, pp. 33-4 *supra*.

176. Coleridge, *Biographia Literaria*, Chapter XVII, second paragraph; *The Collected Works of Samuel Taylor Coleridge*, Volume 8, ed. Kathleen Coburn and Bart Winer, Princeton



University Press, 1983, pp. 42-3. Cf Ramsay's reference to "merry images of the low character" (77*N*, Preface), echoed by Herd, 1776, in his own description of *Comic songs* ("striking paintings of low life" &c.), Preface, p. vii.

177. For the first quotation, see Coleridge, *op. cit.*, Chapter XIV, first sentence; *Works*, ed. Coburn and Winer, 1983, Vol. 8, p. 5 (his discussion of "The imagination, or esemplastic power" is in Chapter XIII, *ibid.*, Vol. 7, p. 304; here Coleridge means the "secondary Imagination . . . co-existing with the conscious will"). The words quoted, from c. 1815, and Allan's phrase "strict adherence to truth and nature", (1788), imply a difference in attitude as interesting as the superficial verbal similarity. The second quotation (text, p. 355), like "pleasing and instructing", and the reference to *costume* in the next sentence, is again from Allan's preface to his edition of *The Gentle Shepherd*; since plates and text were issued together, the word "reader", in the passage from *Biographia Literaria*, is not inappropriate.

178. The words quoted are Hogarth's: "Subjects of most consequence are those that most entertain and improve the mind and are of public utility" (the "Autobiographical Notes", in *The Analysis of Beauty*, ed. J. Burke, 1955, p. 215).

179. Cf. Chapter II, pp. 56-8 *supra*.

180. Cf. W. Donaldson, *Popular Literature in Victorian Scotland language, fiction and the press*, Aberdeen University Press, 1986. Donaldson shows how the received critical view about nineteenth-century prose fiction in Scotland

"cannot be sustained. It is based solely on an interpretation of bourgeoisie book culture which assumes the kailyard to be typical and considers further enquiry unnecessary, while even middle-class fiction during the period is largely unexplored and the real popular literature of Victorian Scotland is practically *terra incognita*" (p. 87; cf. also *ibid.*, pp. 147-49, on "the significant part of the literary market in Scotland during most of the nineteenth century").

181. Thomas Henderson's introduction to *A Scots Garland* is wide-ranging and eminently readable:

"with . . . a few . . . exceptions, how sorry is the aspect of Scots verse in the nineteenth century! Versifier after versifier sings the same old song in the same old way . . . telling their bored listeners of the wee hoose in the wee glen, the love-affairs of the village flirt, the local drouth, the blate wooer, the collie-dog and the warlike thistle. They keep on giving us Cauld Kail Het Again, again and again and yet again" (*A Scots Garland An Anthology of Scots Vernacular Verse*, Edinburgh, 1931, pp. 5-6).

182. All three quotations are from the *Select View of Glasgow and its Environs* by Swan and Leighton (1829), reprinted in *facsimile* by Lang Syne Publishers, Newtongrange, 1983. The first is from "Trongate and Argyle-Street" (no pagination; fourth sentence), the second and third from "Glasgow, from the Farm of Sheils" (third sentence; see n. 184). Leighton refers to "wave after wave of the busy population" in his description of the Trongate, but cf. also Alexander Smith's poem "Glasgow"; *Scottish Verse 1851-1951 Selected for the general reader*, ed. Douglas Young, London, 1952, pp. 46-9.

183. The Rev. John Burns, account of "Parish of Barony of Glasgow", *SA*, VII, p. 339.

184. Leighton, *Select View of Glasgow and its Environs* (1829), "Glasgow, From the Farm of Sheils", second sentence. The next sentence begins, "At such a time, when the bustle and din of her industrious population is yet unawakened" &c. (cf. n. 182).

185. *Ibid.*, "The Bridgegate", first sentence.

186. Thomas Annan's *Photographs of Old Closes, Streets &c.*, (1878-79), included a photographic copy - "Trongate in the Olden Time" - of Brown's picture; see plate 19 in *Photographs of Old Closes &c.*, 1977, ed. A. V. Mozley. Brown may have been the "Colourman head of the Stockwell Glasgow", Allan's "freind [*sic*] a good Draftsman & a Man of Taste"; see Appendix VI. An anonymous oil painting of another view of the Trongate, in the People's Palace, Glasgow, has some similarities to the plate reproduced by Annan.

187. Rev. John Usher, account of the "Town and Parish of Kinghorn", Fife, *SA*, X, p. 495.

188. Cf. for example a letter of 19<sup>th</sup> November, 1794, to George Thomson, quoted in Chapter VI, p. 279 *supra*, and another to Alexander Cunningham, March 3rd-22nd, 1794, quoted in n. 195 *infra*; *Letters*, ed. Ferguson, Clarendon Press, 1931, II, pp. 278-79, 237-38 (2nd edn., ed. Roy, 1985, pp. 330-31, 285-86), nos. 647 and 620.

189. Cf. the painting by John Knox, reproduced in Sheenah Smith, *Horatio McCulloch 1805-1867*, Glasgow Museums and Art Galleries, 1988, p. 45.

190. Both quotations are from Waagen, *Treasures of Art in Great Britain* (1854), III, p. 291, quoted in Holloway and Errington, *The Discovery of Scotland The Appreciation of Scottish Scenery through Two Centuries of Painting*, National Gallery of Scotland, Edinburgh, 1978, p. 103; cf. Chapter III, p. 132 *supra*. The incongruity of appreciating the Highland glens and lochs for their supposed "total innocence of human contact" when the means of actually seeing such scenery included railways and steamboats is exposed in some detail in Holloway and Errington, *op. cit.*, Chapter 9, "The Mountain and the Flood", pp. 103-15 (though it should be observed that



Waagen referred to his being able to *imagine* the presence of the Ossianic spirits). One feature of earlier topographical *verse*, the association of a place with a set of moral qualities (e.g., Thomson's description of Hagley Castle, the seat of Lord Lyttleton, one of his patrons) could have been included as an influence among the "range of indirect explanations" noted on p. 109. It is surprising that no mention is made of the ignorance of most tourists about the true reason for "very large tracts of Scotland", both in the Highlands and in the Borders, being uninhabited by the middle of the nineteenth century (p. 79), although "as late as 1750 one half of the Scots lived beyond the Tay, and fully a quarter of them in five counties of the Highlands which now hold only seven per cent of the whole" (Smout, *A History of the Scottish People*, London, 1969, Chapter V, p. 119; paperback edn, p. 111). See E. Richards, *A History of the Highland Clearances Agrarian Transformation and the Evictions 1746-1886*, London, 1982, and Smout, *op. cit.*, pp. 324-331 and 353 ff. (paperback, pp. 303-310 and 331 ff.).

191. The quotation is from Caw, *Scottish Painting Past and Present 1620-1908*, Edinburgh, 1908, p. 52. On Hugh Cameron, see David and Francina Irwin, *Scottish Painters at Home and Abroad 1700-1900*, London, 1975, pp. 348-49, plate 190, and Lindsay Errington, *Master Class: Robert Scott Lauder and his pupils*, Edinburgh, 1983, Figures 45, 56 and 79. On McKay, see Holloway and Errington, *Discovery of Scotland*, Edinburgh, 1978, pp. 139-41 and Figure 128. In the final pages of this book, as part of an account of Muirhead Bone's approach to "an urban industrial aesthetic", it is shown that, despite the importance of industry in nineteenth-century Scottish life, "the quintessential Scotland, the pursuit of which had played so large a part in nineteenth-century landscape painting, had always been held to be something quite different" (p. 161). On the Faed brothers, see Irwin, *op. cit.*, pp. 300-04, and, for more biographical detail, documentation and reproductions, Mary McKerron, *The Faeds A Biography*, Edinburgh, 1982. Both John and Thomas spent long periods in London. There is an interesting similarity between John Faed's "regular pattern of spending half of every year at Gatehouse [of Fleet, Kirkcudbrightshire] where . . . he could find rural models when he needed them" (Irwin, pp. 303-04), and the earlier, though not regular, practice of Wilkie himself; "in 1817 Wilkie, who had been living in London for many years, revisited Scotland in order to collect picturesque folk material for his art" (Errington, *The Artist and the Kirk*, Edinburgh, 1979, p. 21).

192. William Hardie, *Scottish Painting 1837-1939*, London, 1976, p. 12. Some fine, colour reproductions of paintings by McTaggart, both early and late, are in *Scottish Impressionism*, catalogue of 1988 Edinburgh Festival Exhibition, Bourne Fine Art.

193. See Irwin, *op. cit.*, p. 279, and John Sunderland, *Painting in Britain 1525 to 1975*, Phaidon, 1976, p. 241 and plates 161 and 164 (colour detail). Fildes's "The Doctor" (1891, Tate Gallery) could readily be juxtaposed with Faed's "The Doctor's Visit" or "From Dawn to Sunset", but "Applicants for admission to a casual ward" (1874) could never be thought to suggest "the sorrowful acceptance of the inevitable", the attitude accurately detected by the Irwins in Faed's "The Last of the Clan" (*op. cit.*, p. 302); on Fildes, see L. V. Fildes, *Luke Fildes, R.A. A Victorian Painter*, London, 1968.

194. The words quoted are Burns's, from the First Commonplace Book, p. 38 (entry for September, 1785).

195. The first quotation is from Crabbe's "The Village" (1783), the second from Burns's letter to Alexander Cunningham, March 3rd, 1794:

"By the Shepherd's pipe & crook, I do not mean the nonsense of Painters of Arcadia; but a Stock-&-horn, & a Club; such as you see at the head of Allan Ramsay, in Allan's quarto Edition of the Gentle Shepherd.—By the bye, do you know Allan?—He must be a man of very great genius.—Why is he not more known? [ &c.; cf. p. 4 *supra*, and also Figure 114, facing p. 168 ] . . . He is the *only* Artist who has hit *genuine* Pastoral costume" &c.; *Letters*, ed. Ferguson, 1931, II, pp. 237-38 (2nd edn, ed. Roy, pp. 285-86), no. 620.

196. Roger Fry, "Some Aspects of Chinese Art", in *Transformations; critical and speculative essays on art*, London, 1926, p. 77; "that anthropocentric illusion" &c.

#### Notes to Chapter VIII.

The last purely Scotch age. Title quoted from Henry, Lord Cockburn, *Journal*, 2 vols., Edinburgh, 1874, Volume II, p. 198, entry for October 27<sup>th</sup>, 1847 ("the" in original, quoted more fully p. 382 *infra*).

1. *An Enquiry into the Life and Writings of Homer*, London, 1735, p. 33; quoted from the fourth edition (Urie), Glasgow, 1761, p. 39.

2. Title as given in text; "Edinburgh: printed for the author, and sold by Peter Hill, Cross, and Will. Murray, Parliament Close, 1797" (Gardyne Collection, the Mitchell Library, Glasgow, E 74330).



3. Cf. Reynolds, *Discourses on Art*, Discourse XV, lines 548-50, and Fuseli, twelfth RA lecture, in *Life and Writings of Henry Fuseli*, ed. John Knowles, 3 vols., London, 1831, III, p. 44; the passage is quoted more fully in Chapter II, p. 103 *supra*.

4. With the exception of "inclin'd", which is taken from *Compliments to Painters*, 1797 (see text, p. 362), all the words quoted are Allan's; the references to public taste and great works are from his preface to *The Gentle Shepherd*, 1788 (Appendix IV), that to the fine art of painting from a letter of 1773 to Lady Frances Erskine, given, from Crawford's *Memorials of Alloa*, in the Rev. T. C. Gordon, *David Allan of Alloa*, Alva, 1951, pp. 23-24; cf. also Chapter I, p. 3 *supra*.

5. Cf. Fuseli, quoted p. 103 *supra*.

6. The first quotation is again from Fuseli, *loc. cit.*, the other two from Allan's letter of December, 1780, to the Earl of Buchan; Appendix III (original spelling).

7. As has been summarised in Chapter I (p. 20 *supra*), he had already made some literary illustrations before 1786, but by far the greatest part of this material, as of his pictures from Scottish history, was executed after this date.

8. The first two quotations are again from Allan's preface to *The Gentle Shepherd* (Appendix IV), the third from *Discourses on Art*, Discourse IV (line 381), in which Reynolds pointed out various "tricks" which are "pardonable in the little style", i.e., landscape and *Genre* painting, especially of the Dutch and Flemish Schools. The final words are Barry's, from his *Inquiry into the Real and Imaginary Obstructions to the Acquisition of the Arts in England*, 1775, Chapter X, in *Works*, 2 vols., London, 1809, Vol. II, p. 248 (quoted more fully in Chapter II, p. 104 *supra*).

9. Anthony Ashley Cooper, 3rd. Earl of Shaftesbury, "Advice to an Author", in *Characteristicks of Men, Manners, Opinions, Times, &c.*, London, 1713, I, p. 129, paraphrasing Horace, *Ars Poetica*, lines 343-44.

10. The quotation is from his *Inquiry into the . . . Obstructions to the Acquisition of the Arts*, Chapter XI, in *Works*, Vol. II, p. 255; cf. also Lecture I, in *Works*, I, p. 358 (quoted in Chapter II, p. 103 *supra*).

11. See his letters to the Earl of Buchan and to Gavin Hamilton, the latter standing as preface to his edition of *The Gentle Shepherd* (Appendices III and IV), and cf. also the opinions of critics since 1808, surveyed in Introduction, pp. xxix-xxxiv. Sir E. K. Waterhouse wrote that Allan's family groups show "the attenuated form in which aspirations to

historical composition had to find their outlet"; *Painting in Britain 1560-1790*, Harmondsworth, 1953, p. 214.

12. On Fuseli's expression "the *Poetical* painting", cf. Chapter II, pp. 43 and 52 *supra*.

13. Cf. Chapter IV, pp. 155-56 *supra*.

14. For the first quotation, see Allan's letter of December, 1780, to Buchan (Appendix III); for the second, Ramsay's *Scots Proverbs*, Chapter XXVIII, Glasgow (Stewart and Meikle edition), 1797, p. 69.

15. The opening sentence of his criticism of *Macbeth*, in which he refers particularly to contemporary belief in the supernatural; *Yale Edition of the Works of Samuel Johnson*, Vol. III, p. 752.

16. The first quotation is from Hugh Blair's "Critical Dissertation on the Poems of Ossian", in *The Poems of Ossian, Translated by James Macpherson Esq.*, Edinburgh, 1830, p. 115 (cf. Chapter VI, pp. 293-94 *supra*; Blair's comparison is between Ossian and Homer). The second quotation is from Dr. Alexander Geddes' poem "Epistle, To the President, Vice Presidents, and Members of the Scottish Society of Antiquaries. On being chosen a Correspondent Member", in *Transactions*, Vol. I, 1792, pp. 400-468 (extract in *The Oxford Book of Scottish Verse*, edd. John MacQueen and Tom Scott, 1966, pp. 343-45).

17. Cf. Chapter VI, pp. 305-13 *passim*.

18. Shaftesbury, *Characteristicks*, 1713, p. 129.

19. Reynolds, *Discourses on Art*, Discourse VII, 539-40, and Discourse IV, 20 ff.

20. Fuseli, Lecture IV, "Invention", in *Life and Writings*, 1831, Vol. II, pp. 194-95.

21. *Essay*, (1767), ed. Forbes, Edinburgh University Press, 1966, pp. 4-5. Cf. also Herder, *Essay on the Origin of Language*, (1770) Part II, First Law of Nature: "The bee builds in youth as in old age, and will build at the end of the world in the same way as she did at the beginning of creation" &c.; Fourth Law of Nature, "If language were native to man in exactly the same sense as the hoarding of honey is to the bee, the great and magnificent structure of human culture (if it existed at all) would collapse all at once. Every man would bring into the world his own limited stock of language . . ." &c; and *Dissertation on the Reciprocal Influence of Government and the Sciences*, (1780), especially "On the Influence of Paternal Government on the Origin of the Sciences" (see *J. G. Herder on Social and Political Culture Translated, Edited and with an Introduction by F. M. Barnard*, Cambridge University Press, 1969, pp. 156 ff, 171 ff, and 227 ff.).

22. Barry, *Letter to the Dilettante Society*, in *Works*, ed. Fryer, 2 vols., London, 1809, Vol. II, p. 500. In his *Principles of Moral and*



*Political Science*, Adam Ferguson specifically refers to the arts:

"The monuments of art produced in one age remain with the ages that follow; and serve as a kind of ladder, by which the human faculties, mounting upon steps which ages successively place, arrived in the end at those heights of ingenious discernment, and elegant choice, which, in the pursuit of its objects, the mind of man is qualified to gain". Vol. I, Part I, Chapter III, Section XII, "Of the Fine Arts", p. 299, transcribed *verbatim*. Hume, more concisely if less specifically, had written that "a noble emulation is the source of every excellence"; "The Rise of Arts and Sciences", in *The Philosophical Works of David Hume*, 4 vols., Edinburgh and Boston, 1854, Vol. III, p. 147.

23. Hogarth, quoted in R. L. S. Cowley, *Marriage à la mode, a review of Hogarth's narrative Art*, Manchester University Press, 1983, p. 120; cf. the "Autobiographical Notes", in *The Analysis of Beauty*, ed. Burke, Clarendon Press, 1955, p. 215.

24. *Enquiry concerning Human Understanding*, (1748), Section VIII, part 1.

25. Chapter I (Introductory), Everyman edn, London and New York, 1906, 1973, p. 66. He described *Waverley* as "more a description of men than manners", the force of the narrative being thrown "upon the characters and passions of the actors;—those passions common to men in all stages of society" (*ibid*, pp. 64, 65).

26. Reynolds, Discourse IX, lines 45-6; for a near-contemporary definition of "contingent", see Glossary. Reynolds' argument, of course, must be read in full for the true significance of his reference to "mental pleasure" to be appreciated. On the "Progression of Manners", cf. Thomas Blackwell, *Enquiry into the Life and Writings of Homer*, London, 1735, pp. 13-14: "The Manners of a People seldom stand still, but are either polishing or spoiling", and cf. also William Robertson's *History of America*, quoted p. 371 *infra*.

27. The first quotation is from Hume, who, in the concluding paragraphs of *A Treatise of Human Nature*, Book III, Part III, Section VI, refers to "the happiness, as well as . . . the dignity of virtue", to the pursuit "of knowledge and ability of every kind", and to the deserved "peace and inward satisfaction" that follow from such "practical morality"; the same emphasis on the practical benefits of virtue and justice may be found in Hugh Blair's *Sermons*, 1777, pp. 15-16, from which the second passage is taken (quoted from David Daiches, "The Scottish Enlightenment", in *A Hotbed of Genius The Scottish Enlightenment 1730-1790*, Edinburgh University

Press, 1986, pp. 13-14, the essay being substantially reprinted as a Saltire Society pamphlet, 1986. In addition to the obvious parallel with the passage from Reynolds, Discourse IX, lines 67-70 (quoted in Chapter II, p. 33 *supra*), see also Fuseli's wise refinement of another of Reynolds' statements, quoted towards the end of Chapter II (pp. 104-05); as is to be suggested at the end of the present chapter, an artist's contribution to the "gradual exaltation of human nature" follows from his contribution to the "general welfare" of his own society.

28. Both quotations are of Allan's words, the first from a letter of 1773 to Lady Frances Erskine, prefaced to Chapter I, p. 3 *supra*, the second from the dedication of *The Gentle Shepherd*, 1788 (Appendix IV).

29. Both quotations are from Reynolds, Discourse VI, lines 277 and 278, quoted more fully in Chapter III, p. 130 *supra*.

30. Cf. W. Lehmann, quoting from J. B. Black, *The Art of History*, London, 1926, p. 14:

"What J. B. Black says of history-mindedness in Europe generally applies with peculiar strength to Scotland;

In all probability there never was a period when history was so much in demand amongst the reading public in all European countries as in the latter part of the eighteenth century." (in *Henry Home, Lord Kames, and the Scottish Enlightenment*, The Hague, 1971).

31. These two paintings are here adduced as significant Historical Compositions rather than as paintings actually based on any work by Scott. Although Wilkie died two years before the Disruption of 1843, he had taken a keen interest in contemporary preachers, including Thomas Chalmers himself. See Lindsay Errington, *The Artist and the Kirk*, Edinburgh, 1979, pp. 6-8 and 12-13; and Duncan Macmillan, *Painting in Scotland*, Oxford, 1986, pp. 176-81, in which the political and social context is considered, and the influence of the *Life of Knox* by Thomas M'Crie is shown. The importance of the attempts by M'Crie "and others from the Covenanting tradition" to show that the Whig version of Scottish history was - for recognisable political motives - a deliberate misrepresentation is touched upon by T. C. Smout in "Problems of Nationalism, Identity and Improvement in later Eighteenth-Century Scotland": in "polite circles the actual history of Scotland was declared barbarian, William Robertson having denigrated everything before 1688 as feudal darkness and anarchy in his famous *History*. In other words, there was no ancient virtue" (*Improvement and Enlightenment Proceedings of the Scottish Historical Studies Seminar University of Strathclyde 1987-88*, Edin-



burgh, 1989, p. 13. In this light, the claim to impartiality implicit in the words quoted from that *History* in Chapter V (p. 195 *supra*) rings, at last, very hollow; cf. also p. 377 and n. 88 *infra*.

32. Cf. his letter to Sir William Hamilton, November, 1780 (Appendix II).

33. Cf. the "Autobiographical Notes", in *The Analysis of Beauty*, ed. J. Burke, Clarendon Press, 1955, p. 215; the phrase continues, "and are of public utility".

34. The first quotation is from Barry's *Inquiry into the . . . Obstructions to the Acquisition of the Arts in England*, 1775, Chapter X; in *Works*, London, 1809, Vol. II, p. 248, quoted more fully in Chapter II, p. 104 *supra*. The second is from his Introduction to *An Account of a Series of Pictures . . . at the Adelphi*, 1783; in *Works*, Vol. II, p. 318.

35. Unsigned review of Lockhart's *Life of Burns*, *Edinburgh Review*, December, 1828, given in Donald A. Low, *Robert Burns The Critical Heritage*, London and Boston, 1974, p. 360 ("a" is capitalised in the original, the words quoted forming a complete sentence). Carlyle may have recalled Terence: "*Homo sum; humani nil a me alienum puto*".

36. Allan Cunningham, *Lives of the most Eminent British Painters*, 1833, Vol. VI, p. 48; cf. Introduction, pp. xxviii-xxix, and note 5, on p. xlviii *supra*.

37. The words quoted are from Herd, *Ancient and Modern Scottish Songs*, Edinburgh, 1776, Preface, p. v (first sentence); cf. Chapter VI, pp. 288-89, and also Chapter IV, p. 156 *supra*.

38. The words quoted are Burns's; cf. Chapter VI, p. 273, and n. 177 *supra*.

39. Cf. Robert Fergusson's "The Farmer's Ingle", stanza V; *Poems*, STS edn, ed. McDiarmid, Edinburgh and London, 1956, Vol. II, p. 138.

40. Burns, First Commonplace Book, entry for September, 1785.

41. The words quoted are from Allan's dedication of *The Gentle Shepherd*, transcribed as Appendix IV. John Barrell suggests one reason why the rustics in Wilkie's "Village Politicians" (the subject derived ultimately from MacNeill's *Scotland's Skaith*) are so "grotesquely and condescendingly portrayed":

"Wilkie's picture seems immensely eager to reassure us that whatever interest the poor may take in politics, it can be a naive and ignorant interest only, and that these 'politicians' are too stupid to initiate any action which their opinions however radical might prompt them to" (*The dark side of the landscape The rural poor in English painting 1730-1840*, Cambridge University Press, 1980, pp. 114-15).

42. The four lines quoted are from the first stanza of "To Mr. Alexander Ross at Lochlee Author of the Fortunate Shepherdess"; this poem is often given to James Beattie, and, if the attribution is correct, John MacQueen's judgment that these are "the best verses he ever wrote" is sound (*The Enlightenment and Scottish Literature Volume One Progress and Poetry*, Scottish Academic Press, Edinburgh, 1982, p. 112). Hugh MacDiarmid, however, identified the poet as Ross's "editor, Dr. John Longmuir" (*The Golden Treasury of Scottish Poetry*, Macmillan, New York, 1941, Introduction, p. xxxiii). Allan, incidentally, made at least two illustrations to "The Fortunate Shepherdess" (*Helenore*) see n. 100 *infra*.

43. The reference to "superiority" &c. is from Coleridge, *Biographia Literaria*, Chapter XVII; *Collected Works*, ed. Kathleen Coburn and Bart Winer, Princeton University Press, 1983, Vol. 8, p. 43 (cf. Chapter VII, p. 355 *supra*). The reference to "paintings" is from Herd, Preface, where "humorous and comic" songs are said to be "admirable for genuine humour, sprightly naivete, picturesque language, and striking paintings" &c.; Allan may have recalled this passage - itself a reminiscence of Ramsay's reference to "merry images of the low character" in the *77H* - when preparing his dedication to *The Gentle Shepherd* with its references to "mean and low objects" and "the just representation of ordinary Life" (Appendix IV). Cf. Dryden, *Parallel of Painting and Poetry*:

"For, to proceed in the parallel; as comedy is a representation of human life in inferior persons, and low subjects, and by that means creeps into the nature of poetry, . . . so is the painting of clowns, the representation of a Dutch kernis,\* the brutal sport of snick-or-snee, and a thousand other things of this mean invention; a kind of picture which belongs to nature, but of the lowest form" (*Works*, ed. Sir Walter Scott, London and Edinburgh 1808, Volume XVII, pp. 305-06, with footnote, "A Dutch fair. Dryden probably recollected the pieces of Teniers"; Scott did not explain "Snick-or-snee", a form of knife-fight).

44. See Rensselaer W. Lee, *Ut Pictura Poesis: The Humanistic Theory of Painting*, New York, 1967, esp. pp. 9-11; as is shown on p. 12 ff., the study of the Antique was of supreme importance in surpassing nature itself, but Decorum demanded that depictions of people and places should be as authentic as possible, with the proviso that "each type of human being must display its representative character" (*ibid.* pp. 35 and 47). As has been shown in Chapter IV (e.g., pp. 153-55 *supra*),



these ideas are evident both in Allan's dedication to *The Gentle Shepherd* and in the plates themselves.

45. For the last quotation, see Ramsay's *Scots Proverbs*, Glasgow, 1797, Chapter XVIII; the other quotations are from Hume:

"No advantages in this world are pure and unmixed. In like manner, as modern politeness, which is naturally so ornamental, runs often into affectation and foppery, disguise and insincerity; so the ancient simplicity, which is naturally so amiable and affecting, often degenerates into rusticity and abuse, scurrility and obscenity" ("The Rise of Arts and Sciences", in *Philosophical Works*, Edinburgh and Boston, 1854, Vol. III, p. 141).

46. The quotation is from a passage in *The Parallel of Painting and Poetry* in which Dryden quotes from Philostratus: "he who will rightly govern the art of painting, ought of necessity first to understand human nature. He ought likewise to be endued with a genius to express the signs of their passions, whom he represents", &c. (*Works*, ed. Scott, 1808, Vol. XVII, p. 295; "He who" &c. in original).

47. Smollett, *Humphry Clinker*, letter of August 8<sup>th</sup> from J. Melford to Sir Watkin Phillips, in *Works*, 1899, Vol. IV, p. 77. For Captain Topham's (factual) observations, see Chapter VI, pp. 288-89 *supra*.

48. Cf. Chapter VI, pp. 305-13 *passim*; on the connection particularly mentioned, pp. 305-08.

49. Hugo Arnot, *History*, Edinburgh, 1780, Book I, Chapter II, p. 52.

50. *History of America*, (1777), 11<sup>th</sup> edn., London, 1808, Book IV, p. 30.

51. On rockings, see Chapter VII, p. 354 *supra*. With his whistling "the merry ploughboy [cheered] his team", and with the music of his stock-and-horn the shepherd kept his sheep around him, or at least prevented their straying far (the quotation is from a song by Burns, to the air "Jockey's Gray Brecks", *Poems and Songs* ed. Kinsley, Clarendon Press, 1968, no. 138; cf. Allan's illustration to "Broom of Cowdenknows", Fig. 240, between pp. 279-80, or the song itself, Appendix X, verse three). Finally, see also Burt, *Letters from . . . the North of Scotland*:

"where there are any Number of Women employed in Harvest-Work, they all keep Time together, by several barbarous Tones of the Voice; and stoop and rise together as regularly as a Rank of Soldiers . . . Sometimes they are incited to their Work by the Sound of a Bagpipe; and by either of these they proceed with great Alacrity, it being disgraceful for any one to be out of Time with the Sickle. They use the same Tone, or a Piper, when they thicken the newly-woven Plaiding, instead of a Fulling-Mill" (Letter XX, in *Letters*, 2 vols., London, 1754, Vol. II, pp. 149-50).

52. Ramsay, Preface to the *Evergreen*, quoted more fully in Chapter IV, p. 142 *supra*.

53. The first quotation is from the opening sentence of Hugh Blair's "Critical Dissertation on the Poems of Ossian, the Son of Fingal", in *The Poems of Ossian*, Edinburgh, 1830, p. 93 ("Among" in original), the second from Cecil Sharp, *English Folk-Song — Some Conclusions*, London, 1907, p. x.

54. John Clare, *The Shepherd's Calendar*, "June"; ed. Eric Robinson and Geoffrey Summerfield, Oxford University Press, 1964, in paperback, 1973, 1983 reprint, p. 66. Clare's father was a "noted singer" with a repertoire of some hundred songs as Clare tells us" (George Deacon, *John Clare and the folk tradition*, London, 1983, p. 11).

55. The earlier quotation is from Henry, Lord Cockburn, *Journal*, (1831-1854), Edinburgh, 1874, Vol. II, p. 294 (cf. also the end of this chapter, pp. 381-82). For Fergusson's "Elegy", see *Poems*, STS edn., ed. McDiarmid, Edinburgh and London, 1956, Vol. II, pp. 37-39. On the remarkable subtlety of the piece and the range of suggestion which the poet arouses, see F. W. Freeman, *Robert Fergusson and the Scots Humanist Compromise*, Edinburgh University Press, 1984, pp. 169-73.

56. Of the five quotations in this sentence, the first three are of Ramsay's words, the last two of Burns's: "Time out of Mind" and "fine Flourishes" are from the Preface to the *TTM*, while the reference to "imported Trimming" is from the Preface to the *Evergreen* (quoted more fully in Chapter IV, p. 142 *supra*). Caesar (*sic*) in "The Two Dogs" tells of "ragouts" &c. (*Poems and Songs*, ed. Kinsley, Clarendon Press, 1968, no. 71), and Burns himself, in the "flaming Preface" which he wrote for *SNM* III, lightlied "those many Publications which are hourly ushered into the World", &c., his drawing a contrast between "Fashion" and "Taste" being typical of the time; cf. his letter of 15<sup>th</sup> November, 1788, to James Johnson, *Letters*, ed. Ferguson, 1931, Vol. I, p. 275 (2nd. edn., ed. Roy, 1985, I, pp. 339-40), no. 288. Cf. also "The Cotter's Saturday Night" and "Song—For a' that and a' that" for references to "hamely fare", "hoddin grey" and "healsome Porritch" (*Poems and Songs*, nos. 72 and 482), and Chapter IV, p. 148 *supra*. Fergusson also referred to "sicken food" with good effect in e.g., "The Farmer's Ingle", stanzas IV and V and, hilariously, in two poems composed during Dr. Johnson's visit to Scotland in 1773 (*Poems*, STS edn., pp. 182-85 and 204-206).

57. Ramsay, "Tartana; or, The Plaid", line 44.

58. William Tytler of Woodhouselee, on Ramsay's "political principles", quoted in the STS edn. of Ramsay's *Works*, Vol. IV, p. 55.



59. The quotation is from "Tartana", line 55. Fergusson died in 1774; the Dress Act was repealed in 1783. As well as stressing its antiquity (see Chapter III, pp. 132-33 *supra*), Ramsay had presented the plaid in a specifically egalitarian, and truly national light:

"In this at court the thanes were gayly clad,  
With his the shepherds and the hinds were glad,  
In this the warrior wrapt his brawny arms,  
With this our beauteous mothers veild their charms"

60. The quotation is from Herd, Preface, p. v.

61. Cf. Chapter VI, pp. 261-62 and 304-07 *supra*, and *infra*, p. 382.

62. The first quotation is from Burns's First Commonplace Book, September, 1785, the second from his Preface to *SMN* II, quoted in Chapter VI, p. 290 *supra*.

63. The first quotation is from Reynolds, *Discourses*, IV, line 28, the second from Barry, Lecture IV, in *Works*, London, 1809, Vol. I, p. 468, quoted more fully in Chapter II, p. 39 *supra*.

64. Cf. Chapter VI, pp. 310-13 *supra*. The particular words quoted are from the account of Jedburgh "from materials furnished by the Rev. Dr. Thomas Somerville": "they still make use of the old Scotch dialect" (*SA*, III, p. 498), but similar references abound in the *Statistical Account*.

65. The reference to "monuments", *dc*, is adapted from Blair's "Critical Dissertation on the Poems of Ossian" (cf. p. 372 *supra*).

66. Reynolds, Discourse VII, lines 524-31; an asterisk has been deleted after "occasion". Cf. Chapter II, pp. 29-31.

67. In addition to the subject-paintings mentioned in the next sentence, there had been as early as the 1740s Robert Norie's landscape panels, in which topography and incident are composed of both classical and Scottish elements; cf. Holloway and Errington, *The Discovery of Scotland*, Edinburgh, 1978, pp. 23-6, Figs. 23-24. The Irwins mention an interesting blend of Classical and Scottish "ingredients" in Alexander's work at Castle Gordon (*Scottish Painters at Home and Abroad*, London, 1975, p. 99).

68. On Runciman's work at Penicuik, see Duncan Macmillan, *Painting in Scotland*, Oxford, 1986, pp. 54-58.

69. On Ramsay's "following" of Horace's "Manner", see *Works*, STS edn., Vol. IV, ed. Kinghorn and Law, Edinburgh and London, 1970, pp. 110-21 and 167-68; on Fergusson's having hoped "to imitate Gw. Douglass by translating the Eclogues & Georgics, and then publishing the Aeneid with it", see *Poems*, STS edn., 2 vols., ed. McDiarmid, Edinburgh and London, 1956, Vol. I, Introduction, "The Poet's Life", p. 34, a letter from George

Paton to Bishop Percy. Douglas's *Eneados* was completed by 1513, and "in the eighteenth century his translation was regarded as the chief ornament of early Scottish literature" (John MacQueen, *Progress and Poetry*, Edinburgh, 1982, p. 138; cf. p. 378 *infra*). Thomas Ruddiman's famous edition of the poem had been published in 1710; much of Fergusson's poetry was published in Walter Ruddiman's *Weekly Magazine or Edinburgh Amusement*.

70. The quotation is from Ramsay's Preface to the *Evergreen*.

71. As has been shown in Chapter VI, p. 309 ff., they were by no means alone in their recognition. Cf. also F. W. Freeman, *Robert Fergusson and the Scots Humanist Compromise*, Edinburgh University Press, 1984, pp. 9-10, where the influence of Rousseau upon Scottish philosophy and the Vernacular movement is discussed.

72. The quotation is from Allan's letter of December, 1780, to the Earl of Buchan, transcribed in full as Appendix III (original spelling). His attention to Decorum in these and other pictures has been indicated already, pp. 370-71 *supra*.

73. The first quotation is from Tytler's "Dissertation on the Scottish Music", published in Arnot's *History of Edinburgh*, 1780, pp. 624-42, as Appendix VIII (p. 638 quoted), and also in *Poetical Remains of James the First, King of Scotland*, Edinburgh, 1783. The second is from Barry's *Letter to the Dilettanti Society*, in *Works*, Vol. II, p. 500, quoted more fully on p. 366 *supra*; cf. also Chapter II, p. 78 *supra*. On the *Spectator*, see Chapter VI, p. 291 *supra*.

74. Cf. his letter to Buchan, Appendix III.

75. Allan owned (or, at least, used) a seal with a design identical to that in Figure 5, facing p. 9 (cf. n. 111 to Chapter II). Maggie Lauder and the central figure in the "Napoleitan Dance" (Figure 12, facing p. 12) also bear a striking resemblance one to the other.

76. The references to Homer and Horace are from Ramsay's Preface to the *ITM*, quoted more fully in Chapter IV, p. 156; the other words are quoted from Reynolds, Discourse VII, lines 540 and 516-17. Allan was, of course, acquainted with the Classics and the writings of foreign authors as well as with "the works of his own age or country" (*ibid.*, lines 519-20). The Scots songs were not only popular in Scotland; Herd, for instance, drew attention to "the unbiassed suffrage of foreigners of the best taste" (Preface, p. vi), and Dryden, immediately before his notorious slip with regard to "Equality of Numbers" in Chaucer's verse, allowed it "the rude Sweetness of a Scotch Tune" (Preface to *Fables Ancient and Modern*, line 336; *Poems and*



*Fables*, ed. Kinsley, Clarendon Press, 1958, Vol. IV, p. 1453. See also Chapter IV, p. 145 *supra*.

77. *The Theory of Moral Sentiments* (1759; sixth edn., V, I, 4), the Glasgow Edition, ed. A. L. MacFie and D. D. Raphael, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1976, p. 195.

78. Both quotations are from his Preface to the *Evergreen*, quoted more fully in Chapter IV, p. 142 *supra*.

79. *An Essay on the History of Civil Society* (1767; Part Second, "Of the History of Rude Nations", Section I, 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> paragraphs), ed. Duncan Forbes, Edinburgh University Press, 1966, pp. 77-78.

80. Cf. James Barry, *Inquiry into the Real and Imaginary Obstructions to the Acquisition of the Arts in England*, 1775, Chapter X:

"the real or poetical histories of ancient times . . . require a considerable share of learning, if an artist means to enter into the marrow of his subject; his learned employer may occasionally give him a story to execute, but can he also give him occasionally the capacity of conceiving it as he ought?" (*Works*, 2 vols., London, 1809, II, p. 253).

81. For the first quotation, see n. 80. The second is from Smollett, *Humphry Clinker*, letter of August 8<sup>th</sup> from J. Melford to Sir Watkin Phillips, in *Works*, 1899, IV, p. 77.

82. The first quotation is from Keats, "Ode to May. Fragment", line 8; *Poetical Works*, ed. H. V. Garrod, Oxford University Press, 1956, in paperback 1970, 1978 reprint, p. 384. Dr. Johnson wrote that "Great thoughts are always general" in his *Life of Cowley*, 1779, a critical view which was in any case generally held by his contemporaries. On the particular Homeric tradition mentioned, see Chapter VI, p. 291 *supra* and the corresponding footnotes.

83. Dedication of the first edition of the *Evergreen*, "To His Grace James, Duke of Hamilton, &c., Captain General, And the rest of the Honourable Members of the Royal Company of Archers": Ramsay's *Works*, STS edn., Vol. IV, ed. Kinghorn and Law, Edinburgh and London, 1970, p. 235.

84. Herd, Preface, p. v, first sentence.

85. *Ibid.*

86. All three quotations are from Robert Fergusson, "The Ghaists: A Kirk-yard Eclogue", lines 29, 33 and 59; "menzie" is probably used figuratively for a "multitude" of ills (see Glossary). Herriot, one of the ghaists, speaks of

" . . . EDINA! anes my dear abode,  
Whan royal JAMIE sway'd the sovereign rod,  
In thae blest days" &c. lines 31-33; *Poems*, STS edn., ed. McDiarmid, Vol. II, pp. 141-45.

87. As has already been indicated, Allan's attitude to the Roman Catholic Church was, for

a Scot or Briton of the time, one of remarkable tolerance (cf n. 78 to Chapter I). In Italy, as Basil Skinner points out, despite the patronage of Sir William Hamilton, in "the other political camp Allan knew the ex-Jacobite antiquaries Andrew Lumsden and James Byres" (*The Indefatigable Mr. Allan*, catalogue of the Scottish Arts Council exhibition, Edinburgh, 1973, p. 8); Gavin Hamilton had studied under Masucci, who had painted portraits for the Stuart court in exile. As mentioned in Chapter VII, p. 343 and n. 111 *supra*, Allan's having painted "The Tribute Money" for St. Peter's Episcopal Chapel in Edinburgh could not on its own reasonably support any theory of a close connection with circles of surviving Jacobite influence in the 1780s and 1790s (their "stronghold" was Old St. Paul's; Freeman, *Robert Fergusson and the Scots Humanist Compromise*, 1984, p. 20, with a reference to Mary Ingram, *A Jacobite Stronghold of the Church*, Edinburgh, 1907). Whatever interpretation may be put upon his pictures of Bannockburn, Killicrankie, Prestonpans, &c., it is at least incontestable that Allan, like Burns, regarded Mary, Queen of Scots, as "amiable but unfortunate", and wrote of his Historical series as a service to the House of Stuart; cf. Chapter V, p. 229 *supra*, and his letters of September, 1789, and June, 1790, to the Earl of Buchan, transcribed from the originals, pp. 204 and 205 *supra*.

88. Cf. n. 31 *supra*, and John MacQueen, *Progress and Poetry*:

"'Provincial' is the important word. It was easy for eighteenth century Scots, unaware of, or unsympathetic to, the national achievements of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, but acutely conscious of the difference in status, affluence and churchmanship between Scotland and England, to despise their inheritance and circumstances" (*The Enlightenment and Scottish Literature Volume One Progress and Poetry*, Scottish Academic Press, Edinburgh, 1982, p. 51).

89. The reference to the "Vulgar" speech was Thomas Ruddiman's (see n. 90). Harry's Wallace was rendered into modern, not always successful heroic couplets by Hamilton of Gilbertfield in 1722. Cf. a poem from 1720 by Alexander Pennecuik, quoted by Maurice Lindsay in *History of Scottish Literature*, London, 1977, p. 71:

"The meikle tasker, Davie Dallas,  
Was telling Blads of William Wallace;  
My Mither bade her second son say,  
What he'd by heart of Davie Lindsay".

("tasker", labourer paid in kind; "Blads", great screeds). Lindsay writes elsewhere that Sir David Lyndsay's poems "were on the tongues of the ordinary Scottish folk as late as 1820" (*Poems by Sir David Lyndsay of the Mount*,



Saltire Society, Edinburgh, 1948, p. 7; cf *History of Scottish Literature*, p. 70, and also Chapter IV, p. 149 *supra*). A concise and representative indication of all the collections by Watson and Ramsay is in David Daiches, *Robert Burns*, London, 1950, 1981 reprint, Spurbooks, Edinburgh, Chapter I, "The Scottish Literary Tradition", pp. 18-27; the "most significant things" in these collections were

"popular poems and folk songs, earlier and contemporary imitations of ballads and folk songs, and the few brilliant examples of sixteenth-century verse, that is, of Scottish poetry written just before the swamping of Scots literature by the Reformation. These represented a definite turning back to the roots of Scottish culture, a turning back to the period when Scottish literature was still both Scottish and literary, and to the folk tradition which alone was able to survive the seventeenth-century blight" (Daiches, *op. cit.*, pp. 18-19, of Watson's *Choice Collection*. Watson actually did not include many "folk songs"; on Ramsay, who did, see especially *ibid.*, pp. 24-26, and *Works*, STS edn., Vol. IV, pp. 143-48).

90. The *second* quotation is from the Preface to the *Evergreen*, a collection of "Scots Poems wrote by the Ingenious before 1600" which Ramsay largely transcribed from the Bannatyne Manuscript. The first quotation, and that in the next sentence, is from Douglas' *Eneados*, the first from the title of the translation itself, the other from the Prologue to Book I, line 103. Ruddiman's edition of *Eneados* was published in 1710, with a glossary intended to "serve for a Dictionary to the Old Scottish Language"; the importance to the Vernacular movement of Ruddiman's (not wholly accurate) suggestion that this language had in great part survived among "the Vulgar" is shown in Freeman, *op. cit.*, p. 4; see also *ibid.*, p. 15; "the 'ancient' tongue, so often looked upon as Theocritean doric, was deliberately equated with 'our present provincial dialects' and thus with the language of vernacular poetry". Cf. the Rev. Playfair's account of the Parish of Bendothy, Perthshire:

"Language,— Is the common Scotch, which has not altered much in pronunciation (*sic*) and diction since Gavin Douglas's\* translation of the *Æneid* in that language. It is a provincial dialect of the English"

(*SA*, XII, p. 74, with footnote "There are, in this translation, a great many learned and foreign words from the Latin and other languages, which (in the manner of Johnson's phraseology) do not egerminate from the vernacular tongue"). In the eighteenth century,

the translation "was regarded as the chief ornament of early Scottish literature" (John MacQueen, *op. cit.*, p. 138). Cf. the anonymous epistle to Alexander Ross — cited on p. 370 *supra* — "The foremost place Gavin Douglas claims/That canty priest" (*The Oxford Book of Scottish Verse*, edd. MacQueen and Scott, p. 341; "canty" is hardly the most appropriate word for Douglas). "Gavin Douglas" was the second pseudonym adopted by Ramsay in the days of the Easy Club, a Scottish identity replacing the earlier, Swiftian "Isaac Bickerstaff".

91. For the quotations, see *Eneados*, Prologue to Book I, line 361, and Book I, ch. i, line 4. The feeling for scenery and the skill in natural description, a characteristic of the Makars commented upon by Ramsay (cf p. 142 *supra*) was convincingly demonstrated by Scottish poets in the eighteenth century; Ramsay himself, Burns, and, of course, Thomson.

92. Cf. n. 79 *supra*, Ferguson, *Essay*, 1767, Part Second, Section I, paragraphs six and eleven (ed. Forbes, 1966, pp. 75 and 77).

93. *Ibid.*, p. 77.

94. The quotation is from Thomson, *Seasons*, "Autumn", line 901, slightly misquoted by Burns in a letter of 15<sup>th</sup> November, 1786, to Mrs. Dunlop; *Letters*, ed. Ferguson, Clarendon Press, 1931, Vol. I, p. 49 (2nd edn., ed. Roy, 1985, Vol. I, p. 62), no. 55, in which Burns remembered his "wish to be able to make a Song on [Wallace] equal to his merits". Burns wrote of Wallace in "The Cotter's Saturday Night", "The Vision", the songs "Gude Wallace" and, of course, "Robert Bruce's March", and also in a "Scots Prologue, For Mrs. Sutherland's Benefit Night, Spoken at the Theatre Dumfries" (*Poems and Songs*, ed. Kinsley, Clarendon Press, 1968, nos. 72, 62, 584, 425 and 315). In the last of these, Burns specifically points out that Scottish playwrights need not

" . . . hunt as far as Rome or Greece,

To gather matter for a serious piece;

There's themes enow in Caledonian story,

Wad shew the Tragic Muse in a' her glory", and goes on to mention Wallace, Bruce, and the "hapless Scottish Queen". Burns's own "thoughts of the Drama", as he put it in a letter of December, 1789, to Lady Elizabeth Cunningham (*Letters*, Vol. I, p. 379 — 2nd edn., p. 464 — no. 379), were never to reach fruition, but, according to a near-contemporary account, Robert Fergusson had "collected materials for a tragedy on the death of Sir William Wallace, and had even completed two acts of the play" (*Poems*, STS edn., ed. McDiarmid, Vol. I, p. 19, where the play *Caledon's Tears; Or Wallace,—A Tragedy*, by Gabriel Nisbet, Edinburgh, 1733, is mentioned, and cf. also *ibid.*, p. 11, n. 3). On the popularity of accounts of



"the exploits of Sir William Wallace", cf. Chapter IV, p. 149 *supra*, Allan's having designed at least one plate for a "Life of Sir William Wallace" at the home of his friend Dr. Wright is recorded in the "biographical sketch" published in 1804 (Appendix VIII, and cf. Chapter V, p. 228, and n. 114 to Chapter IV; the frontispiece of the Morison edn., 1790 - *Ye Actis and Deidis, or The Metrical History of Sir William Wallace, Knight of Ellerslie, by Henry, commonly called Blind Harry: carefully transcribed from the M.S. Copy of that work, in the Advocates' Library, under the eye of the Earl of Buchan*, in the first volume of three - is a smaller version of the portrait mentioned in the footnote, and is also by Allan. The other illustrations, which are circular - 2½" diameter - and rather tame by comparison with the subject, were "Engraved from Original designs by Mr. Birrell"). On the "highly selective" use of "patriotic language" and "mythic material" of various kinds, see T. C. Smout, "Problems of Nationalism, Identity and Improvement in later Eighteenth-Century Scotland", in *Improvement and Enlightenment Proceedings of the Scottish Historical Studies Seminar University of Strathclyde 1987-88*, Edinburgh, 1989, pp. 11-14. The essay was originally delivered as a lecture:

"If Wallace could be recruited, who else? It was not easy to argue that the Jacobites stood for human rights, though Burns tried it on in 'Here's a health to them that's awa', with its lines 'May Liberty meet wi' success' and 'There's nane ever fear'd that the Truth should be heard/But they whom the Truth wad indite'". Although the general point is true, Professor Smout's memory has played him false here, perhaps because of the suggestion of the first line. This song was written in support of the *Whig* cause, c. 1792, not the Jacobite; cf. the second half of the first stanza;

"It's gude to be merry and wise,  
It's gude to be honest and true,  
It's gude to support Caledonia's cause,  
And bide by the Buff and the Blue"  
(*Poems and Songs*, ed. Kinsley, Clarendon Press, 1968, no. 391; "Charlie, the chief o' the clan" is Fox, not Stuart—who had died in 1788.—and "the Buff and the Blue" were the *Whig* party colours). Burns himself wrote, "To tell the matter of fact, except when my passions were heated by some accidental cause, my Jacobitism was merely by way of, Vive la bagatelle" (note to his own "Strathallan's Lament", *SNM* II, 1788, p. 138, No. 132; Allan's illustration of this song is Plate XV,

between pp. 234-235). On the wider question of Jacobite sentiment and Jacobite attachment among Scottish poets, see M. McDiarmid, "A Study of the Poetry of Robert Fergusson":

"It has been said of these men that their politics were self-contradictory, that they were patriots who wished to restore liberty by bringing back tyrants. Such contradictions are naturally present in the beginnings of every political movement; it takes time for the inessentials and inconsistencies to be shed, and the real theme and aim of the movement to present itself clearly. In this case the declaration for the House of Stewart was the temporary and accidental form in which the theme of nationalism expressed itself" (in *Poems*, STS edn., Edinburgh and London, 1954, Vol. I, p. 139).

95. Cf. Freeman, *op. cit.*, p. 21, where several characteristics of humanist thought are shown:

"Order was retained in the idea of an essentially fixed human condition poised against a more fluid concept of national uniqueness. In this facet of the humanist outlook was held a keen sense of historical continuity within one's own nation, and a steadfast regard for the country's past—the forefathers' collective wisdom—over sudden innovations; in short a cultural conservatism.

"Pride in the national language and literature was a great part of just such conservatism" (cf. also pp. 366-67 *supra* for other contemporary views).

96. Both quotations are from the *Memoirs* of 1808, in *The Gentle Shepherd*, 2 vols., Edinburgh, 1808, II, p. 629, a passage appropriated (without acknowledgment) by Allan Cunningham and by him deliberately distorted: *Lives*, 1833, Vol. VI, p. 48 (revised edn., 1879, Vol. II, p. 378); cf. Introduction, p. xlvii *supra*.

97. See for example the popular songs "Killiecrankie", "Sheriffmuir", "Tranent Muir" and "Johnny Cope", each of which was illustrated by Allan (Figure 178, facing p. 240, and Figures 182-84, between pp. 245-46 *supra*); Viscount Dundee was commemorated in the famous Latin epitaph by Dr. Pitcairn (see John MacQueen, *Progress and Poetry*, Edinburgh, 1982, pp. 1-4, and also William Donaldson, *The Jacobite Song Political Myth and National Identity*, Aberdeen University Press, 1988, *passim*).

98. Cf. Allan's projected (or perhaps lost) picture of "Knox destroys", mentioned in Chapter V, p. 196 *supra*. On the Reformation's having "weakened the Judaeo-Christian, Roman and Byzantine basis of the medieval European synthesis", and the cumulative effects of Mary Stuart's expulsion, her execution and that of Charles I, the "Glorious Revolution" and the Hanoverian succession, see MacQueen,



*op. cit.*, pp. 2-3. James Barry, incidentally, had written that the "introduction of superior Art" to Britain was "prevented by the accidental...Change of Religion", though, presumably because his subject was "the Arts in England", he deplored only the "warm controversies" of Henry VIII, comparing them unfavourably with the enlightened patronage carried on by Francis I of France; *Inquiry into the Real and Imaginary Obstructions to the Acquisition of the Arts in England*, 1775, in *Works*, 1809, Vol. II, Chapter V, pp. 210-12.

99. Cf. Burns's lines, "Written by Somebody in the window of an inn at Stirling on seeing the Royal Palace in ruins":

"The injur'd STEWART-line are gone,  
A Race outlandish fill their throne;  
An idiot race, to honor lost;

Who know them best despise them most.—"  
(*Poems and Songs*, ed. Kinsley, Clarendon Press, 1968, no. 166, last four lines).

100. Allan made at least two illustrations to *Helenore*, which was first published, in Aberdeen, in 1768. These are in the Mitchell Library, Cowie Collection, SR 241 308864 ("Baby Allan her Book"), f. 24 v, inscribed "Helenore, or The Fortunate shepherdess a Scottish Poem by Alex<sup>r</sup> Ross Aberdeen shire". Of the eighteen editions of this poem published in the century after its first being issued, "thirteen appeared in Aberdeen, two in Edinburgh, and one each in Glasgow, Dundee and Brechin" (MacQueen, *op. cit.*, p. 116, citing the findings of Margaret Wattie in *The Scottish Works of Alexander Ross, M. A., Schoolmaster at Lochlee*, STS, Edinburgh and London, 1938).

101. The first quotation is from William Collins, "An Ode on the Popular Superstitions of the Highlands of Scotland", line 187. The others are from Burns: first, a note to "Saw ye my Maggie" (see n. 363 to Chapter VI), and secondly, his Dedication of *Poems, chiefly in the Scottish Dialect*, Edinburgh, 1787, to "the Noblemen and Gentlemen of the Caledonian Hunt", first paragraph.

102. The reference to "folks", &c. is adapted from *Compliments to Painters*, Edinburgh, 1797 (cf. text, p. 362 *supra*). Cf. also Chapter III, pp. 113-15, and Chapter VII, p. 356 *supra*.

103. The quotation is from a letter which Dr. Johnson sent to Mrs. Thrale, September, 1773, quoted more fully in n. 320 to Chapter VI, on p. 4 *supra*. Cf. also W. B. Yeats, "The Song of the Happy Shepherd":

"The woods of Arcady are dead,  
And over is their antique joy;  
Of old the world on dreaming fed;  
Grey Truth is now her painted toy"

(*Collected Poems*, Macmillan, 2nd edn., 1950, reprinted 1969, p. 7).

104. The first quotation is from Reynolds, Discourse VII, line 534; the others are from Herd, Preface, p. v (second paragraph).

105. Cf. Chapter II, p. 102 *supra*.

106. Reynolds, Discourse V, lines 81-82.

107. The first quotation is from Smollett's "Ode to Leven Water", published in *Humphry Clinker*, part of a letter from Matt. Bramble to Dr. Lewis, August 28<sup>th</sup>, in *Works*, 1899, Vol. IV, p. 121. The second is from Herd's Preface, p. vii, the last from John Pinkerton, *Scottish Tragic Ballads*, London, 1781, Dissertation II, quoted more fully in Chapter VI, p. 257 *supra*; see pp. 256-59 for a "digression on 'simplicity' in Scottish music and song".

108. The quotation is from the title of a song in Herd, II, p. 40, and, with music, in *Orpheus Caledonius*, II, 1733, p. 20, N<sup>o</sup> X.

109. Cf. William Creech, *Letters addressed to Sir John Sinclair*, (1793) in the *Statistical Account*, account of Edinburgh:

"In 1763- People of quality and fashion lived in houses, which, in 1783, were inhabited by tradesmen, or by people in humble and ordinary life. The Lord Justice Clerk Tinwald's house was possessed by a French Teacher" (Letter I, SA, II, p. 22 and, in a footnote, "A house lately inhabited by one of the present Lords of Session is now possessed by a Taylor": cf. also Robert Chambers, *Traditions of Edinburgh*, 1824, last revised edn., 1868, 1967 reprint, Chapter I, "Changes of the Last Hundred Years", *passim*).

110. *Provincial Antiquities and Picturesque Scenes of Scotland*, London, 1826, Vol. I, p. 74.

111. *Journal*, 2 vols., Edinburgh, 1874, Volume II, p. 194, entry for 27<sup>th</sup> October, 1847. It was actually Lord Dunfermline who is said to have "sighed", &c, but Cockburn had also known Edinburgh "for above sixty years", and shared his "affection" for their "old society" (*ibid.*).

112. *Ibid.*, pp. 195 and 196-97. Cf. n. 31 *supra*.

113. *Ibid.*, pp. 198-99.

114. *Ibid.*, p. 199, the sentence immediately following "modern refinement". For a reference to "people of condition" (though the term, like "lower orders" - cf. n. 117 - was commonplace), see Chapter VII, p. 347 *supra*.

115. *Journal*, Vol. II, p. 295. "Old", of course, means the country as it was (or was thought to have been) in a former time; it is not an affectionate usage, comparable to that in, e.g., Burns's "Scotch Drink", "The Author's Earnest Cry and Prayer" or "To a Haggis" (*Poems and Songs*, ed. Kinsley, Clarendon Press, 1968, nos. 77, 81 and 136, lines 91, 86/127 and 45). Cf. p. 373 *supra*, and also Chapter VI, pp. 303 and 310-12 *supra*.

116. *Journal*, Vol. II, p. 88, entry for 11<sup>th</sup> August, 1844. Billy Kay analyses Cockburn's



loyalties in *Scots The Mither Tongue*, Edinburgh, 1986, p. 112, and cf. also Cockburn's own words: "indeed, there are Scotch schools (the Edinburgh Academy, for example) from which Scotch is almost entirely banished, even in the pronunciation of Greek and Latin" (*Journal*, Vol. II, p. 88).

117. The first two quotations are from Cockburn, *Journal*, Vol. II, pp. 88 and 296, the third from Henry Mackenzie, *Anecdotes and Egotisms*, ed. H. W. Thompson, London, 1927:

"There was a pure classical *Scots* spoken by genteel people, which I thought very agreeable; it had nothing of the coarseness of the vulgar *patois* of the lower orders of the people" (Chapter I, "National Manners and Customs", p. 15 "Language"). If Mackenzie had ever truly thought Scots of any kind at all "agreeable", he gave no sign of it in the passage quoted in Chapter IV, p. 146 *supra*, or indeed in the article from which it was taken. The shifting attitudes and perceptions of Mackenzie and others, together with their strange and amusing linguistic antics, are demonstrated at length in Kay, *op. cit.* For the assumptions inherent in the word "still", see Chapter VI, p. 310 *supra*. The reference to the "general current" is again from Cockburn, *Journal*, Vol. II, p. 294, entry for 10<sup>th</sup> July, 1853, and the main passage follows shortly afterwards, in an entry for 6<sup>th</sup> November of the same year, *ibid.*, pp. 301-02. Cockburn had written, with reference to the 1790s, that the

"change from ancient to modern manners, which is now completed, had begun some years before this, and was at this period in rapid and visible progress. The feelings and habits which had prevailed at the union, and had left so many picturesque peculiarities on the Scotch character, could not survive the enlarged intercourse with England and the world" (*Memorials of his Time*, Edinburgh 1856, p. 28, but written in the 1820s).

118. The quotation is from Allan's dedication of *The Gentle Shepherd*, 1788, transcribed in full from the first edition as Appendix IV; cf. also Reynolds, *Discourses on*

*Art*, Discourse III, lines 21-22.

119. Allan's home from about 1783 was Writers' Court, from about 1787 Dickson's Close (cf. n. 103 to Chapter V). For views of the High Street, see Figures 267 and 270, facing pp. 323 and 325 respectively, and especially Plate XXIV, between pp. 234-35, in which the "advocates and brow fock" of Edinburgh may be seen turning their backs on the Exchange, built in 1753 (the quotation is from Fergusson, "Mutual Complaint of *Plainstones* and *Causey*, in their Mother-tongue"; *Poems*, STS edn, 2 vols., ed. McDiarmid, Vol. II, Edinburgh and London, 1956, pp. 122-26, line 113). Smollett described how

"In all parts of the world we see the force of habit prevailing over all the dictates of convenience and sagacity. All the people of business at Edinburgh, and even the genteel company, may be seen standing in crowds every day, from one to two in the afternoon, in the open street, at a place where formerly stood a market-cross . . . rather than move a few yards to an Exchange, that stands empty on one side, or to the Parliament-close on the other, which is a noble square, adorned with a fine equestrian statue of King Charles II" (*Humphry Clinker*, letter from Matt. Bramble to Dr. Lewis, July 18<sup>th</sup>, in *Works*, London and New York, 1899, Vol. IV, p. 68). The old Exchange stood in Parliament Close; Thomas Pennant had also noticed the merchants' prevailing habit:

"The exchange is a handsome modern building, in which is the custom-house; the first is of no use, in its proper character; for the merchants always chuse standing in the open street, exposed to all kinds of weather" (*A Tour in Scotland*, Warrington, 1774, p. 52).

120. "The Autobiographical Notes", BM Add. MSS. 27,991, f. 9, in *The Analysis of Beauty*, ed. Joseph Burke, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1955, p. 208 (cf. also *ibid.*, p. 206).

121. As his friend Dr. Wright observed, "Allan was fond of a pun" (Appendix VIII, and see also Chapter I, pp. 22-23). On "all the ballads . . . [and] the laws of a nation", cf. Chapter VI, p. 316 *supra*.



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